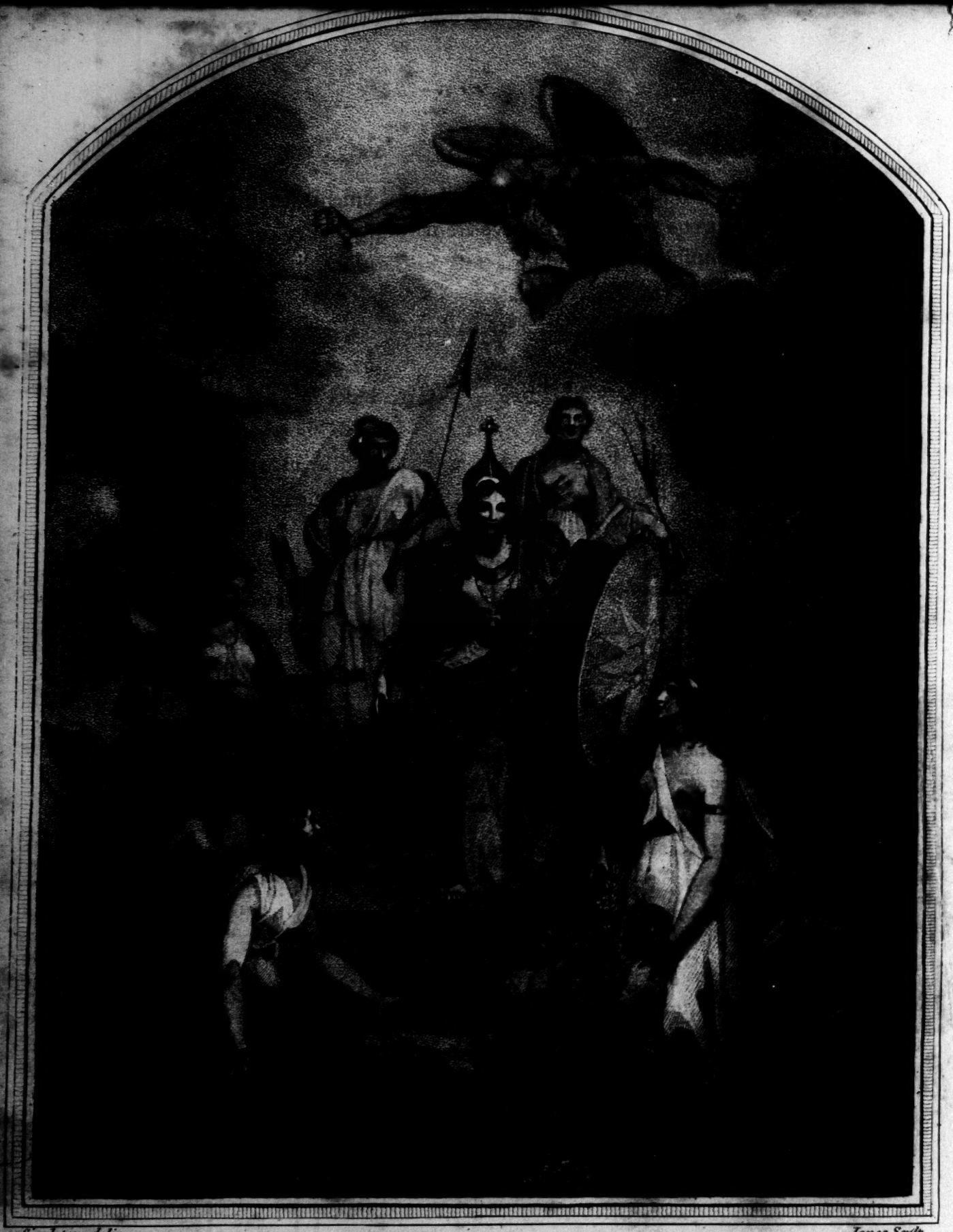
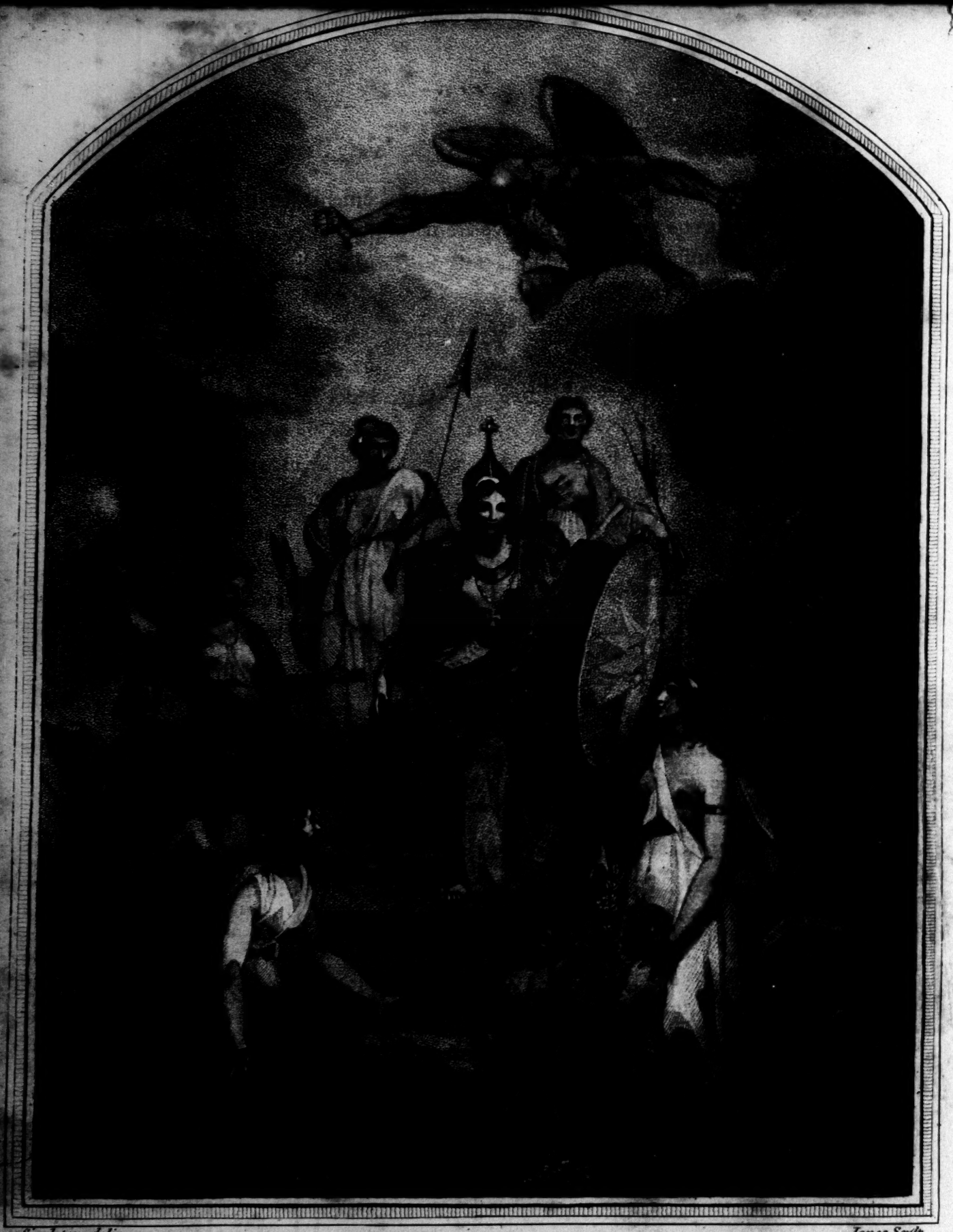


Singleton delin. Jones Sculp.

FRONTISPIECE.

Time breaking the Clouds which had obscured the Genius of France, who is sitting between Justice & Mercy — On her right hand is Vigilance near to whom sits History — On her left is Strength Crushing Tyranny & Malice — In the fore Ground are Science presenting her various Discoveries, and Peace with her appropriate Attributes.



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THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE ACCESSION OF

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH;

WITH

NOTES, Critical and Explanatory;

BY

JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR AND BY C. LOWNDES, DRURY-LANE,
AND SOLD BY J. PARSONS, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1793.

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

BRITISH MUSEUM

IN an age of science, like the present, when the importance of hiſtorical knowledge is clearly aſcertained, it becomes needleſs to expatiate on its peculiar advantages. The hiſtories of our own country; philoſophy and revolution, men of genius, and men of labour, have ſucceſſively exerted their talents on a ſubject that affords ample ſcope for the demonſtration of their reſpective abilities. The annals of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, have been faithfully delineated; the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the globe have had their ſeparate hiſtorians: ſcarcely a kingdom, or petty ſtate, in the north or ſouth of Europe, but has engaged the attention of ſome able writer; while FRANCE alone, has eſcaped the notice of our Engliſh authors.

1793.

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PREFACE.

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When we conſider the very powerful inducements to the compoſition of a HISTORY of FRANCE, we are naturally led to conclude, that the extreme difficulty, attending a taſk ſo laborious, has *alone* proved ſufficient to prevent the publication of ſo deſirable a Work. It is undoubtedly true, that, to an Engliſhman, no hiſtory, if we except that of his own country, can prove ſo highly intereſting and inſtructive as the Hiſtory of France. It is, indeed, ſo immediately connected with that of England, that an adequate knowledge of the latter cannot poſſibly be acquired without an intimate acquaintance with the former: hence the Engliſh hiſtorian is frequently compelled to take a curſory view of the ſituation of affairs in that kingdom; but his view is neceſſarily ſo contracted, as to prove unſatisfactory to himſelf, and to heighten, rather than gratify, the curioſity of his readers. It muſt not be forgotten, that a province of France gave a monarch to England, where the laws and language of its conqueror long prevailed; and have, ever ſince, retained no inconſiderable influence. For ages our rival in arts as in arms, to France are we indebted for numerous improvements, of great national utility. In her annals may be diſcovered the origin of many cuſtoms and manners, that we ſtill cheriſh and reſpect; and to her may be traced many of thoſe ſentiments, and many of thoſe principles, which dignify and diſtinguiſh us among the nations of Europe. In ſhort, ſhe may juſtly be termed—*Gentis incunabula noſtræ.*

Conſiderations of this magnitude muſt operate with irreſiſtible force on the inquiſitive mind, and lead it to explore thoſe copious ſources of information, that are peculiarly calculated to enlarge the circle

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THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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circle of its knowledge, and give a more liberal and expanſive ſcope to its ideas.

In the preſent Hiſtory, we mean to give, not merely the Annals of the different Sovereigns, but thoſe of the nation they governed; to join the names of ſuch heroes as have extended the limits of their country, with thoſe of ſuch men of ſuperior genius, as have enlightened its underſtanding: in ſhort, it is our intention to give an impartial account of its victories and its conqueſts, and an ample and intereſting detail of its manners, its laws, and its cuſtoms.

The attention beſtowed on each particular object will be proportioned to the degree of amuſement or inſtruction which it is capable of affording: we ſhall be careful, however, to notice the commencement of all ſingular and curious cuſtoms; the principles of the conſtitution; the true ſources and various foundations of the laws; the origin of particular dignities; the inſtitution of the parliaments; the eſtabliſhment of univerſities; the foundation of orders, religious and military; and every diſcovery in the arts and ſciences, which has proved of uſe to ſociety.

In ſhort, we may ſafely affirm, that nothing will be neglected that can render the Work intereſting to the Public: every fact will be accompanied by its principal circumſtances, and not any thing advanced, but on the moſt unqueſtionable authority.

The Abbé Velly, and his learned coadjutors—indiſputably the beſt of all the French hiſtorians—we have choſen as our *principal* guides:

guides: but, in the courſe of our labours, we ſhall not fail to profit by the aſſiſtance of other eminent writers; and particularly by thoſe various elucidations, and explanatory comments, to which the newly-eſtabliſhed liberty of the preſs, in France, has given birth.

Independent of theſe eſſential advantages, which no hiſtorian has hitherto enjoyed, the continuation of our Work to an era that is pregnant with the moſt important conſequences, will render it the only complete and perfect HISTORY of FRANCE, that exiſts, either in our own, or in any other language.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Origin of the French.

IT ſeems as if Fate had decreed that the moſt celebrated nations ſhould have no certain monument of their origin. The people of Athens, and of Rome, knew but little of their anceſtors; the early ſtate of the ancient Britons is involved in obſcurity; and the founders of the French nation are but imperfectly known. Some maintain them to have been deſcended from the ancient kings of Troy; others aſſure us, that they were natives of Trans-Alpine and Cis-Alpine Gaul, which they left either before or ſoon after the conqueſts of Julius Cæſar; while a third claſs of writers make them come from Scandinavia, which was formerly denominated the common mother of all nations. The authority of certain authors, quoted by Gregory of Tours, has given riſe to an aſſertion, that they ſprang from Pannonia; and others pretend that they were a colony of thoſe famous free Scythians, or Franks, who, according to Herodotus, inhabited the banks of the Palus-Mæotis. The moſt probable opinion is, that they were originally of Germany; but it is not preciſely known in what part of that extenſive country they firſt eſtabliſhed their reſidence, or what was the ancient ſignification of the word Frank. It is ſuppoſed that the Franks were a league of ſeveral different nations, which occupied that extent of country which is bounded by the Elbe, on the eaſt; the Mein, on the ſouth; the Rhine, on the weſt; and on the north, by the Northern Ocean[1]: a tract which compriſed the preſent Franconia, Thuringia, Heſſe, Friezeland, and Weſtphalia.

1 Philip Cluverius, l. iii. c. 20.

Such

Such of the ancient writers as mention theſe people, repreſent them as ſavages, who lived on the produce of the chace, and on fruits, vegetables, and roots[2]. More jealous of their liberty, than anxious to obtain the pleaſures of life, they were ſtrangers to ſilver and gold, and all their commerce was carried on by exchange. More martial than civilized, their foreſts were their only towns; their houſes conſiſted of ſubterraneous caverns, or elſe of ruſtic habitations compoſed of wood cemented with clay: their poſſeſſions were confined to ſuch lands as the prince, or the magiſtrate, diſtributed to them every year, according to their rank, their ſervices, or condition. Frank, faithful, and ſincere, they obſerved the point of honour with the moſt ſcrupulous delicacy. Rigidly attached to the laws of nature, they were, in general, ignorant of thoſe abominations which diſhonoured Italy and Greece; and if they ſometimes occurred, they were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. In their enmity generous, an offence was no ſooner acknowledged than forgiven: implacable in war, their vengeance often degenerated into ferocity. Zealous citizens, they were ever ready to ſacrifice their all to the welfare of their country: formidable neighbours, they made their glory and their ſafety conſiſt in the devaſtation of their own frontiers, and in ſeparating themſelves from the reſt of the world by gloomy deſerts. A ſingular compoſition of activity and ſloth, they neither knew how to employ themſelves to advantage in time of peace, or to contain themſelves within the bounds of moderation in war. Their hoſpitality ſhone conſpicuous in the liſt of their merits, and was a theme of univerſal admiration. Their houſes were always open to the ſtranger, who was treated with kindneſs as long as he choſe to ſtay, and, at his departure, was loaded with preſents. Their religion was ſimple as their manners. The ſun, the moon, fire, trees, and rivers, were their deities; their temples were darkſome caverns, or the moſt gloomy receſſes of their foreſts, impenetrable by the light of the day: human victims, ſheep, wolves, and foxes, were the ſacrifices they offered to their gods: their prieſts were more deeply verſed in magic than theology: their marriages were always contracted from inclination; and, to the ſhame of more poliſhed ſocieties be it ſpoken! were never formed by the ſordid ties of intereſt; as their women were excluded from the ſucceſſion, no fortune was expected from them. Their funerals were ſimple ceremonies, whence all kind of pomp was excluded, but which were diſtinguiſhed by the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of regard, in the living, for the friend they had loſt. When they burnt the body, the pile was compoſed of choſen wood; when they committed it to the earth, they buried with it the richeſt and moſt valuable effects of the deceaſed; and ſuch was their attention, that they even ſent a ſervant with him to attend on him in the other world.

The nation was divided into four claſſes:—*Nobles*; *free-born ſubjects*; *ſlaves*, and thoſe who were *born ſlaves*, but had afterwards found means of obtaining an exemption

2 Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

from

from ſlavery, and were, therefore, denominated *Freed-men*. We learn from hiſtory that they were ſometimes governed by a king, ſometimes by a prince, and ſometimes by a duke. The authority of the firſt was perpetual, and that of the ſecond temporary; and the laſt was only entruſted with the command in time of war. The power of theſe chiefs was limited; all affairs of importance being ſettled by an aſſembly of the ſtates. The king was always ſelected from the higheſt claſs of nobility; but in the election of dukes, merit was more the object of conſideration than birth. No chief, nor commander, had the power of levying impoſts, each individual paying him a voluntary tribute, from the produce of his fields or flocks. This preſent, the free homage of the ſubjects' love, was the only reward for the labours, and the only ſupport of the expences, of ſovereignty. The uſe of letters, or characters, were totally unknown to theſe people, who had neither annals, nor written laws. The bards, or poets, were their hiſtorians; ſongs, conſequently, formed their hiſtories; cuſtom was their code, and the light of their underſtanding, their digeſt. Adultery was conſidered by them as a horrible monſter, and as ſuch puniſhed by repudiation and diſgrace: an ignominious death was the lot of traitors and fugitives: cowards, and ſuch as were guilty of an unnatural crime, were buried alive in a bog; a puniſhment unprecedented in the annals of nations, and which ſufficiently demonſtrates the degree of horror in which every kind of infamy was holden by this brave and virtuous people.

The warlike genius of the nation was viſible even in the education of their children, whoſe only amuſement was wreſtling and riding. They could not, however, carry arms without the expreſs permiſſion of the tribe to which they belonged. The candidates for this honour aſſembled, when one of their princes, their fathers, or their relations, preſented them with a lance or ſhield; by which ceremony they were initiated into the military order, and ranked among the defenders of the ſtate. Their arms were the ſword, the lance, or halbert, the ſling, the *mallet*, the javelin, the battle-axe, and a ſpecies of heavy club, which they threw into the enemy's batalions, which it cruſhed with its enormous weight. Their ſhield was oblong, compoſed of oſier-twigs, or the bark of trees, and the loſs of it involved the warriour in infamy and diſhonour; this, with a cuiraſs, covered with the ſkin of the bear, or wild boar, and a helmet creſted with horſes' tails dyed red, or elſe with ſome hideous figure, formed their only armour. Their ſtandards were objects of terror; ſelected either from the moſt ferocious inhabitants of the foreſt, or from whatever was moſt horrible in their own conſecrated groves. Their order of battle was ſtrictly uniform; their infantry, always placed in the centre, formed a kind of triangle[3] which they called a wedge, becauſe its point being preſented to the enemy, it was deſtined to divide and break their ranks. A hundred choſen youths fought at the head of this formidable phalanx The cavalry was poſted on the wings; their chariots, and baggage, were drawn up in

3 Agath. lib. xxiv.

the rear. For a long time they were reproached with the tumultuous irregularity of their attacks, and their total ignorance of diſcipline; it was from the Romans they firſt learnt all the ſtratagems of war.

There was no people in Europe, according to Pliny, ſo well verſed in all maritime matters. Their veſſels were either compoſed of ſkins ſewed together, or elſe of oſier, covered with leather; they had neither ſails nor prows, but were worked entirely by oars. At firſt, their navigation was confined to their own coaſts; they began, however, inſenſibly to venture on longer voyages; they coaſted along the ſhores of Gaul and Spain, and even penetrated through the Straits of Gibraltar, as far as the Mediterranean.

Such were the ancient Franks, or Germans, who were ſo often attacked, ſometimes beaten, but never totally ſubdued, by the Romans. Julius Cæſar, the conqueror of the Gauls, made irruptions into their country, at two different times[4]; but he repaſſed the Rhine without having obtained any other advantage over them, than that of committing depredations on their lands, and burning ſome few of their villages. The conſternation of that prince, when he was informed of the maſſacre of his legions commanded by Varus[5], is well known. His fear made him loſe ſight of his dignity; he gave himſelf up for loſt; and anticipated the deſtruction of his capital by this untameable people.

Tiberius, when a ſubject, having waged war againſt them with more glory to himſelf, than utility to his country, gave orders, when he aſcended the throne, to leave them undiſturbed; contenting himſelf with confining them to the limits of their own foreſts, and preventing their irruptions into Gaul. Caligula, intoxicated with the ridiculous hope of rivalling the conqueſts of his father Germanicus, prepared a powerful armament for the reduction of this warlike people: but, a precipitate flight, the diſgrace of having retreated without making a ſingle attack, and the contempt of a nation, whoſe honour and courage were their deareſt idols, were the only advantages which he reaped from all his ſplendid and pompous preparations[6]. Claudius, and the greater part of his ſucceſſors, were only intent on preventing them from paſſing the Rhine[7], deeming it the wiſeſt policy to leave them to themſelves; in the hope that they would, in time, deſtroy each other, and finally be diſſolved by the fury of domeſtic commotions. Marcus Aurelius, who dared to follow them into their native marſhes, loſt thirty-three thouſand men in the firſt battle; and, though he afterwards beat them in the defiles of Carnunta, he acknowledged that he was indebted for his ſucceſs to the intervention of a miracle. Though this miraculous advantage aſtoniſhed, it did not diſpirit them: they ſoon paſſed the Rhine, and made incurſions into Gaul. Alexander Severus, who then governed the empire, haſtened to attack them on

4 Cæſar de Bello Gallico, l. iii. & iv. 5 Fl. l. iv. c. 12. de geſt. Rom. 6 Sueton. in Calig. 7 Tacit. Annal. lib. xii.

the

the firſt news of their irruption[8]; but, though he was a brave prince, he rather choſe to employ his treaſures in the purchaſe of a peace, than to hazard a battle, the loſs of which might deprive him of his dominions. His ſucceſſor, Maximian[9], enabled the Gauls, for ſome time, to enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity, by repreſſing the incurſions of this reſtleſs and untractable people; who do not appear to have undertaken any enterprize of importance till the reign of that unfortunate emperor, Valerian.

It is true, indeed, that we are told, in the chronicle of Alexandria, that the two Decii, the father and ſon, were killed in an action with the Franks; but all other hiſtorians aſſure us that theſe princes fell beyond the Danube, in an expedition againſt the Goths. It was not then till the reign of Valerian, that the Attuarians, the Bructeri, the Chamari, the Salians, the Catti, the Amſivarians, the Cauci, the Sicambri, and the Friſians—all inhabitants of Germany—began to render themſelves formidable, under the appellation of Franks[10]. We learn, from hiſtory, that they ſpread themſelves over the firſt and ſecond Germanica: that Aurelian, who was afterwards raiſed to the Purple, taking one of their detachments by ſurprize, killed ſeven hundred men, and took three hundred priſoners. The rejoicings, and ſongs of congratulation, that were made on this occaſion, ſufficiently demonſtrate the dread in which this nation was holden by the Romans, ſince they laid ſo great an emphaſis on ſo trivial an advantage.

Some time after, and during the reign of the ſame emperor, they attempted a ſecond irruption into Gaul; but they were repulſed by Galienus, at the paſſage of the Rhine, and the affrighted Belgæ thereby delivered from the terror with which they had inſpired them[11]. But when the ſame Galienus aſcended the throne, he took ſo little care to preſerve the rights and prerogatives of his ſtation, that as many tyrants ſprung up, as there were provinces in the empire. The Franks took advantage of this univerſal commotion, ſeized all the veſſels they could find, and penetrated ſome of them into Spain, which they ravaged during twelve years; and others into Africa, where every thing was laid waſte by fire and ſword[12]. At length, tired with pillage and depredations, they returned to their own country, loaded with booty, the poſſeſſion of which no one attempted to diſpute with them.

The long interregnum which followed the death of Aurelian, revived their avidity: they paſſed the Rhine, accompanied by many different nations of Germany; over-ran Gaul, and took ſeventy cities by ſurprize. But Probus, marching againſt them with a powerful army, beat them in ſeveral engagements, retook all the places they had ſubdued, and purſued them into their native marſhes.

8 Herodot. lib. vi. Lamprid: in Alex. Sev. 9 Jul. Cap. in Maxim. 10 Oros. l. iii. c. 14. 11 Sozim. l. xii. Aurel. Vict. in Valerian. 12 Euſeb, l. i. Hiſt. Temp. Pros. l. vii.

The Franks, whom he made priſoners in this glorious expedition, were all tranſported, by his orders, to the ſhores of the Pontus; from the hope that, when thus exiled, they would ceaſe to be troubleſome to the empire. He was miſtaken, however; for theſe martial youths, ſeeing him occupied in other wars, ſeized a few barks[13], and traverſing the ocean, ſpread deſolation over all the coaſts of Aſia Minor, of Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Africa, and Sicily; the capital of which laſt kingdom they reduced and pillaged.

Theſe depredations irritated the emperors to ſuch a degree, that they vowed the deſtruction of this untameable people[14]. But their threats were impotent as their efforts. This brave nation, ſays Tacitus[15], has always maintained its independence; and, in ſpite of our vain triumphs, has never been ſubdued. Conſtantius purſued them into ſuch of their retreats as had hitherto been deemed inacceſſible; and, having taken a great number of priſoners, had them conveyed to the country about Amiens, Beauvais, Langres, and Troies, where he compelled them to cultivate the very lands which they had recently laid waſte[16]. Conſtantine carried on a cruel war againſt them, ravaging their lands, and burning their villages: he alſo took two of their monarchs, who were torn to pieces by wild beaſts, in the amphitheatre at Treves[17]. The orators of thoſe days, by their attempts to enhance the glory of this prince, have only exhibited his barbarity in a ſtronger light. "Other nations," ſay they, "ſhrink from the "attack of the wild beaſts to which they are expoſed; but the Franks, by facing "and irritating them, prove that they can die, though they cannot be ſubdued."

Conſtans, perſuaded of his inability to reſtrain the incurſions of an enemy, whom all the forces of his father had proved inadequate to repel, courted their friendſhip, and was highly commended for appropriating the treaſures of the ſtate to the purchaſe of their alliance[18].

After this treaty, ſo glorious to the Franks, we ſee them holding the firſt places at court, and in the armies of the empire. We find a Solanus, grand maſter of the militia, under Conſtans; a Mellobald ſuperintendant of the domeſtics[19]; a Merobald, a Bauto, a Ricomer, patricians and conſuls under Gratian; a Carietto, governor of Gaul, under Valentinian the Second[20]; and an Arbagauſtus, tutor to that prince[21], and afterwards regent of the weſt, under the great Theodoſius[22]. But while theſe men were the ſupport of the empire, others of the Franks laid it waſte by their incurſions.

13 Vopiſc. in Prob. 14 Eumenius in orat. de geſtis Conſtantii. 15 Tacitus de moribus German. N. 37. 16 Eumen. in laud. Conſtantii. 17 In Orat. cujuſd. Gall. ad Conſtant. 18 Liban. de rebus geſtis Conſtant. Socrat. l. xxi. Sozom. 19 Ammian Marcellinus, l. iii. 20 Sulp. Alex. l. iv. 21 Zozim. l. iv. 22 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9.

When

When Maximian, ſhut up in Aquileia, was on the brink of deſtruction[23], Genobaudus, Marcomer, and Sunno, made an irruption into Gaul, where they put all ſuch as oppoſed them to the ſword. Quintinus and Nannienus, the Roman governors, immediately aſſembled their troops, and repaired to Cologne; when a party of the Franks repaſſed the Rhine, laden with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed; while thoſe who remained to face the enemy, were defeated near the foreſt of Charbonniere. Quintinus, elated with ſucceſs, paſſed the river, contrary to the advice of his colleague, to encounter the ferocious Franks on their native ſoil. The event juſtified the remonſtrances of Nannienus; the beſt of the Roman troops periſhed in this unfortunate expedition. The cavalry were maſſacred, and the ſmall body of infantry that effected its eſcape, was indebted for its ſafety to the darkneſs of the night.

It does not appear, that in theſe various incurſions, which were continued during the long ſpace of one hundred and fifty years, the Franks were actuated by any other motive, than the proſpect of pillage. The facility of making irruptions into Gaul, firſt gave them the deſire of invading it. Already had the Allans, the Sueves, the Gepidæ, and the Vandals, ravaged, in their paſſage, that devoted country: already had the Goths, and Burgundians, eſtabliſhed their reſidence there; the former towards the Alps, the latter in the vicinity of the Pyrenees. The reſt of the country was in a bad ſtate of defence; the Roman power was depreſſed by inteſtine commotions, and the incapacity of its chiefs had involved the empire in ruin[24]. Theſe conſiderations renewed the ardour of the Franks; who once more paſſed the Rhine, though not as a band of depredators allured by the hope of plunder, but as a body of conquerors in ſearch of a place of ſettlement.

What was formerly called Gaul, conſiſted of that part of Europe which lies between the Rhine, the two ſeas, the Alps, and the Pyrenees[25]. This extenſive country is famous for the excellence of its climate, the richneſs and fertility of its ſoil, and the virtues of its mineral ſprings[26]. The beauty of its ſituation is peculiarly admired; it preſents to the view a vaſt number of lofty mountains crowned with woods, riſing grounds, embelliſhed with vineyards; fertile plains, and meadows, interſected by brooks and rivers, which, after ſpreading plenty around them, diſcharge themſelves in the ocean, or the Mediterranean.

Although Gaul is highly celebrated for this variety of advantages, ſhe is ſtill more famous for the antiquity, courage, and happy genius of her inhabitants. It is notorious that ſhe has eſtabliſhed colonies in every part of the known world. The irruption and ſettlement of Sigoveze, in Bohemia and Bavaria[27]; a part of Iberia and of

23 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. 24 Oros. l. vii. c. 27. 25 Strabo. l. ii. 26 Diod. l. v. 27 Titus Livius Decad. i. l. 3.

Italy,

Italy[28], reduced by the arms of Belloveze; Rome ſacked and pillaged by Brennus[29]; the temple at Delphos plundered; Macedonia, and Dardania, ravaged by two other princes of the ſame name; Thrace, the Propontis, the Æolis, Ionia, and all the country watered by the river Halis, ſubdued by Lonnorius and Luthaire, are ſo many monuments of Gaulic intrepidity and valour. If, at laſt, they were compelled to bow their necks to the yoke, it was not till after they had long fought bravely for their freedom; and their conqueror was the conqueror of Rome, and of the whole world.

We forbear to ſpeak of their origin, which is loſt in the ſhades of antiquity; of their ancient manners and cuſtoms, which are to be ſeen in every hiſtory[30]; or of that warlike diſpoſition, by which they were diſtinguiſhed from all the other nations of the earth. It was a proverbial ſaying, that there could be no army without a Gaulic ſoldier. It is ſufficient for the purpoſe of this hiſtory, to give ſome idea of the ſtate of Gaul, when it was firſt conquered by the Franks.

At this time it was divided into ſeventeen provinces; five of which were comprehended in the territory of Vienne, three in Aquitain, five in that of Lyons, two in Germania, and two in Belgia: theſe provinces had each their metropolis; the firſt five were Vienne, Narbonne, Aix, Embrun, and Monſtiers en Tarantaiſe; thoſe of Aquitain were Bourges, Bourdeaux, and Auch; in the Lyonnoiſe, Lyon, Rouen, Tours, Sens, and Beſançon; in Germania, Mayence and Cologne; and in Belgia, Treves and Rheims. Each province was divided into different tribes; each tribe into different diſtricts; and each diſtrict into different *parts*. Theſe tribes had each its capital, on which the inferior towns and hamlets were dependent; as the capital itſelf was dependent on the metropolis, in which the governor of the province reſided. Juſtice was adminiſtered according to the Roman law; and all the public acts were in Latin; a cuſtom which long continued to obtain in France. An idea may be formed of this diſtribution of provinces, and this ſubordination of juriſdiction, from the preſent government of the Gallic Church;—the archbiſhoprics repreſent the metropoliſes; the biſhoprics, the capitals; the archdeaconries, the inferior towns; and the deaneries, the hamlets.

The government of theſe provinces was either conſular or preſidial. The governors of the former were nominated by the ſenate. The conſular governments were ſix in number; viz. the diſtricts of Lyons, Mayence, Cologne, Treves, Rheims, and Vienne. The right of nomination to the remaining eleven, was ſolely veſted in the emperors, who diſpoſed of them at their pleaſure. But this diſtinction of Governor conveyed no idea of pre-eminence; it did not prevent ſuch as were in poſſeſſion of important offices from exerciſing an authority, almoſt abſolute, over their reſpective departments; and

28 Juſtin. l. xxiv. Polib. l. ii. 29 Strab. l. xii. 30 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

they

they equally enjoyed the privilege of having the *faſces* carried before them. Beſides theſe, the frontier towns had their dukes, and the cities their counts. The former were officers of the firſt rank, who received their dignity only from the legates; the latter acted as aſſeſſors, or councillors to the commanders in chief, and the provincial governors. Conſtantine the Great conferred this dignity upon the chief officers of his houſhold; and upon all thoſe who enjoyed any conſiderable poſt in the law, the finances, or the army. The military dukes, and counts, were moſt diſtinguiſhed; and certain territorial poſſeſſions were aſſigned them for their ſupport. At firſt, theſe dignities were temporary; but they were afterwards granted for life, and, at length, became hereditary. We find, from the annals of the empire, that there were two counts in Gaul; one in the marches of Straſbourg, and the other on the Saxon coaſt, which formed part of the ſecond province of Belgia. There were alſo five dukes, one of whom commanded in Franche-Comté; a ſecond, in Normandy and Brittany; a third, at Rheims; a fourth, at Cologne; and a fifth, at Mayence. Among the great officers of Gaul, we find, likewiſe, a maſter of the cavalry; whoſe duty it was to diſtribute to the dukes and counts, the troops which he himſelf received from the grand maſter of the militia. Arſenals were eſtabliſhed in ſeveral towns, where the neceſſary arms for this multitude of ſoldiers were forged. At Straſburg they made arms of all kinds: Mâçon ſupplied them with darts and arrows; Rheims, with ſwords; Autun, cuiraſſes; and Amiens, Treves, and Soiſſons, with ſhields, with *baliſtæ*, and with armour for their light-armed cavalry.

As ſoon as Conſtantine the Great found himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the empire, he created a pretorial prefect for Gaul; an officer who enjoyed a degree of power almoſt equal to that of a ſovereign. He preſided over the departments of war, and finance, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the levying of impoſts. His authority even extended over the preſidents and governors of provinces. He made them deliver to him an account of their adminiſtration, and could depoſe them for malverſation. An appeal lay from every other tribunal to that of the prefect, who was only ſubject to the emperor. He had under him three vicars; one for Gaul, a ſecond for Spain, and a third for Great Britain. Treves was the uſual place of his reſidence, for which reaſon that city became the capital of Gaul. But after it had been ſacked by the Barbarians, Honorius transferred that honour to the city of Arles, which was ſeparated from the province of Vienne, and formed an eighteenth metropolis.

Chriſtianity had long been the prevailing religion of the Gauls. The goſpel had been preached to them, according to ſome writers, by St. Luke, St. Philip, and St. Paul; but according to others, by Creſcens, a diſciple of the latter apoſtle[31]. Be that as it may, the perſecution which raged during the reigns of Antoninus and Marcus

31 Hiſt. Sacr. l. ii.

Aure-

Aurelius[31], ſufficiently proves that the churches of Vienne, and Lyons, had been eſtabliſhed many years, ſince ſo great a number of Chriſtians were found in thoſe provinces, who ſealed their faith with their blood. We are told by Gregory of Tours[32], that whilſt Decius occupied the Imperial throne, Trophimus was ſent to Arles, Paul to Narbonne, Martial to Limoges, Stremo to Auvergne, Gratian to Tours, Saturninus to Toulouſe, and Dyoniſius to Paris. Theſe holy prelates preached the Goſpel with ſuch ſucceſs, that they founded ſeveral churches, and converted to Chriſtianity the greater part of the Gauls. Soon after, appeared the Hilarys, of Poitiers; the Martins, of Tours; the Exuperes, of Toulouſe; and ſo many others, of fervent piety and ſplendid talents, who became at once the ſupport and the ornaments of the church. It was in a council, holden at Arles[33], that the famous diſpute of the Donatiſts, of Africa, was terminated. The council of Cologne, in which biſhop Euphratas was anathematized for denying the divinity of Chriſt; that of Paris, where the doctrine of Athanaſius was ſolemnly acknowledged to be orthodox; that of Valentia, where the beſt poſſible ſyſtem for promoting a purity of manners was adopted[34]; that of Bourdeaux, at which thoſe biſhops were excommunicated, who, forgetting that meekneſs of ſpirit which the Goſpel ſo ſtrongly inculcates, ſolicited the emperor to put the heretical Priſcillian, and his followers, to death; exhibit ſo many glorious proofs of the zeal of the Gallican church, for eſtabliſhing a purity of faith, an integrity of morals, and a holineſs of diſcipline.

While theſe pious men rendered Gaul illuſtrious by the ſplendour of their virtues, a great number of learned perſonages encouraged the progreſs of the arts and ſciences. Marſeilles, Lyons, Beſançon, Autun, Narbonne, Toulouſe, Bourdeaux, Poitiers, Clermont, Treves, and Rheims, were celebrated for their academies; where youth was inſtructed in philoſophy, phyſic, mathematics, aſtronomy, juriſprudence, grammar, and poetry; eloquence, in particular, was ſtudied with ardour and ſucceſs. Thoſe of Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, and Lyons, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed. Marſeilles boaſted, among its academical profeſſors, a Critias, or, (as ſome call him) Crinias, a learned phyſician, who flouriſhed ſoon after Hippocrates; a Pytheas, a celebrated geographer; a Menecrates, a great lawyer; Statius, a famous rhetorician; Petronius, as well known for the purity of his ſtyle, as for the obſcenity of his ſatirical portraits; Troguius Pompey, ſo celebrated for his univerſal hiſtory, the loſs of which will long be a ſubject of regret; Favorinus, a prodigy of erudition; Salvinus Gennadus, Saloninus, Victorinus, Cæſarius, and Avitus, orators not leſs diſtinguiſhed for the purity of their lives, than the ſtrength of their genius. Bourdeaux was the theatre on which the talents of the following illuſtrious men were diſplayed: Minervius, who was dignified with the appellation of a ſecond Quintilian; Atthius Patera, called the moſt powerful of all rhetoricians; Procereſius, to whom the capital of the world erected a ſtatue, with this glo-

31 Euſeb. l. v. c. 1. 32 Greg. Tur. Hiſt. l. i. c. 28. 33 In the year 314. 34 Sulpic. Sever. Dial. iii.

rious

rious inſcription—*Rome, the Queen of Kings, to the King of Eloquence*; and, laſtly, Auſonius, whoſe merit, ſeconded by fortune, raiſed him to the ſecond dignity in the empire. The chief glory of the city of Lyons conſiſts in having contained within its walls that formidable Athenæum whither the greateſt orators repaired every year, to diſpute the prize of eloquence, before a general aſſembly of all the people of Gaul. The vanquiſhed were condemned either to efface their own writings with their tongues, or elſe to be thrown from the centre arch of the bridge into the Saone. It would be an endleſs taſk to repeat the names of all thoſe whoſe abilities did honour to this ancient academy: we ſhall not, therefore, expatiate on the merits of a Julius Florus, whom Quintilian ſtyled the Prince of Eloquence, in Gaul; nor on thoſe of a Julius Secundus, whoſe elocution was greatly admired by the ſame rhetorician. We ſhall only obſerve, and more need not be ſaid in its praiſe, that at this ſchool Eucher of Lyons, Sidonius Apollinaris, Claudiens Mamer, Conſtantius, Remigius of Rheims, and the Princes of Soiſſons, received the firſt rudiments of the Belles Lettres.

The annaliſts of Autun place the origin of its academy in the remoteſt antiquity; they pretend that it was founded by the Druids, and built on a mount which ſtill bears their name [35]. The chief objects of its boaſt are Eumenius, and his grandſon of the ſame name; the former of whom was one of the principal officers in the palace of Conſtantius Chlorus. Both time and barbariſm, have reſpected the panegyric which he pronounced on that great prince. Clermont is indebted for a part of its reputation to the illuſtrious Fontones, one of whom was preceptor to the Emperor Antoninus, who honoured him with the dignity of Conſul. It would be an error to ſuppoſe that Thouloufe owes its principal luſtre to the inſtitution of the *floral games*, by the incomparable Clemens, of the ancient family of the Iſauri; ſince it is certain that long before that period an Æmilius Arborius, an Exupere, and a Sedatus—names conſecrated in the annals of eloquence—had given it the well-deſerved and well-applied appellation of the City of Pallas. Narbonne is not leſs celebrated for the great men which its ſchools have produced. That famous academy ranks, in the number of its profeſſors, Votienus Montanus, Terentius Varro, and Exupere; but, its glory is ſtill greater in having had for its pupils the emperors Carinus and Numerianus.

We muſt however acknowledge, that the taſte and the natural eloquence which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed the writers of the Auguſtan age, are not to be met with in the authors whoſe names we have mentioned. This deficiency muſt not be aſcribed to any want of encouragement: the emperors were attached to men of letters, they ſought after their ſociety, and loaded them with wealth and honours. Their pro-

35 Mount-Drn.

 ſeſſion

ſeſſion was holden in great reſpect; they were taken from the chair of eloquence, or of poetry, to fill the firſt offices in the ſtate. But what ought, by a natural influence, to have contributed to the perfection of the fine arts, only ſerved to accelerate their fall. Anxious to diſplay, in their writings, a greater fund of wit than the ancients, they neglected the beauties of nature for the moſt pompous refinements of art. By ſeeking to embelliſh their works, they ſacrificed ſubſtance to ſhow: by aiming at novelty, they became finical; by endeavouring to pleaſe, they became frivolous; new modes of ſpeech were invented, and a thouſand new words introduced, which inſenſibly adulterated their ſtyle and language. The incurſions of the barbarous nations completed the perverſion of taſte, and the deſtruction of the ſchools. Sciences and arts were, thenceforth, confined to the cloiſter, the convent, or epiſcopal palace.

Such was the ſtate of Gaul, when the Franks attempted to procure a ſettlement there; for which purpoſe they reſolved always to have kings of their own nation. This was the firſt blow which they aimed at the authority of Rome, who wiſhed to confound them, according to her uſual policy, with her own ſubjects.

PHARAMOND.

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MUSEUM



PHARAMOND.

Publish'd as the Act directs by C. Lowndes. July 9. 1791.

PHARAMOND.

A. D. 419 or 420]. HONORIUS reigned in the weſt, and the younger Theodoſius in the eaſt, when the Franks paſſed the Rhine [1], and ſurprized and pillaged the city of Treves, under the conduct of Pharamond [2]. Some hiſtorians have abſurdly had recourſe to fiction, in order to encreaſe the ſplendour of this prince's birth. He was king of a people who never obeyed any other than the deſcendants of their firſt maſters. This auguſt title ſufficiently proves the antiquity of his race. It was about the year 420 that he was lifted up on a ſhield, expoſed to the ſight of the whole army, and acknowledged as chief of the nation. Such was the only inauguration known to the ancient monarchs of Gaul.

It is likewiſe all that is known, with certainty, of the reign of Pharamond. We are wholly ignorant of his exploits, the time of his death, the place of his burial, and the name of his queen. We are only told that he had two ſons; Clodian, who ſucceeded him; and Clenus, with whoſe fate we are unacquainted.

To Pharamond is commonly aſcribed the inſtitution of that famous law, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet *Salic*, either from the ſurname of the prince who publiſhed it, or from the name of Salogaſt, who propoſed it; or elſe from the word *Salichame*, the place in which the chief men of the nation aſſembled in order to reduce it into form. Others pretend, that it was ſo called, becauſe it was expreſsly made for the *Salic* lands, which were noble fiefs, given by the firſt monarchs of Gaul to the *Salians*; that is, to the principal nobles of their *Sale*, or Court, on the ſole condition of military ſervice,

1 Proſp. Aquit. Chron. 2 Nicol. Vign. Duch. tom. i. p. 155.

exempt from every other ſpecies of feudal obligation. And this was the reaſon why they were not deſcendible to women, who, from the delicacy of their ſex, are diſpenſed from bearing arms. There are ſome[3] who maintain, that this word came from the Salians, a tribe of the Franks eſtabliſhed in Gaul under the Emperor Julian: theſe aſſert, that that prince gave them lands under the obligation of perſonal attendance in time of war. He even made a law of this obligation, they ſay, which the new conquerors adopted, and called it *Salic*, from the name of their ancient countrymen.

It is a vulgar prejudice to ſuppoſe that this law only relates to the ſucceſſion to the crown, or to the Salic lands. It was neither inſtituted for the diſpoſal of the kingdom, nor merely for determining the right of individuals to feudal poſſeſſions. It is a collection of regulations that extend to almoſt every thing. It preſcribes puniſhments for thieves and incendiaries; and for a variety of crimes and depredations: it eſtabliſhes rules for preſerving the morals of the ſubject; for the government; for the order of proceeding in criminal matters; and, laſtly, for the maintenance of peace and concord between the different members of the ſtate. Of ſeventy-one articles which it contains, there is but one which relates to ſucceſſions; it is couched in theſe terms—*In the Salic lands no part of the inheritance ſhall deſcend to females. It belongs entirely to males* [4].

It appears that what remains of this law, is but an extract from a larger code[5]. This is evident, from the Salic law itſelf being there quoted, as well as certain rules that are not to be found in what is now extant of that famous ordinance. Ducange, the celebrated gloſſator, ſays there were two ſorts of *Salic* laws, one of which was in force before the Franks were converted to Chriſtianity; and was reduced into form by the four chiefs of the nation, Wiſogaſt, Boſogaſt, Salogaſt, and Wldogat; the other was corrected by the Chriſtian kings, and is that which has been publiſhed by Tillet, Pithou, Lindembrock, and the famous Advocate-General Jerôme Bignon, who made ſome learned commentaries on it. For the methodical arrangement of it, ſays a modern author of great erudition[6], we are certainly indebted to Clovis the Great. On one hand, it cannot be poſterior to the reign of this prince, ſince his ſon Childebert reformed ſome articles of it; and, on the other, the chapter which treats of the immunity of churches, and of the conſervation of their miniſters, ſuppoſes the converſion of our firſt Chriſtian king. This laſt code, ſays Ducange, is only a compilation of rules to be obſerved by ſuch of the Franks as were eſtabliſhed between the foreſt of Charbonniere and the river Loire; in contradiſtinction to the *Lex Riparia*, given to thoſe who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, the Maeſe, and the Scheld. A certain author[7] boldly aſſerts, on what authority we know not, that the ſixty-ſecond chapter of the Salic code cannot poſſibly apply, even indirectly, to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom; and that it was a mere invention of

3 Paul. Emil. Menage, Paſquier, Borel. 4 Tit. 62 des Alode's art. 6. 5 Daniel, tom. i. p. 10. 6 M. de Fonc. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. viii. p. 492 & ſeq. 7 Du Haillan.

Philip

Philip the Long, to exclude Joan of France, daughter of Lewis Hutin, from the throne. He doubtleſs did not reflect that the eſtabliſhed laws of ſucceſſion, with regard to ſuch fiefs as belonged to the nobility, operating to the excluſion of females, we muſt certainly conclude that the ſame prerogative, *a fortiori*, is annexed to royalty, which is the moſt noble of all poſſeſſions, and the ſource, too, from whence the nobility of all others is derived. Thus the right of Philip having been ſcrupulouſly diſcuſſed in a general aſſembly of the great men of the kingdom, the crown was unanimouſly decided to be his, to the excluſion of the princeſs; ſo firmly were they perſuaded that there exiſted, if not a law, at leaſt an immemorial cuſtom, which excluded women from the throne of France; a cuſtom as old as the monarchy itſelf, which Agathias calls the law of the country, which certainly poſſeſſes all the force that antiquity can give it, ſince Clovis the Firſt ſucceeded his father Childeric, to the prejudice of his ſiſters Albofleda and Lantilda. During the reign of Philip of Valois, a freſh diſpute aroſe on the ſame ſubject, on which the deciſion was the ſame. The right of Edward the Third of England, did not appear to be better founded than that of the princeſs Joan, a daughter of France. The Count was unanimouſly declared the legitimate ſucceſſor of Charles the Fair. The article which ſettled the right of individuals to the Salic lands, was declared equally to regard the ſucceſſion to the crown, and it became a fundamental law of the ſtate.

+ The queſtion is not between male & female heirs — but when there is not a male heir in the direct line

CLODIAN.

CLODIAN.

A. D. 427]. CLODIAN, ſurnamed the Hairy, either from the quantity of hair which he had, or becauſe he wore it longer than his predeceſſors, ſucceeded his father Pharamond. It is ſaid that he had ſcarcely aſcended the throne [1], when the Roman general, Ætius, marched againſt him with a powerful army, defeated him, took from him all he poſſeſſed in Gaul, and compelled him to repaſs the Rhine. We are further told, that this prince, in order to be revenged on the Romans, made incurſions into Thuringia, where he committed great ravages, and ſurprized a caſtle called Diſpurg.

A. D. 431]. Ætius advanced againſt him a ſecond time, and after beating him in an action, in which much blood was ſhed on either ſide, he preferred the granting him a peace, to riſking another battle againſt a nation which ſeemed to acquire freſh vigour from defeat. This peace, however, was of ſhort duration.

Clodian could not forget the beautiful kingdom he had poſſeſſed in Gaul, the loſs of which affected him moſt ſenſibly, and all his thoughts were bent on recovering it. He left Thuringia in the year 435, with a numerous army, reſolved no longer to direct his attacks againſt thoſe towns on the banks of the Rhine, but to ſeize ſome important places in the interior parts of the country. It was with this view that he ſent to reconnoitre that diviſion of the diſtrict of Belgia, of which Rheims was the capital.

As ſoon as he was informed that all the towns were defenceleſs, he began his march, ſurprized and defeated the Roman troops that were appointed to guard the paſſages, took

1 Duch. tom. i. p. 793.

Tournay,

BRITISH
4 DE65
MUSEUM



Singleton del.ᵗ J. Jones fecit.

The Romans carrying off the Bride of a Nobleman at Lens.

Publish'd as the Act directs. by C. Lowndes. July. 25. 1791.

Tournay, carried Cambray at the firſt aſſault, and reduced all the ſurrounding country as far as the river Somme [2].

Such is the baſis on which thoſe hiſtorians have grounded their aſſertions, that Clodian founded a great ſtate in Gaul. Adon maintains that the city of Cambray was the capital of his kingdom. Roricon, a monkiſh writer, peculiarly fond of chimeras, has made him eſtabliſh his court at Amiens. Marianus Schotus, another monk, equally credulous, but ſtill more generous with regard to this prince, gives him poſſeſſion of a part of Holland, and all the country from thence to the river Loire. But it is evident, from the teſtimony of contemporary writers [3], that he was unable to keep his new conqueſts, and that Ætius recovered all he had taken from the Roman empire on this ſide the Rhine. The fact, as related by theſe hiſtorians, is this.——

A. D. 437]. Clodian was engaged in celebrating the marriage of a nobleman of rank in his army, at a village called Elena, now the city of Lens. They were in the act of conducting the bride to the place where the nuptial feaſt was prepared, when the Romans ſuddenly ruſhed on them from a bridge which they had recently conſtructed. The ſurprize of the Franks was ſo great, that they could not range themſelves in order of battle. The advanced guards were put to the ſword; the bride was carried off, together with all the bridal preparations; the army diſperſed, and the whole province regained.

The poet who relates this adventure, draws ſo advantageous a portrait of the Franks, that it merits a place in their hiſtory. "They are," ſays he, "tall in ſtature; their ſkin is very white, and their eyes are blue: their face is entirely ſhaved, except the upper lip, on which they ſuffer two ſmall whiſkers to grow; their hair, cut behind, and long before, is admirably fair; their dreſs is ſo ſhort, that it does not cover their knees, and ſo tight, that it ſhews the exact form of their body; they wear a large girdle, from whence hangs a ſword that is heavy, but extremely ſharp. There is no nation exiſting ſo well verſed in military motions and evolutions. Such is their ſkill, that they never fail to ſtrike what they aim at; ſo prodigious their agility, that they reach the enemy as ſoon as the dart which they have thrown at him; in ſhort, their intrepidity is ſuch, that they are not aſtoniſhed, either by the number of their foes, by local diſadvantages, or even by death himſelf, when encompaſſed with all his horrors—they may loſe their lives, but never can their courage [4]." It was this untameable valour that determined the victorious Ætius to grant them peace; he was unwilling to wage war againſt a people who had as many ſoldiers as citizens.

2 Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 9. Fredeg. Epi. c. 9. Roric. Monac. l. i. 3 Sidon. Apollin. Carm. v. p. 224. 4 Sidon. Apoll. in panegyr. Major. Carm. v. apud Duch. tom. i. p. 224.

We

We are told, by the hiſtorians of that age, that ſome years after this treaty, Germanus, biſhop of Auxerre, was ſent into England to maintain the true faith againſt the heretical followers of Pelagius, who denied the exiſtence of original ſin, and the neceſſity of divine grace for the purpoſe of ſalvation[5]. The tradition is, that before his departure he conſecrated to God a young girl named Genevieve, whoſe virtue was afterwards ſignalized by miracles without number. But there are ſome who pretend that ſhe received the veil, at a more advanced age, from Villicus, biſhop of Chartres. Be that as it may, the miracles ſhe performed at Paris, ſecured her the glorious appellation of Patroneſs of that capital of the French empire.

A. D. 447 or 448.] Clodian died, after a reign of twenty years, from grief, as ſome authors aſſert, for the death of his eldeſt ſon, who was killed at the ſiege of Soiſſons. Neither the name of his conſort, nor the number of his children, is known. Some ſay he had two ſons, Claudebaud and Claudemir; others three, whom they call Regnault, Auberon, and Regnacarius. From Auberon, they ſay, ſprang Auzbert, from whom the family of Pepin, the firſt monarch of the ſecond race, deſcended. But an author[6], deeply verſed in the ancient hiſtory of France, pretends to have demonſtrated that he deſcended from Tonantius Ferreolus, prætorial prefect of Gaul.

5 For a curious account of this expedition of Germanus and his colleague Lupus, biſhop of Troyes, ſee Venerable Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, c. 17. 19. 20. 6 Du Bouchet—2 Lyreg. Tur. i. 2. c. 9.

MEROVEUS.

MEROVEUS.

A. D. 447, or 448.] THE birth of Meroveus is a perfect problem, of which no part of hiſtory can afford a ſolution. Some aſſert, from a paſſage in Gregory of Tours [1], that he was related to Clodian. Others, on the authority of Priſcus, the rhetorician, pretend that he was the ſon of that monarch. Priſcus relates, that the king of the Franks left two ſons, who both laid claim to the crown; the eldeſt implored the aſſiſtance of Attila, king of the Huns; and the youngeſt ſought the protection of the Romans: he even tells us that he ſaw the latter at Rome. He was, ſays Priſcus, in the flower of his youth, and his long fair hair hung in ringlets upon his ſhoulders; the emperor loaded him with honours and preſents; and Ætius adopted him for his ſon. But what can we conclude from accounts in which neither of the princes are *named?* Is it very certain that Meroveus was not a third candidate for the crown, and eſtabliſhed his uſurpation by force, to the prejudice of the rival brothers? Be that as it may, we are ſure that a prince of that name reigned over the Franks, and that a ſon of Clodian diſputed the throne with him.

From him deſcended the monarchs of the firſt race, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Merovingian Kings.

A. D. 451.] The generality of hiſtorians pretend that Meroveus was in the Roman army at the battle gained by Ætius over Attila [2]: a battle, the circumſtances of which,

1 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9 - 2 Jornand de reb. Got.

as well with regard to the number of the ſlain, which has been rated at two hundred thouſand on the part of the Huns, as to the ſpot on which it was fought—are ſo little known, as to afford an endleſs ſource of diſpute. The majority of writers, however, are of opinion, that the theatre of this bloody action was not in Sologne, in Auvergne, nor in the Thouloufain, but in the vaſt plains of Chalons, in Champagne[3].

A. D. 456.] This prince died in the tenth year of his reign. We are not told what family he had, neither know we the name of the queen who gave birth to Childeric, his ſon and ſucceſſor.

3 The author of a French periodical work, in the year 1753, wrote a diſſertation, to prove that this battle was fought in Champagne, in the plain of Merry-upon-Seine, five leagues from Troyes. In ſupport of this aſſertion, he quotes the following paſſage from Gregory of Tours: "Attilam fugant, qui Mauriacum Campum adiens, ſe præcingit ad Bellum."

CHILDERIC THE FIRST.

CHILDERIC was deſtined to experience ſuch a variety of adventures, as might have given him a claim to be ranked among the heroes of romance. Carried off in his infancy, by a detachment of Attila's army[1], he was miraculouſly reſcued, by a valiant Frank, from the hands of thoſe who were taking him into captivity. A general conſpiracy afterwards deprived him of the throne of his anceſtors; but the nation, regretting his loſs, was ſpeedily induced to recal him. He was the beſt made man in his dominions. He was endued with wit, and poſſeſſed of courage; but, being born with a heart too ſuſceptible of love, he yielded to its dictates, and thereby accelerated his own deſtruction[2].

The French nobles, enraged at the ſeduction of their wives, who were incapable of reſiſting the charms of Childeric, entered into a league for the purpoſe of depoſing him. [A. D. 457.] Unable to oppoſe them, he returned into Germany, where he afforded a proof that adverſity rarely corrects the vices of the heart, by ſeducing Baſina, wife to the king of Thuringia, who had received him with hoſpitality, and honoured him with his friendſhip.

The Franks, however, held a general aſſembly, in which the crown was conferred on Ægidius, who had been appointed by the Romans to command their forces in Gaul.

1 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12. Fred. Scholaſt. x. 2 Roric. l. i.

This whimſical choice, it is ſaid, was owing to the policy of Wiomald[3], who, faithful to his ſovereign, took advantage of the aſcendancy he poſſeſſed over the mind of the new monarch, to lead him to the adoption of ſuch meaſures, as could not fail to render him odious to the nation.

A. D. 463, or 464.] The exactions of Ægidius accordingly eſtranged the affections of his ſubjects, who now regretted the baniſhment of their former prince; and, in a ſhort time, determined to recal him. Wiomald, ever attentive to the intereſts of his maſter, ſent him the half of a piece of gold which they had broken at their laſt ſeparation; and Childeric, underſtanding the ſignal, left Thuringia, and made his appearance in Gaul. One battle decided the fate of the kingdom; Ægidius was completely defeated, and the lawful monarch regained poſſeſſion of that throne, whence his gallantry had excluded him.

This wonderful event was ſucceeded by another equally ſingular and remarkable[4]. The queen of Thuringia, like another Helen, left the king her huſband, to follow the fortunes of this ſecond Paris. "Did I know," ſaid ſhe, "a greater hero, or a more "gallant man than you, I would go in ſearch of him, to the fartheſt extremities of the earth." Baſina was both handſome and ſenſible; and Childeric, allured by this double temptation, married her, to the great diſpleaſure of all virtuous men, who in vain expatiated on the ſacred rights of marriage, and the inviolable laws of friendſhip. From this marriage ſprung the great Clovis.—A. D. 465.

The concluſion of this romantic reign was ſignalized by a variety of glorious exploits[5]. The hatred of the Romans, and the deſire of recovering the eſteem of his ſubjects, revived the courage of Childeric, who had hitherto appeared to be lulled on the boſom of pleaſure. He advanced into the heart of Gaul; defeated, near Orleans, the army of Odoacer, a Saxon monarch; took Angers, which he pillaged; killed, with his own hands, the general of the Roman troops, in the Soiſſonnois; and, if the author of the life of Saint Genevieve may be credited, made himſelf maſter of Paris; but this laſt fact is atteſted by no other hiſtorian. It appears that he made peace with the Saxons, who united their arms to his, in order to exterminate the Germans, who had over-run part of Italy[6]. The conqueſt of Germany was the laſt memorable action of this prince. He died ſoon after, [A. D. 481.] in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and was buried in a ſpot of ground which is now encloſed in the city of Tournay.

3 Geſt. Franc. c. 7. 4 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12. 5 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. Geſt. Franc. c. 8.
6 Fred. Epit. c. xii.

His

His tomb was diſcerned by chance in the year 1653. There were found in it the ſkeleton of a horſe, and ſome human bones tolerably perfect, which proved him to have been ſtout in form, and tall in ſtature. The other curioſities of this ancient monument, are a cryſtal glaſs, and ſeveral curious pieces of maſſive gold; an ox's head; a *ſtyle*, with tablets; medals of different emperors; and a number of rings, on one of which is a ſeal, bearing the impreſſion of a man of perfect beauty. His face is entirely ſhaved; his hair long, plaited, ſeparated on the forehead, and thrown back; he holds a javelin in his right hand. On the exergue is engraven the name of Childeric, in Roman letters. A part of theſe curioſities may be ſeen in the Royal Library, at Paris.

CLOVIS

CLOVIS THE FIRST.

A. D. 481.] CLOVIS was only in his fifteenth year, when he aſcended the throne. He was ſcarcely twenty, when he challenged Syagrius, the ſon of Ægidius, who was governor of Gaul, where his authority was almoſt deſpotic[1], to meet him in the field. The challenge was accepted, and Clovis began his march to Soiſſons, [A. D. 486.] accompanied by two princes, who were nearly allied to him, Ragnacharius and Chararic. The battle was bloody and deciſive; Syagrius ſaved himſelf by flight; but having taken refuge among the Viſigoths, their king, Alaric, was induced, by the threats of Clovis, to deliver him into the power of his enemy, who ordered him to be beheaded. This victory was followed by the capture of Soiſſons; and the death of the Imperial general facilitated the reduction of all the places, that ſtill remained faithful to the Romans.

Clovis, anxious to conciliate, by mildneſs, ſuch as he had conquered by arms, exerted his utmoſt efforts to reſtrain the unbridled licentiouſneſs of his victorious troops. He could not, however, prevent the pillage of a few churches. All the hiſtorians mention the ſacred vaſe which was claimed by Saint Remigius, of Rheims; and ſpeak of the inſolence of the ſubject in refuſing to reſtore it to his maſter, the moderation of the ſovereign in concealing his reſentment, and the vengeance which he exacted at the general review of his troops on the Field of Mars, in terms of admiration: the ſoldier's arms not being in proper order, the king clove his head aſunder with his ſword—"It was thus," ſaid he, "that you ſtruck the vaſe at Soiſſons."—A. D. 487.

1 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28. Fred. Epitom. c. 15. Geſt. Franc. c. 19. Roric. l. ii.

A ſan-



Jones fecit

CLOVIS.

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BRITISH
4 DE65
MUSEUM

A ſanguinary execution, ſays Gregory of Tours, performed by the hand of a ſovereign, muſt doubtleſs excite diſguſt in the preſent age. But this action, which appears to us degrading to majeſty, inſpired greater reſpect than horror.

By this account it is evident that the French were accuſtomed to aſſemble every year in a field[2], which they denominated *The Field of Mars*, becauſe their aſſemblies were holden at the commencement of the month of March, (in French, MARS.) It was from the ſame motive that the field was afterwards called the Field of May. Theſe aſſemblies were convened for a variety of purpoſes; the troops were reviewed before them; queſtions of war and peace were diſcuſſed; and abuſes in the government, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in the diſpoſal of the public money, were corrected. It was there they appointed protectors, during the minority of their princes; divided the treaſures and dominions of the departed monarch, and fixed the day and the place for the inauguration of his ſucceſſor; and it was there that the kings received the *voluntary gift* from their nobles: this preſent conſiſted of money, furniture, or horſes; the name of *voluntary gift* has been retained, although the nature of it has been altered. The king preſided at theſe general aſſemblies of the nation; at which he was accompanied by the great officers of the crown, the mayor of the palace, the chaplain, the chamberlain, and the chancellor. The biſhops, and abbots, were alſo under the neceſſity of attending.

The dukes and counts likewiſe received a ſummons to appear. Theſe dignities, which are now hereditary, were then but ſimple commiſſions, granted and revoked at the pleaſure of the ſovereign. The king, or the mayor of his palace, propoſed the queſtions that were to be examined; after the aſſembly had diſcuſſed them, their deciſions were determined by a plurality of voices, and thenceforth became the law of the ſtate.

A. D. 491.] Some years after the eſtabliſhment of the Franks in Gaul, Baſinus, King of Thuringia, made a ſudden irruption into that part of the dominions of Clovis, which was ſituated beyond the Rhine. Clovis was no ſooner informed of this invaſion, than he aſſembled his army with the utmoſt expedition, and entering the enemy's country, laid it waſte with fire and ſword, and impoſed a perpetual tribute on the offending monarch[3]. His thoughts were next bent on the formation of an alliance, by marriage, with ſome one of the princes whoſe territories lay contiguous to thoſe which he had recently detached from the empire.

[2] The Merovingians dated the commencement of their year on the day of this review; the Carlovingians from Chriſtmas; and it was not till the reign of Charles the Ninth, that it was fixed to the firſt of January. This variation occaſions a great embarraſſment in ſettling the preciſe date of events.

[3] Geſt. Franc. c. 10.

Gondebald,

Gondebald, king of the Burgundians, had a niece of extraordinary beauty, the reputation of whoſe charms, and the accounts of whoſe ſenſe and virtues, made a deep impreſſion on the heart of Clovis, who ſent ambaſſadors to aſk her of her uncle. The Court of Burgundy, fearful of offending a young prince whoſe arms were every where victorious, complied with his requeſt; and the princeſs Clotildis was accordingly eſpouſed by Aurelian, an illuſtrious Gaul, who made her the cuſtomary preſent of a halfpenny, and a denier [4]. This cuſtom was long obſerved in France; and, even now, huſbands give their brides ſome pieces of money; the only difference is in their number and value.

A. D. 493.] Every thing being ready for the departure of the new queen, ſhe began her journey in a kind of waggon, called a *baſterne*, which was the moſt decent carriage then in uſe; it was drawn by oxen, which, though they move ſlower than horſes, give a leſs uneaſy motion to the vehicle. The marriage was celebrated at Soiſſons, amidſt the mingled acclamations of the Gauls and French. Heaven ſmiled on this propitious union; Clotildis became mother of a prince, who received baptiſm, with the King's conſent, and was chriſtened Ingomer [5]. But the death of a child, for whom Clovis had ſo ſtrong an affection, inſpired him, notwithſtanding the earneſt remonſtrances and ſoothing perſuaſions of his wife, with averſion to the Chriſtian religion [6]. He was prevailed on, however, to ſuffer his ſecond ſon to undergo the ceremony of baptiſm. He alſo was attacked with a ſevere indiſpoſition, [A. D. 494.] but the prayers of his conſort were heard, the prince was reſtored to health, and the anxiety of his father diſpelled. Soon after this, Clovis was converted to Chriſtianity; an event which is thus related by hiſtorians:—

A. D. 496.] The Germans, a warlike people, had made incurſions into Gaul, with a view to a ſettled eſtabliſhment, in imitation of thoſe nations who had effected the expulſion of the Romans. Clovis, apprized of their intentions, haſtened to impede their progreſs, and met them on the plains of Tolbiac, not far from Cologne, where a bloody battle was fought. The French army had begun to give way, when the king, lifting up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, "God of my queen Clotildis, if you grant me victory, I here vow to receive baptiſm, and hereafter to worſhip no other than you [7]." Having ſaid this, he rallied his yielding forces, again led them to the charge, pierced, with irreſiſtible ardour, the enemy's battalions, and at laſt put them to flight [8]. He then followed them into Germany, where he diſperſed the remains of the vanquiſhed army, reduced to obedience a nation hitherto invincible, and compelled them to pay him an annual tribute [9]. Faithful to his vow, he enquired into the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion; and, on Chriſtmas-Day, received baptiſm, at the church of St.

4 Frederig. Epit. c. 10. A Denier is a ſmall French coin, equal, in value, to about the twelfth part of a halfpenny. 5 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 29, 30. Geſt. Franc. c. 24. 6 Hincmar. in vit. Remig. 7 Greg. Tur. c. 15. Geſt. Franc. c. 37. 8 Roric, l. ii. 9 Hincmar. in vit. Remig.

Martin,

Martin, in the ſuburbs of the city, from Remigius biſhop of Rheims, a prelate equally diſtinguiſhed for his birth and piety. His ſiſter Albofleda, and about three thouſand of his ſubjects, followed his example.

A ſilly ſtory prevails [9], that a dove, deſcended from Heaven, brought a phial of balſam, with which Clovis was conſecrated, or confirmed. This is what is now called LA SAINTE AMPOULE, the Holy Phial; which is kept with extreme care, at Rheims, and contains the oil, uſed by the monarchs of France at the ceremony of their conſecration. It has alſo been ſaid that this prince received from the hands of an angel, an *Ecu Azur*, ſpotted with *Fleur de Lys*; but it is certain that the uſe of armorial bearings did not prevail in France till long after this period.

The converſion of Clovis by no means repreſſed his ambition. Brabant, the country of Liege, and that part of Flanders which was ſituated on the ſea coaſt, had not yet ſubmitted to the new conqueror of Gaul.

The moſt conſiderable of theſe ſmall ſtates were the Arborici [10], a Chriſtian nation, that was firmly attached to the Chriſtian religion, and theuce maintained an enmity againſt the French, who were Pagans. But the recent conduct of Clovis and a part of his ſubjects having diminiſhed their averſion, they were induced to conſent to an alliance with him [11]; and, at length, they acknowledged him for their ſovereign, and the two people were conſolidated into one nation. The Roman garriſons, following the example, capitulated, and gave up all the places that were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the empire towards the ocean, and on the banks of the Rhine. The principal articles of the treaty were theſe—that they ſhould be governed by their own laws; that they ſhould wear what dreſs they choſe; and that, in time of war, they ſhould hoiſt their own colours. This event gave riſe to the eſtabliſhment of the famous law called *Lex Riparia*, from the name given to thoſe ſoldiers, or people, who guarded or inhabited the banks of the Maeſe and the Rhine, and probably the ſea-ſhore. By this law, which bears a great reſemblance to the Salic law, it is ordained that every *Riparius* ſhall be treated as a Frenchman. It betrays veſtiges of ſome Roman cuſtoms; and contains ſeveral articles which have a direct relation to the Chriſtian religion.

A. D. 499.] The union of the Arborici with the French, was followed by an event, which Clovis with more ſkill than probity, turned greatly to his own advantage. Gondegiſilis,

9 Hincmar, in vit. Remig.

10 This is the name of a people who formerly inhabited Zealand, a province of the Low-Countries. Some authors have confounded them with the Taxandri, a nation that was eſtabliſhed in the vicinity of Maeſtricht; while others place them between Antwerp and the Maeſe.

11 Procop. l. i. de Bello Goth

and his brother Gondebald, reigned jointly over the Burgundians; but a jealouſy ariſing between them, the former entered ſecretly into a league with the French monarch, who promiſed to aſſiſt him with his forces[12]. Circumſtances were extremely favourable for concealing the preparations that were going forward in France. The revolt of the inhabitants of Verdun furniſhed a pretext for the collection of troops, whom Clovis led againſt the rebels, [A. D. 500]; but his wrath being appeaſed by the ſolicitation of a prieſt, named Euſpicius, he pardoned thoſe whom he came to chaſtiſe, and immediately directed his march towards Burgundy, where an action enſued on the banks of the ſmall river Ouſche. The victory was ſoon decided; Gondebald, being deceived by the treachery of his faithleſs brother, fled, with the ſmall remains of his army, to Avignon, whither he was purſued and beſieged by the victorious troops. Endued with a wonderful preſence of mind, that no calamity could deſtroy; and a fertility of mental reſources, that no complication of misfortunes could exhauſt; he had the addreſs to form a treaty with Clovis, by which he agreed to leave Gondegiſilis in poſſeſſion of Vienne, and of ſome other places which he had reduced. But, no ſooner were the French departed than, thinking himſelf juſtified by the former treachery of his brother, in the violation of his preſent engagements, he declared war againſt him; took Vienne by ſurprize; and, purſuing Gondegiſilis to the foot of the altar, whither he had fled for refuge, put an end to his exiſtence.

A. D. 501.] Clovis was, at this time, employed in the reduction of the Armorician[13] towns; but, having in vain attempted to ſubdue them by arms, he at length acquired them by negociation[14]. A treaty was concluded, by which it was ſtipulated that the Britons ſhould have no more kings, but only counts, or dukes, dependent on the French monarch[15]. There are ſome writers[16], who pretend that the French army took Vannes, and that this exploit paved the way for the conqueſt of all Brittany. Be that as it may, Clovis had no ſooner determined that important buſineſs, than he renewed, in concert with Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths, the war againſt Gondebald.

12. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 32. Geſt. Franc. c. 16. Frederig. Epit. c. 22. 13 This is the name which the ancients gave to Little Brittany, which is now a province of France; it ſignifies, in the old Gaulic language, "on the borders of the ſea, or ſea coaſt." It is, in fact, ſurrounded on three ſides by the ſea; on the north by the Engliſh channel, on the weſt by the main ocean, and on the ſouth by the great gulph of France. It was formerly inhabited by the Nanneti, the Rhedones, the Diablinti, Ambiliati, Veneti, Oſiſmians, and Curioſoliti; theſe people were powerful from the extent of their commerce, and formed a kind of republic within themſelves. The tyrant Maximus abandoned them to the Britons, as an acknowledgment for the ſervices they had rendered him againſt Gratian and Theodoſius. It was from theſe new ſettlers that it received the name of Brittany, inſtead of Armorica.

Corn. on the word Armorica; and Baudrun on the word Brittany.

14 Greg. Tur. de Mart. l. iv. 15 Idem. l. iv. c. 4. 16 Eginard in Annal. Aimoin, l. iv. Procop. l. xiv. de Bello Gothic.

A. D.

A. D. 502.] The king of Burgundy had had ſufficient time to make the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence. His firſt care was to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects, by an uniform diſplay of mildneſs and moderation. With this view, too, he publiſhed the famous ordinance, called, after him, the *Gombetian Law*; the chief purport of which was to enſure the felicity of his people: it particularly forbids to moleſt or maltreat ſuch of the Gauls as may be ſettled in any part of Burgundy [17]. The forty-fifth article allows the liberty of an appeal to ſingle combat, to thoſe who may be indiſpoſed to abide by an oath. After theſe preparations, Gondebald advanced againſt the French, [A. D. 503.] whoſe junction with the Viſigoths, he was anxious to prevent. But his ſucceſs was not anſwerable to his efforts; his army being cut in pieces, and his kingdom reduced. It was, however, reſtored to him; but for what reaſon is not known. Some authors have aſſerted, that the Burgundian prince became tributary to Clovis; that he even attached himſelf to his perſon, and accepted an office in his houſhold. This opinion is founded on a paſſage in biſhop Avitus, where it is ſaid that Gondebald was either a ſoldier, or knight, in the ſervice of the French king [18].

A. D. 507.] The conqueſt of Brittany was ſoon followed by that of the kingdom of the Viſigoths. Before the French ſet out on this expedition they made a vow not to ſhave themſelves till they had ſubdued their enemies [19]. Vows of this kind were very common among the ancient Franks [20]. Every account, and every occurrence, prior to the victory of Clovis over Alaric, are interſperſed with marvellous legends, and wonderful incidents. It was the cuſtom of thoſe times to draw an omen from the verſe that was chaunting when a perſon entered the church. The king's envoys, at their entrance into the church of Saint Martin, heard theſe words from the Pſalms—"Thou haſt endued me "with ſtrength for the wars; thou haſt ſupplanted thoſe that had riſen up againſt me; "thou haſt put my enemies to flight, and haſt exterminated thoſe that hated me." This fortunate prognoſtic was confirmed on the banks of the Vienne. The army was at a loſs where to paſs that river, when a hind plunged into the ſtream in ſight of the whole camp, and ſhewed them a ford, which ſtill retains the name of *the paſſage of the hind*. A third prodigy, ſtill more wonderful, diſpelled every doubt, and aſſured them that their expedition could not fail to prove ſucceſsful. A fire was ſeen in the air, which appeared to ariſe from above the church of Saint Hilary; and, after hovering over the camp, it ſettled on Clovis's tent, and there evaporated. In a more enlightened age it would have been conſidered as a mere Aurora Borealis; but at that time it was regarded as a prodigy portending the moſt ſplendid triumphs.

17 Lex. Burg. Tit. 45. 18 In Epiſt. ad Clodovic. 19 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 37. 20 Roric. l. iv. Geſt. Franc. c. 17. Aimoin, l. 1,

The two armies met in the plains of Vouillé, near Poitiers[21]. Soon after the battle began, the monarchs of either nation, perceiving each other, ruſhed forward at the ſame inſtant, and engaged in ſingle combat; when the ſuperior ſtrength or ſkill of Clovis decided the victory in his favour: he diſmounted his adverſary, and ſlew him on the ſpot. Nothing now remained, to impede the progreſs of the conqueror; who extended his empire from the banks of the Loire to the Pyrenean mountains.

A. D. 508.] It was on his return from this expedition that he received, at the city of Tours, the ambaſſadors of Anaſtaſius, emperor of the eaſt, who ſent him the title and inſignia of a patrician and conſul, and conferred on him the dignified appellation of Auguſt[22]. Clovis gave a great feaſt on this occaſion; at which he appeared on horſeback, with the crown on his head, and arrayed in imperial purple; he threw a quantity of money among the people, and from that time aſſumed the title of Auguſt, an appellation ever dear and venerable to the Gauls, from their long connection with the Romans. The new patrician, after diſmiſſing the ambaſſadors, returned to Paris, which he made the capital of his empire; and fixed his reſidence in a palace, in the ſouthern part of the city, which had formerly been inhabited by the emperors Julian and Valentinian the Firſt. Succeſs had hitherto attended all the plans of Clovis; and, allowing for the ferocious and martial ſpirit which then prevailed, he had preſerved his fame from any material pollution; but his good fortune and his heroiſm appear to have forſaken him at the ſame time.

A. D. 509, 510.] The defeat of his troops at Arles, though followed by an advantageous peace, irritated his temper; and the latter part of his life was marked by ſanguinary deeds, that merit the ſevereſt reprobation[23]. The cruelties he exerciſed againſt the princes of his family, whoſe territories he invaded, cannot fail to excite horror. The death of Sigebert, king of Cologne, and his ſon Clodoric, who loſt their lives through his intrigues; the fate of Cararic, king of the Morini[24], and his ſon, whom he firſt ordered to be ſhaved[25], and then maſſacred; that of Ragnacharius, king of Cambray, and his brother Richarius, whom he killed with his own hand; and the

21 Procop. de Bell. Got. Iſidor. Hiſtor. Got. 22 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 38. Geſt. Franc. c. 17. 23 Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 40, 41, 42. Frederig. Epit. c. 26, 27.

24 The dominions of theſe people, it is ſuppoſed, extended over that country in which are now included Boulogne, St. Omer, and a great part of Artois.

25 This is the firſt inſtance that occurs in the French hiſtory of ſhaving, or cutting off the hair of a prince; which was conſidered as a proof that he reſigned the ſceptre. Too many examples of this barbarous cuſtom will be ſeen in the ſequel.

aſſaſſination

aſſaſſination of Regnomer, king of Mons, and his brother, are acts of barbarity and injuſtice, that muſt fix an indelible ſtigma on his name[26].

It was, probably, with the view to wipe out the infamy incurred by the commiſſion of ſo many crimes, that he founded a great number of churches and monaſteries; a cuſtom which was but too prevalent in thoſe ages of ignorance, when all Chriſtian juſtice was ſuppoſed to conſiſt in the erection of temples, and the maintenance of a certain number of monks, for the purpoſe of prayer and meditation. It was probably from ſimilar motives, that he convened a council of thirty-three biſhops, in the town of Orleans[27], [A. D. 511.] We learn from hiſtory that it was not only aſſembled by his orders, but that he fixed on the topics of diſcuſſion; and the prelates wrote to him to requeſt his approbation of their deciſions. The moſt remarkable articles that were paſſed related to the right of aſylum, or ſanctuary, claimed for the churches, and the condeſcenſion to be ſhewn to heretical clerks, whoſe converſion ſhould appear to be ſincere. The council ordained that no one ſhould be admitted to holy orders without the permiſſion of the king, or of the judge, and that no ſlave ſhould be allowed that privilege without the expreſs conſent of his lord.

The celebrated author of the chronological abridgment of the hiſtory of France[28], pretends, that the true principles of the *regale*[29] is to be found in the acts of this council, the firſt that was holden in Gaul, when under the dominion of the French; but theſe acts are now before us, and we fear not to maintain, as Paſquier has already[30], that nothing can be diſcovered in them which relates to that important prerogative of the crown: if, therefore, it be true that this privilege is coeval with the monarchy, its origin muſt be looked for in the nature of the feudal law. The French monarchs have, in all ages, granted lands on the condition of military ſervice, or ſome other mark of feudal ſubjection. It is evident from the teſtimony of the author of the Actions of the Kings of France[31]; of Rorico, the monk[32]; of archbiſhop Hincmar, in his Life of Remigius, or Saint Remy[33], which was taken from contemporary writers; and of Aimoin, in his Hiſtory of France[34], from the origin of the monarchy; that Clovis inveſted Aurelian with the lordſhip of Melun, to be holden of him in faith and homage.

26 This multitude of petty kingdoms which ſubſiſted in Gaul, at the ſame time as that of Clovis, form, ſays an illuſtrious academician, one of the greateſt difficulties in the ancient hiſtory of France. Chantereau le Fevre, in a manuſcript work, preſerved in the king's library at Paris, imputes it to the diſorders which prevailed after the expulſion of Childeric, when ſuch as were ſufficiently powerful took advantage of the anarchy in which the nation was involved, to eſtabliſh an independent authority. It is poſſible they were founded by Clenus, brother to Clodian, M. de Fonc. Mémoire de l'Academie des Belles Lettres, tom. viii. p. 470, 471.

27 Epiſt. Synod. Aur. prim. ad. Reg. Clodov. 28 The Preſident Hainault.

29 The regale, is that law which gave to the king the right of nomination to vacant biſhopricks, and of enjoying their revenues.

30 Recher. de la France, l. iii. c. 35. p. 295. 31 Geſt. Reg. Fr. c. xiii. p. 700. apud Duch. tom. i. 32 Roric. Mon. p. 806. 33 Vita MS. S. Rem. p. 525. 34 Aim. l. i. c. 1.

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The names of these gifts to the sovereign have varied with the times: during the reigns of the Merovingian monarchs, they were called *benefices*; during those of the Carlovingian kings, they were called *fiefs*[35]; both terms, however, conveyed an idea of vassalage, and implied an obligation of fidelity to the prince. These benefactions, then, never granted but for life, reverted to the crown on the death of the possessors, when their revenues returned to the monarch, who enjoyed them till such time as he granted a new investiture. This law admitted of no exception; it extended generally to all fiefs, as well ecclesiastical as lay. It may, therefore, be justly regarded as the foundation and basis of the *regale*, which, in course of time, was extended to all episcopal possessions.

What appears merely probable at first sight, is converted into a certainty, by an attentive examination of certain anecdotes of the monarchy[36]. From the will of Philip the August, and from various ordinances of the monarch who succeeded him[37], it is evident that there were churches exempted from the *regale*. What could be the reason of this exception? It is certainly not to be found in the acts of the council of Orleans, which, according to the author of the Chronological Abridgment, subjects all bishopricks, generally, to this right of the crown; nor in the protectorship which the French monarchs exercised over all churches indiscriminately; nor yet in the prerogative of founders and patrons, which is common to all sovereigns, though all sovereigns do not enjoy the right of the *regale*. It must then be sought for in the nature of the possessions which constituted the revenues of those churches. They were not subject to the *regale*, because they held no fief of the king. Thus we see the ecclesiastical fiefs, in some of the ancient French authors, styled *regales*. They tell us that the bishops of Orleans, and Auxerre, having refused to produce the men they were bound to furnish, Philip the August seized their *regales*, that is (according to the explanation of Rigord,) all the possessions which they held of his majesty in faith and homage.

Whatever may have been the origin of this prerogative, we are assured by Gregory of Tours, that the first race of kings enjoyed it, notwithstanding the opposition of many of the bishops. Popes, Innocent the Third, Clement the Fourth, and Gregory the Tenth, acknowledged its validity by their bulls. The council of Lyons authorized it in those churches, where it was established at their foundation, or by ancient custom; but it prohibited the introduction of it in such as were not before subject to it.

The parliament of Paris, the sole judge of these matters, always maintained, that, the *regale* being a right of the crown, ought to extend to every bishoprick in the

35 Du Cange, on the word feudum. 36 Ordon. de Phil. le Bel, 1302. 37 Ord. de Phil. de Valois, 1434.

kingdom.

kingdom. In 1673, Lewis the Fourteenth iſſued an edict, whereby the *regale* was declared to be unalienable[38], and univerſal throughout his dominions. This edict was confirmed by the parliament, and ſubſcribed by all the clergy, at a general aſſembly, except the biſhops of Aleth and Pamiers, whoſe refuſal was puniſhed by the ſeizure of their revenues. Pope Innocent publiſhed ſome bulls of excommunication in their favour; but the matter was accommodated under the pontificate of Innocent the Twelfth, and the univerſality of the *regale* ſolemnly acknowledged.

The aſſembling of the council of Orleans, was the laſt remarkable event of the reign of Clovis, who died the ſame year, at the age of forty-five, and was buried in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which he had cauſed to be built[39]. It has been a ſubject of diſpute with hiſtorians, whether the military or the political talents of this prince were the moſt eminent. Gaul, ſubdued by his arms, and preſerved by his prudence, affords a proof that he was equally ſkilful in the cabinet, and formidable in the field. Such a tribute of admiration, as a continued ſeries of victories may command, is certainly due to his conduct, at the commencement of his reign: but it is not ſucceſs alone that can enſure the commendation of an hiſtorian; it is his duty to weigh, with candour and impartiality, the motives that influence a monarch when he engages in a war that terminates in conqueſt; and ſuch an inveſtigation induces us to condemn what has hitherto been conſidered as a theme of applauſe, in the life of Clovis, who was certainly actuated by ambition, and a culpable deſire of extending his dominions, in moſt of his conteſts with the neighbouring monarchs; and, when thus urged, he alike deſpiſed the principles of juſtice, and the dictates of humanity. If then we are compelled, from theſe conſiderations, to withhold that praiſe which has been too profuſely beſtowed on the former part of his reign, what terms of cenſure, ſufficiently ſtrong, can we employ, to mark our deteſtation of its concluſion, which exhibits a diſguſting ſcene of violence and cruelty? His injuſtice and barbarity are, unfortunately, but too conſpicuous; and his conduct, in particular to the princes his kinſmen, ſinks the hero in the uſurper.

38 Charles the Seventh, and moſt of his ſucceſſors, had granted the revenues ariſing from the regale to the holy chapel, at Paris; but Lewis the Thirteenth took them again, and gave, in exchange, the abbey of St. Nicaiſe, at Rheims.

39 Greg. Tur. de glor. confeſs. c. 71.

CHILDEBERT

CHILDEBERT THE FIRST[1].

CLOVIS left four ſons, who divided the kingdom into four equal parts, and then drew lots for them. Thierri, though ſprung from a concubine, was king of Metz; Clodomir was king of Orleans; Childebert, of Paris; and Clotaire of Soiſſons. The preciſe limits of their reſpective dominions have not been marked by hiſtorians[2]; but from circumſtances it may be collected that the kingdom of Metz comprehended the country of the Albigenſes, Rouergue, Auvergne, all the frontiers of Provence and Languedoc, Champagne, the three biſhopricks, Luxembourg, Alſace, the electorates of Trèves, Mayence, and Cologne, and the whole of ancient France, as far as Weſtphalia; that of Paris extended along the ſea-coaſt from Picardy to the Pyrenean Mountains. Beauce, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, formed that of Orleans. The kingdom of Soiſſons was leſs extenſive; it was ſituated between Champagne, the Iſle of France, Normandy, the ocean, and the Scheld. But, though theſe four ſtates were governed by different princes, independent on each other[3], they were all ſubject to the ſame laws, and formed but one monarchical body. The nobles of the four kingdoms aſſembled together, from time to time, in the ſame place, where they ſettled the general affairs of the nation, and decided ſuch law-ſuits as concerned the empire, either by the importance of the object of diſpute, or by the quality of the parties.

1 Childebert was but the third ſon of Clovis: but as Paris is become the capital of the French empire, it has been uſual only to rank ſuch as have reigned in that city among the kings of France; and to this cuſtom we ſhall conform throughout the preſent work.

2 Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 2. Frederig. c. 30. Geſt. Franc. c. 10.

3 This diviſion of the kingdom of Clovis, gave riſe to a new diviſion of the kingdom of France. They gave the name of Auſtraſia to that part of it which is ſituated towards the eaſt, between the Rhine, the Maeſe, and the Moſelle. And the part which lies to the weſt, between the Maeſe and the Loire, and extends to the ocean, was called Neuſtria.

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A. D. 519.] The firſt years of the reign of theſe princes were neither diſturbed by foreign war or domeſtic commotion. France enjoyed the moſt profound peace[4], when Cochiliac, who pretended to be deſcended from Clodion, made incurſions upon the territories of the king of Auſtraſia. Thierri was obliged to ſend a conſiderable army againſt him, the command of which he gave to his ſon Theodebert. This young hero overtook the Daniſh prince juſt as he was going to embark his forces, which he attacked and overcame, and ſlew their leader with his own hand. It appears from the accounts of thoſe times, that ſo early as this period France had a navy, ſince we are told that the French fleet took that of the Danes, got poſſeſſion of a conſiderable booty, and releaſed all the French priſoners. This expedition was ſucceeded by another into Thuringia, where Balderic was deprived of his dominions and his life. [A. D. 520.] The king of Auſtraſia was to have divided this conqueſt with Hermenfroy, the brother of the deceaſed monarch, at whoſe inſtigation he had taken up arms.—Such were the terms of the treaty. But the Thuringian, equally perfidious to his allies as barbarous to his brother, violated his engagement. Thierri diſguiſed his reſentment, and deferred his vengeance to a future opportunity.

A. D. 523.] The three ſons of Clotildis declared war againſt Sigiſmond, king of Burgundy, who unjuſtly detained the poſſeſſions of their mother, and after they had overcome him in a pitched battle, they ſeized his dominions[5]. Sigiſmond, his wife and children, were delivered to Clodomir, who, notwithſtanding the threats and ſolicitations of the abbot Avitus, cauſed them to be maſſacred and thrown into a well—a puniſhment that was but too frequent in thoſe barbarous times[6].

Gondemar, brother to the murdered monarch, re-entered Burgundy, and retook the kingdom; when the king of Orleans, aſſiſted by Thierri, advanced againſt him, and defeated his army at Veſeronce, in the neighbourhood of Vienne. But his extreme eagerneſs in purſuing the enemy carrying him too far into the country, he was ſurprized by a party of Burgundians, who attacked and ſlew him. The courage of the French, far from being damped by the death of Clodimir, was now converted into fury; they deſtroyed all before them, ſparing neither age nor ſex, and did not leave Burgundy till they had laid the whole country waſte.

Thus periſhed the youthful Clodomir, in the midſt of victory. Some years after, his three brothers, and Theodebert, his nephew, revenged his death by the conqueſt of Burgundy, which they divided between them[7]. This monarchy had been founded one

4 Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 7.—Geſt. Franc. c. 19. Fredeg. 31. 5 Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 6. Geſt. Franc. c. 20.

6 There are two villages of the ancient kingdom of Clodomir, where ſome traces of this action are ſtill preſerved—Saint Sigiſmond and Columelle—This laſt word is ſuppoſed to be a corruption of Calumnia.

7 Procop. de Bel. Goth. l. ii. c. 13.

hundred and twenty years at the period of its reunion to the kingdom of France[8]. The king of Orleans left three ſons, Theodebert, Gontaire and Clodoalde[9]. Brought up under the care and inſpection of their virtuous grandmother, they would doubtleſs have enjoyed that felicity, every eſſential requiſite for which they poſſeſſed, but for the cruelty and ambition of their uncles. Theſe princes having, by artifice, got their nephews into their power, immediately threw off the maſk of affection which they had hitherto worn, and ſent a ſword and a pair of ſciſſars to Clotildis, the guardian of their youth. That princeſs, in a tranſport of grief, inconſiderately exclaimed, that ſhe would rather ſee them committed to the earth, than ſhut up in a convent. Her words were but too faithfully reported to Clotaire, who ſeizing the eldeſt, then only in his eleventh year, daſhed him on the ground, and plunged a poniard into his breaſt; the youngeſt, affrighted, threw himſelf at the feet of Childebert, and embracing his knees, begged hard for his life. The monarch was deeply affected, and could not reſtrain his tears; but Clotaire, reproaching him with his weakneſs, tore the child from his arms, and murdered him on the body of his brother. The third had the good fortune to eſcape the fury of this barbarian. He ſubmitted to have his hair cut off, and having devoted his life to the ſervice of God, is, at preſent, invoked under the name of Saint Cloud. Though theſe events did not take place till ſome years after the death of Clodomir, we thought it neceſſary to relate them together, in order to prevent a future interruption in the thread of our hiſtory.

A. D. 531.] The king of Auſtraſia had not forgotten the perfidy of Hermenfroy. Aſſiſted by his brother Clotaire, he entered Thuringia, carried the capital by aſſault, and reduced the whole kingdom to ſubjection[10]. Almoſt every event of theſe barbarous ages is marked with cruelty[11]. The king of Thuringia, confiding in the promiſe of Thierri, went to meet him at Tolbiac; but as he was walking with him, one day, on the walls of the town, a perſon in the retinue of the French monarch came behind him and threw him over into the ditch, where he expired. Clotaire married the incomparable Radegonda, and ordered her brother to be murdered; but he himſelf had nearly fallen a victim to the jealouſy of Thierri. That prince had deſired to have ſome private converſation with him; when the king of Soiſſons entered his apartment, he perceived the feet of ſome ſoldiers who were concealed behind the tapeſtry; upon which he made a ſign to the noblemen who attended on his perſon to follow him. Though his brother was thus foiled in his attempt, he betrayed no ſigns of confuſion, but loaded him with careſſes, and preſented him with a rich baſon—a preſent that was very common in thoſe times. Gregory of Tours relates, that among the precious articles which Childeric ſent to

8 Both ancient and modern writers fix the foundation of this monarchy at the year 413 or 414, under Gondicarius or Gondiocus. The Abbé du Bos fixes its deſtruction at the year 534, during the reign of Gondomar; after which it was ſometimes divided, between ſeveral of the French kings, and ſometimes poſſeſſed by one; and at length it was divided into two or three parts, each of which was honoured with the title of the kingdom of Burgundy. Velly.—Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18.

9 Geſt. Franc. c. 14. Fred. Epitom. c. 37. 10 Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 8. Geſt. Franc. c. 22. 11 Fredeg. Epit. c. 32.

Tiberius

Tiberius Conſtantine, emperor of the eaſt, there was a gold baſon enriched with ſtones, which weighed fifty pounds.

During theſe tranſactions in Thuringia, the king of Paris revenged the inſults and cruelties committed on his ſiſter by her huſband Amalaric[12]. The effects of this expedition were the deliverance of Clotildis, the death of the king of the Viſigoths, and the capture and pillage of Narbonne, where were found ſeventy-two vaſes of gold, which, it was pretended, had been taken from the temple of Solomon. As Childebert was going on this expedition[13], a falſe report was ſpread that the king of Auſtraſia was killed, which induced him to take a different road, and direct his march to Auvergne, whoſe inhabitants joyfully acknowledged him for their ſovereign. They had ſoon reaſon, however, to repent their imprudence, for the victorious Thierri entered their country with his troops, took poſſeſſion of Clermont, ſtormed the caſtle of Volorre, burnt that of Tiern, reduced the fort of Oliergue, which was deemed impregnable, cauſed Munderic[14], the chief ſupporter of the rebel party, to be aſſaſſinated, and left, in every quarter, marks of the moſt implacable vengeance.

This deſtructive expedition, and the reconciliation of Thierri with his brothers, are the laſt memorable actions of his reign. He died in the year 534.—There was nothing of mediocrity in the character of Thierri. As a king, prompt and deciſive in all his undertakings; as a man, licentious and unreſtrained in the gratification of his paſſions—never did a monarch exerciſe authority more abſolute, never did a politician pay leſs reſpect to the laws of honour and the rights of humanity. We learn, from the hiſtory of this reign[15], that formerly the kings of France nominated to vacant biſhopricks, without waiting for the ſuffrage of the people and the clergy. The church of Auvergne having choſen a ſucceſſor to biſhop Euphraſius, Thierri not approving their choice, conferred the biſhoprick on Apollinaris, who was accordingly received and conſecrated. This prelate too dying ſome months after his promotion, the king appointed Quintin, whom the Arians had expelled from his ſee, to ſucceed him; and the neighbouring biſhops aſſembling, inſtalled him in the church at Clermont, and preſented him to the people, who acknowledged him for their lawful paſtor. The popes had not yet arrogated to themſelves the right of confirmation. The only homage paid by the prelates to the ſovereign pontiffs, conſiſted in ſending them a confeſſion of faith, and in aſking their communion.

12 Procop. l. i. de Bell. Got. l. xii. c. 2. Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 10. 13 Idem, ibid. c. 13, 14. Fredeg. Epit. c. 37. Aimoin, Hiſt. l. x.

14 Munderic, who pretended to have an equal right to the kingdom with Thierri, and to be a king like him, might probably, according to the conjecture of a learned academician, be a natural ſon of Clovis, although that prince, for reaſons unnoticed in hiſtory, had not acknowledged him as ſuch.—M. de Fonc. Mémoire de L'Academie des Belles Lettres, tome viii. p. 473.

15 Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 17.

A. D. 534.] Theodebert, the ſon and ſole heir of the king of Auſtraſia, was in Auvergne during his father's illneſs; a ſlave to the charms of the beauteous Deuteria, he ſeemed to have forgotten the reſt of the world. Already had Childebert and Clotaire adopted meaſures for diſmembering the ſucceſſion of Thierri, and were preparing to enforce them [16], when the young prince, tearing himſelf from the arms of his miſtreſs, haſtened to Metz, and by ſhewing himſelf to his ſubjects, defeated the perfidious ſchemes of his uncles. But the commencement of a reign, in many reſpects glorious, was diſhonoured by an action of great criminality. The new monarch repudiated his wife, Wiſigarda, in order to eſpouſe Deuteria, who was alſo married. Theſe incidents were very common, in the early times of the monarchy; for, beſides Clotaire's marriage with his brother's widow, that prince had three wives at the ſame time, two of whom were ſiſters, and he made no ſcruple to marry Waldrada, his nephew's ſon's widow [17]. Such examples were followed by private people, who probably carried this licentiouſneſs to a greater height: at leaſt, we are authorized to believe ſo, by one of the canons of the ſecond council of Orleans [18], by which a man is prohibited from marrying his mother-in-law, or father's wife.

A. D. 535.] The French now diſcovered a new theatre for the diſplay of their valour, beyond the Alps.—Theodat having become king of Italy, in right of his wife Amalaſonta, had ſcarcely obtained the crown when he put *her* to death to whom he was indebted for it [19]. Juſtinian undertook to inflict vengeance on the ungrateful aſſaſſin, and with this view applied for aſſiſtance to the French princes, with whom he ſpeedily concluded a treaty. The Oſtrogoths, however, found means to detach them from this new alliance, by ceding to them Provence and a part of the Alps. But this ſecond treaty was no better obſerved than the firſt. The year following, Theodebert appeared in Italy at the head of a powerful army, where he firſt attacked the Oſtrogoths, and next the Romans, and having defeated both their armies, ravaged Liguria, ſacked the city of Genoa, and then returned to France, loaded with plunder; which was the only advantage he derived from this inglorious expedition.

A. D. 540.] After his return to his own dominions, he entered into a league with Childebert againſt the king of Soiſſons. Hiſtorians are ſilent as to the cauſe of this war; they only tell us that Clotaire, unable, from the inferiority of his forces, to encounter his enemies in the open field, intrenched himſelf in the foreſt of Routot, in the pays de Caux, with a reſolution to periſh rather than yield [20]. Already had the two monarchs made every neceſſary preparation for forcing his intrenchments, when a dreadful tempeſt burſt over their camp. The noiſe of the thunder, inceſſant flaſhes of the moſt vivid lightning, and ſhowers of hail, mixed (according to the credulous hiſtorians of thoſe days) with *ſtones*, carried conſternation and diſmay throughout the

16 Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 20. 17 Idem, l. iv. c. 9. 18 Concil. tome iv. 19 Procop. l. i. Hiſt. Got. Jornand. de Reb. Got. 20 Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 28. Geſt. Franc. c. 25.

ranks.

ranks. The confederate princes acknowledged the hand of God, and immediately became reconciled to Clotaire, whoſe camp, we are told, the ſtorm had reſpected. This miracle was aſcribed to the prayers of Saint Clotildis.

This ſame year has been fixed on as the epoch of the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom of Ivetot. It is ſaid [21] that Clotaire ſlew with his own hand, in the church of Soiſſons, a gentleman of the name of Gautier, who was lord of that barony; that when his paſſion was over, he was the firſt to condemn the murder he had committed, and as a kind of reparation for it, erected the lordſhip of Ivetot into a kingdom. But this ſtory appears to be fabulous. The lords of Bellay, who have enjoyed that lordſhip by the marriage of one of their anceſtors with Iſabel Chenu, acknowledge that they have no juſt title to this pretended royalty [22].

After the reconciliation between the kings of Paris and Soiſſons, thoſe monarchs joined their troops, and entering Spain, took Pampeluna, ravaged Biſcay, Arragon, and Catalonia, and laid ſiege to Sarragoſſa, whoſe inhabitants, in order to reſcue themſelves from pillage, gave them the tunic of Saint Vincent the martyr [23]. This precious relic was depoſited in the church which Childebert had built in the ſuburbs of Paris, and to which he had given the name of Saint Croix and Saint Vincent. It is now called St. Germain des Prés. Such is the account given by the French authors of this event [24]. The Spaniards, on the contrary, affirm that the two kings were totally defeated before the town; that the conquerors having immediately ſeized the paſſes of the Pyrenees, they muſt have been taken, if the general of the Viſigoths had not been bribed to grant them a paſſage; and that their army was entirely cut in pieces.

Italy ſtill continued to be a prey to the deſtructive flames of war. Juſtinian, convinced that he ſhould fail in his endeavours, if he had the French princes for his enemies, ſent them a celebrated embaſſy, with a formal ceſſion of all his rights and pretenſions to Provence [25]. He granted them the privilege of preſiding, like the Emperors, over the games which were celebrated in the amphitheatre at Arles; and he iſſued an edict, ordaining that all gold coin, coined by them, and bearing their image, ſhould be current throughout the whole extent of the empire. This was a prerogative, that had conſtantly been refuſed even to the great king of Perſia. But all theſe advances proved fruitleſs: Theodebert entered into a treaty with Totila, to whom he had recently refuſed to give his daughter in marriage, becauſe he would not ſuffer her to be the wife of any one of inferior rank to that of a monarch. The motive of this confederacy was the aſſumption, by Juſtinian, of the pompous title of *Franciſcus*, which was groſsly inconſiſtent, after the numerous victories obtained by the French over the Roman troops [26].

21 Robert Gaguin, Hiſt. l. ii. in vit. Clot. 22 Paſquier Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 7. 23 Geſt. Franc. c. 26. 24 Iſidor. Hiſp. Hiſt. Got. 25 Procop. l. iii. de Bel. Got. 26 Agat. l. i.

The

The king of Auſtraſia undertook either to make him loſe or merit that title. He began by cauſing medals to be made, on which he was repreſented not only with all the marks of the imperial dignity, but with the appellation of "Lord," and "Auguſt," which were peculiar to the emperors. He next thought of engaging in his quarrel the Gepidi, the Lombards, and all thoſe nations which ſwelled the liſt of Juſtinian's conqueſts. He intended to carry the war even into Thrace and Illyria; but theſe grand projects were put an end to by a fatal accident, which deprived him of life.

A. D. 548.] This prince, the moſt accompliſhed of all the deſcendants of Clovis, was taken off either by the fall of a tree, which wounded him mortally; or by a tedious diſorder which baffled the utmoſt ſkill of his phyſicians[27]; for hiſtorians are not agreed on this point.

Bold, hardy, and intrepid, he had ſcarcely arrived at maturity, when he acquired, by a ſignal victory over the Danes, the epithet *Uſeful*, which was ever after annexed to his name. Beneficent, humane, and alive to the miſeries of his people, he had nothing of that ferocity in his diſpoſition, which diſhonours the memory of his grandfather, his father, and his uncles. Adored by his ſubjects, courted by his neighbours, and feared by his enemies, never did a monarch more ably maintain the dignity of his crown. Marius, biſhop of Lauſanne, always diſtinguiſhed him by the appellation of the Great King of the French. [28] The memorable reply which he made to biſhop Didier, is particularly worthy of notice. That prelate having brought him a conſiderable ſum which had been lent from the royal treaſury to the inhabitants of Verdun, he refuſed to take it:—"We are both of us but too happy," ſaid he; "you, in having "procured me an opportunity of doing good; and I, in not having ſuffered it to eſcape." He left but one ſon, whom he had by Deuteria; he was named Théodobald or Thibaut, and ſucceeded to the crown, without any oppoſition from his uncles, which ſufficiently proves that baſtards were not then excluded the ſucceſſion.

The death of the king of Auſtraſia, was ſoon followed by that of the virtuous Clotildis; who was a model of patience, piety, and zeal: her body was conveyed to Paris, where it was interred by the ſide of Clovis, in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, now Saint Genevieve. She was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 549.] Théodobald had ſcarcely aſcended the throne when Juſtinian ſent ambaſſadors to aſk his alliance, and the reſtitution of thoſe places which his father had taken in Liguria, and the Venetian territories. The young monarch, in return, diſpatched four French noblemen to the court of Conſtantinople, who brought this negociation to a happy concluſion. Peace was proclaimed between France and the

27 Agath. l. i. 28 Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 36.

Empire,

Empire, and the French remained in poſſeſſion of their Italian conqueſts[29]. The Pope was treated with greater reſpect; the Emperor left the affair of *the three chapters* to the deciſion of a general council—this appellation was beſtowed on the famous queſtion which was agitated in the ſixth century, relative to the condemnation of certain writings of Theodoret, biſhop of Cyr; a letter of Ibas, biſhop of Edeſſa; and the perſon and works of Theodorus, of Mopſueſtia. Theſe writings are repreſented by ancient authors as juſt objects of ſuſpicion; the two firſt, becauſe they were compoſed in favour of Neſtorius, againſt Cyrillus, of Alexandria; and the laſt, becauſe they were regarded as the ſources whence all the errors of the biſhop of Byzantium were derived. But Theodoret and Ibas had both been acknowledged as orthodox writers by the council of Chalcedon, and Theodorus had been received into the boſom of the church, previous to his death.—Theſe conſiderations occaſioned no ſmall embarraſſment.—Nevertheleſs, *the three chapters* were condemned in the fifth general council of Conſtantinople. Pope Vigilius refuſed to ratify this condemnation; but it was ſolemnly confirmed by his ſucceſſor, Pelagius. Childebert conſidering this ſtep as an infringement on the authority of the council of Chalcedon, complained of it to the Pope, whom he obliged to ſend him his confeſſion of faith. This letter was ſufficient to prevent the ſchiſm which was on the point of breaking forth in France, though it was inadequate to remove the prejudices of the nation, with regard to the prevarication of which it accuſed the ſovereign pontiff.

A. D. 554.] The peace with the Empire was of ſhort duration. The king of Auſtraſia, in violation of the late treaty, permitted Leutharis and Bucelinus to lead ſeventy-five thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the Oſtrogoths. Theſe generals made themſelves maſters of Parma, defeated a detachment of the Imperial army, under the command of Fulcaris, ſpread devaſtation around them wherever they went, and advanced as far as Samnium, where they divided their army into two bodies[30]. One of theſe, under Leutharis, after ravaging Calabria and the neighbouring countries, periſhed by the plague, under the walls of Padua. The other, commanded by Bucelinus, laid waſte Lucania, and the country of the Brutii, and was then cut to pieces, not far from Capua. The ſlaughter, we are told, in this battle was ſo dreadful, that but five ſoldiers eſcaped out of an army of thirty thouſand men; the reſt were all ſlain, or taken priſoners. By this defeat the French loſt all the places they poſſeſſed in Liguria, and the Venetian territories; the paſſage of the Alps was the only one of their conqueſts they were able to preſerve.

A. D. 555.] This calamitous intelligence had ſcarcely reached France, when Théodobald, whoſe mind was more vigorous than his body, departed this life, in the ſeventh year of his reign. He left no children; and, though he had two ſiſters,

29 Procop. l. iv. de Bell Got. c. 24, 26. 30 Procop. l. iv. Agath. l. ii.

Wiſigarda

Wiſigarda and Raguitruda, the law of the realm, ſays Agathias[31], called Childebert and Clotaire to ſucceed him, as his neareſt relations. This is the firſt hiſtorical monument of that fundamental law which excludes females from the throne. The king of Paris, attacked by a violent diſorder, was in no condition to enforce his right; and Clotaire, taking advantage of this circumſtance, gained over the nobles of Auſtraſia, and compelled his brother to make a formal ſurrender of all his pretenſions. Childebert, by way of revenge for this treacherous conduct, ſowed confuſion and diſcord in the family of the king of Soiſſons. When that monarch returned from an expedition againſt the Saxons, he found that Chramne, the moſt beloved of all his children, had revolted againſt him[32]. He took proper meaſures for reducing him to ſubmiſſion; and was on the point of enforcing them, when he was obliged once more to direct his arms againſt the Saxons; he, therefore, ſent his two other ſons, Caribert and Gontran, to attack the rebels. Theſe kings (all the children of France were then honoured with that title[33]) entered Auvergne, compelled the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Clermont, and advanced, to give them battle, as far as the Limouſin. But a falſe report, purporting that their father was killed, made them ſuddenly return towards Burgundy.

A. D. 558.] The return of Clotaire, and the death of his brother, put an end to theſe civil commotions. Chramne, deprived of his uncles ſupport, implored the king's mercy, and was pardoned. Childebert died in the forty-ſeventh year of his reign; and his loſs was ſeverely felt by every claſs of people[34]. The nobility loſt a chief, the affability of whoſe manners, and the plenitude of whoſe goodneſs, captivated every heart; the people had to regret an equitable ſovereign, who governed them with wiſdom and moderation; and religion loſt a protector of unbounded zeal. A number of monaſteries and hoſpitals, built and founded with a magnificence truly royal[35]; a charter publiſhed by his authority for the abolition of idols, and images conſecrated to the devil, throughout his dominions; and four councils, aſſembled during his reign, and by his orders, one at Orleans, one at Arles, and two at Paris, are exhibited by hiſtorians as ſo many illuſtrious monuments of the piety of this monarch. He is reproached, however, and juſtly, with the death of his nephews; but if he had ambition enough to project the crime, he, at leaſt, had not ſufficient cruelty to put it in execution. He was buried in the church of Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Prés; where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

The foundation of the church of Paris is aſcribed to him[36]; but that is a miſtake. It is true, indeed, that he embelliſhed it with glaſs windows, ornaments till then unknown in the churches of that capital; but he certainly did not build it. He left two daughters, Crotberga and Chlodoſinda, who were of courſe excluded from the throne.

31 C. 2. 32 Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 10, 14. Geſt. Franc. c. 27. 33 Marculp. l. i. Formul. 39. 34 Fred. Epit. c. 53. 35 Tom. i. Capit. Baluzii, p. 6. 36 Fortunat. l. ii. Carm. 11.

CLOTAIRE,

CLOTAIRE, SOLE KING.

A. D. 560, 561, 562.] THE king of Soiſſons, now become ſole monarch of all France, experienced the inſufficiency of power, however extenſive; of dignity, however illuſtrious; to ſecure the mind from mortification and chagrin. This unhappy father was again obliged to take up arms againſt that ſon on whom he had, in a peculiar degree, beſtowed his affections[1]. The Britons were defeated, their chief ſlain, and the wretched Chramne taken priſoner, and ſacrificed to the reſentment of an offended parent. This puniſhment was extended to his whole family; they were all ſtrangled, and then burnt.

After this fatal victory, followed by ſuch an act of inhumanity, Clotaire paſſed the remainder of his life in the deepeſt melancholy. He died at Compeigne, in the fifty-firſt year of his reign[2]; a reign that was marked by a ſeries of actions, from the contemplation of which humanity ſhrinks with diſguſt: by adultery, inceſt, cruelty, aſſaſſination, and every ſpecies of barbarous violence. It has been remarked, that his death happened exactly a year after his ſon's execution, on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour. He was interred in the church of St. Medard, at Soiſſons, which he had begun, and which his ſon Sigebert completed. He left four ſons, who ſucceeded to his dominions: Caribert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. He had ſix wives: Ingonda and Aregonda, who were ſiſters; Chonſena, Radegonda, Gondiuca, his ſiſter-in-law; and Waldrada, his nephew's ſon's widow.

1 Geſt. Franc. c. 28. Fredeg. Epit. c. 54. 2 Marius in Chron.

CARIBERT.

A. D. 562.] FRANCE was again divided into four kingdoms, whoſe limits were different to thoſe of its former diviſions. Touraine, Albigeois, and Marſeilles, were added to the kingdom of Paris. To that of Orleans were annexed Burgundy, whoſe name it took, the Sénonois, and a part of Champagne. Chalons upon Saone became the royal reſidence[1]. Soiſſons was enlarged by the acquiſition of the Tourneſis, though ſome writers have ſuppoſed that it before formed a part of that kingdom. And Auſtraſia, by giving up a few provinces in Gaul, conſiderably encreaſed its limits in Germany, by the annexation of all Thuringia. But before the diviſion was completed, a quarrel aroſe among the children of Clotaire. Chilperic inſiſted on having the capital of the empire; and, profiting by the abſence of his brothers, he took poſſeſſion of Braine, a country ſeat where his father kept all his treaſures; which he ſeized and diſtributed among the leading men of the nation: then, placing himſelf at their head, he repaired to Paris, where he compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their ſovereign. The other princes, enraged at this proceeding, raiſed troops, beſieged him in his new capital, obliged him to deſcend from the throne he had uſurped, and forced him to abide by the uſual mode of deciſion, by drawing lots; which proved unfavourable to him. Caribert was accordingly proclaimed king of Paris; Gontran, of Burgundy; Sigebert, of Auſtraſia; and Chilperic, of Soiſſons.

A. D. 563.] This conteſt for the ſucceſſion was no ſooner terminated, than the king of Auſtraſia received intelligence that the Huns, an ancient people of European Sarmatia, and then maſters of Pannonia, which from them took the name of Hungary,

[1] Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 28. Geſt. Franc. c. 29. Fred. Epit. c. 54.

had

had made incurſions into that part of his dominions which was ſituated beyond the Rhine. He immediately haſtened to give them battle, and came up with them in Thuringia, where they had excited the people to revolt[2]. A celebrated poet of thoſe days remarks, that this young prince placed himſelf foremoſt in the ranks; and with his battle-axe charged the enemy with an heroic intrepidity, overthrew all that came in his way, and obtained a complete victory. But he was induced to conclude a peace with them, on account of the news he received, that Chilperic, having got poſſeſſion of Rheims, had ravaged all the province of Champagne. He, therefore, paſſed the Rhine with great expedition; laid ſiege to Soiſſons, which he took; made his nephew, Theodobert, priſoner, then overcame his brother in a pitched battle; and, afterwards, through the mediation of Caribert and Gontran, reſtored him his dominions, and his ſon[3].

The victorious Sigebert now thought of forming a matrimonial connection, ſuitable to his birth and dignity; with this view he fixed his eyes on Brunehaut, daughter of Athanagildus, king of the Viſigoths, who paſſed for the moſt accompliſhed princeſs of the age. The ambaſſador whom he ſent to aſk her hand, was Gogo, Mayor of the Palace[4]. This is the firſt time that this dignity, which afterwards proved ſo fatal to the ſovereign authority, is mentioned in hiſtory. The mayor was formerly what the grand-maſter of the king's houſhold is now; his power was confined to the palace, and the domeſtics attached to it. In the ſequel, he became miniſter, commander of the armies, chief, prince; in ſhort, king of the nation. The reign of Sigebert the Second was the epoch of the elevation of this officer, and of the humiliation of majeſty. The propoſals of the French ambaſſador experienced a favourable reception; the new queen accordingly arrived at Metz, amidſt the acclamations of the people; and the marriage was celebrated with all poſſible magnificence. Some time after ſhe abjured Arianiſm; and her public reconciliation to the church crowned the happineſs of the king and his ſubjects.

A. D. 566.] The king of Soiſſons, moved by the example of his brother, and determined to renounce the unſanctified pleaſures of illicit amours, ſent to aſk the hand of Galſwinda, Brunehaut's eldeſt ſiſter. But a juſt knowledge of his diſpoſition excited ſcruples in the mind of her father, which were not eaſily removed. By dint of ſolicitation, however, he at length gave his conſent; but he firſt exacted an oath from the ambaſſadors, that no other woman ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of Queen, during the life of his daughter: this they promiſed, by drawing and ſhaking their ſwords; which was cuſtomary with the ancient Franks whenever they engaged themſelves, by oath, to obſerve any promiſe. The new queen ſet out from Toledo, loaded with riches, and arrived at Rouen in a round car of ſolid ſilver[5]. At that city her

[2] Fortunat. Epiſc. Pictav. l. vi. Carm. 3. [3] Greg. Tur. lb. c. 23. [4] Geſt. Franc. c. 31.
[5] Fortunat. l. vi. Carm. 7.

new ſubjects took the oath of fidelity to her; either becauſe ſuch was the cuſtom of thoſe times, or becauſe Athanagildus had required it in order to procure her greater reſpect from the nation. When the king married her, he ſettled on her le Bordelois, the Limouſin, Quercy, Bearn, and Bigorre. This ſettlement, or gift, was called *the Morning Preſent*, *Morganegiba*, or *Morgangeba*. The dower was fixed before the marriage, and the donation made the day after[6].

But though Chilperic entertained the greateſt reſpect for the virtue of his bride, he ſoon permitted the flames of lawleſs love to rekindle in his boſom. The queen complained of his inconſtancy to an aſſembly of the ſtates; and the nation obliged the king to ſwear that he would, in future, be faithful to his marriage-vows: but a few days after they had exacted this oath from him, Galſwinda was found dead in her bed[7]. Fredegoneda, a woman of great beauty, but who was ſtill more vicious than handſome, was ſuſpected of her death; and when ſhe was ſeen to occupy the place and the throne of her rival, thoſe ſuſpicions were converted into certainty.

Theſe alliances, ſo degrading to majeſty, were but too common in the family of Clotaire. Caribert repudiated Ingoberga to marry the daughter of an artizan; and ſhe was afterwards obliged to give place to her own ſiſter Marcoveſa, who had taken the veil. And, laſtly, Theudegilda, the daughter of a ſimple ſhepherd, was raiſed to the firſt throne in the empire of France. This conduct induced Germanus, biſhop of Paris, to excommunicate Caribert. The popes had not yet interfered in theſe delicate matters; each prelate had abſolute power in his own dioceſe. If any offence againſt religion was committed, it came under the cognizance of the biſhop of the dioceſe. If any diſpute aroſe, on points of belief or diſcipline, they were determined by a national council, under the authority of the king[8], and if any privileges or diſpenſations were to be determined, this deciſion reſted with the aſſembly of the biſhops of the provinces. It was in one of theſe aſſemblies, and about this time, that the abbey of St. Vincent, now St. Germain des Prés, was exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary.

Caribert reigned ſix years. Gregory of Tours only ſpeaks of his vices. But Fortunatus repreſents him as a prince of great prudence, moderation, and ſuavity of manners[9]. He was an encourager of literature, and ſpoke Latin as well as his native tongue. Zealous in his efforts to enforce a due obſervance of the laws, his time was wholly devoted to the purpoſe of promoting the happineſs and tranquillity of his ſubjects. Ever peaceably diſpoſed, but jealous of his power, he preſerved his authority with equal dignity and

[6] Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 20. Ducange on the word Morganegiba. [7] Fredeg. Epit. c. 6. [8] Paſquier, Recherches de la France, c. 7. p. 183. [9] L. iv. c. 26. l. v. Carm iv.

firmneſs.

firmneſs. Leontius, of Bourdeaux, had aſſembled a council at Xaintes [10], at which Emerius, biſhop of that city, was depoſed; but Caribert, juſtly enraged at this daring encroachment on his prerogative, ſentenced the archbiſhop to pay a fine of a thouſand pieces of gold, and his ſuffragans in proportion to their revenues.

This prince only left three daughters; Birtha, who was married to Ethelbert, king of Kent, and Bertfleda and Chrodielda, who took the veil, the firſt at Tours, the ſecond at Poitiers. His dominions were divided between his brothers; each of whom was anxious to have poſſeſſion of Paris; but, after much altercation, it was determined that that city ſhould be equally ſubject to all three, and that neither of them ſhould be permitted to enter it without the conſent of the other two [11]. They confirmed this agreement by an oath; and in caſe of violation, ſubmitted themſelves to the malediction of God and the ſaints.

[10] Idem. Greg. ibid. [11] Greg. Tur. l. vii. c. 6.

CHILPERIC

CHILPERIC THE FIRST[1].

A. D. 567.] FRANCE did not long enjoy the advantages that were expected to reſult from the late agreement between the three royal brothers. The death of Galſwinda excited a civil war[2] that ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of Chilperic. Sigebert and Gontran, at the preſſing ſolicitation of queen Brunehaut, entered into a league for the purpoſe of inflicting vengeance on the aſſaſſin of her ſiſter. They had even ſeized the greateſt part of his dominions, when tranquillity and concord were ſuddenly reſtored, not from motives of affection, but intereſt. It was ſtipulated by treaty, that the king of Soiſſons ſhould cede to the queen of Auſtraſia thoſe domains which had been given to Galſwinda for her dower; [A. D. 568.] When this diſpute was ſettled, Sigebert found himſelf obliged to take up arms againſt the Huns, now the Hungarians, who had renewed their depredations on the French territories beyond the Rhine. The expedition proved unfortunate. The king, abandoned by his ſoldiers, was ſurrounded by the enemy and taken priſoner. He was a prince of extraordinary prudence, and his perſon was peculiarly calculated to conciliate eſteem; his liberality overcame thoſe whom his arms could not ſubdue: the barbarians, won by his munificence, reſtored him to liberty, entered into an alliance with him, ſwore never to moleſt him more, and loaded him with marks of their friendſhip and kindneſs[3].

A. D. 569.] During theſe tranſactions beyond the Rhine, the Lombards, who had recently founded a new kingdom in Italy, made an irruption into Burgundy, defeated

[1] Although Chilperic had only a part of the kingdom, and of its metropolis, the generality of hiſtorians place him among the kings of Paris, immediately after the death of Caribert.

[2] Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 20. [3] Id. l. iv. c. 29. p. 337.

and

and ſlew the governor, cut the army of Gontran in pieces, and repaſſed the Alps, with an immenſe booty. A thirſt for plunder, joined to the impunity of their firſt attempt, ſoon induced them to make a ſecond incurſion into Dauphiné. Mummol, the greateſt warrior then in France, ſurprized them, in the vicinity of Embrun, and gained a complete victory.

At this engagement an incident occurred which, at that time, was unexampled. Salonus and Sagittarius, both of them biſhops, the firſt of Embrun, the ſecond of Gap, changed their mitres for helmets, and charged the enemy, ſword in hand, with an intrepidity that, in a ſoldier, would have excited the warmeſt commendation, but which was univerſally blamed in a prelate. The irruption of the Lombards was followed by an invaſion of the Saxons, who had aſſiſted them in the conqueſt of Italy. Mummol marched againſt this new enemy, diſperſed their army, took from them all the booty they had collected, and compelled them to return to their own country, which they were obliged to divide with the Suevi, who had taken poſſeſſion of it during their abſence.

A. D. 570.] While Burgundy was thus haraſſed by the incurſion of the barbarians, the king of Auſtraſia, ſeduced by the tempting opportunity, ſeized the city of Arles, to which he had ſome claims; but it was ſpeedily retaken, and the Auſtraſian army defeated. The conquerors then attacked Avignon, which belonged to the dominions of Sigebert, but Gontran reſtored it on the concluſion of a peace[4]. This unexpected accommodation was highly diſagreeable to the king of Soiſſons, who profiting by their diſpute, had made an irruption into the territories of Sigebert. Clovis, the youngeſt of his ſons, had reduced Tours and Poitiers, when Mummol appeared at the head of thoſe troops who had ſo recently ſignalized their courage againſt the Lombards and Saxons. The mere preſence of this general ſufficed to diſperſe the army of Chilperic, and to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and ſubordination. They finiſhed the firſt campaign; the next exhibited one of thoſe examples of an aptitude to violate the moſt ſacred treaties, which were but too common with the children of Clovis.

Theodebert, notwithſtanding his oaths never more to bear arms againſt his uncle, committed depredations in Touraine, then entered Poitou, defeated the army of Sigebert, and, having made himſelf maſter of all the towns near the Loire, advanced into Quercy and the Limouſin, where he laid every thing waſte.

The king of Auſtraſia, alarmed at the rapidity of his progreſs, brought a foreign army into France, compoſed of Germans, Suevi, Bavarians, Thuringians, and

[4] Greg. Tur. l. iv. ib. c. 36.

Saxons.

Saxons[5]. Chilperic, unable to face ſo formidable a force, and abandoned by Gontran, who at firſt had joined him, retreated, and intrenched himſelf in the Chartrain, from whence he ſent propoſals of peace to his brother. Through the mediation of the French nobles, an accommodation was effected, and the three brothers ſwore to maintain a perpetual amity. The German troops, who had fed themſelves with the hope of plundering the camp of Chilperic, finding themſelves diſappointed, began to murmur. But Sigebert, mounting his horſe, rode along the ranks, and ordered the moſt ſeditious to be arreſted, and ſtoned to death in ſight of the whole army. This is the only example to be found in the French hiſtory of this ſpecies of puniſhment, which was common among the ancient Romans.

A. D. 575.] The king of Auſtraſia had no ſooner diſmiſſed his troops, than Chilperic and his ſon Theodebert again took up arms. The former entered Champagne, and laid the whole country waſte with fire and ſword, ſpreading deſtruction around him wherever he went. The latter marched into Aquitain, where he was killed in action[6]. The death of Theodebert, the reconciliation of Gontran with Sigebert, and the approach of the German troops, filled the court of Soiſſons with conſternation and diſmay. Chilperic fled to Tournay, where he ſhut himſelf up with his wife and children. The Auſtraſian prince was every where ſucceſsful; Paris, Rouen, and all the cities and towns belonging to his brother, ſubmitted to his arms, and acknowledged his authority. Inflated by ſucceſs, he became deaf to the ſuggeſtions of pity, and determined to puniſh the treachery of his brother with death. The remonſtrances of Germanus, the prayers of Radagonda, and the wiſhes of the nation, all proved inadequate to ſuperinduce the adoption of more moderate ſentiments. Tournay was already inveſted, when two ruffians, hired for the purpoſe by Fredegonda, aſſaſſinated Sigibert at Vitri, whither he had repaired in order to receive the homage of his new ſubjects.

Thus periſhed, in the midſt of victory, the moſt perfect monarch that had yet appeared on the throne of France. Generous, liberal, and beneficent, no ſovereign ever eſtabliſhed a more extenſive ſway over the *hearts* of his ſubjects. Intrepid in the hour of danger, and unſhaken by adverſity, he had the art, even in captivity, to conciliate the reſpect and affection of a conqueror, who ſcarcely poſſeſſed the appearance of humanity. In manners chaſte, his inclinations conformed to his ſituation; and he was never known, like his brothers, to fix his attachment on objects the meanneſs of whoſe extraction could degrade the dignity of his rank. His reign may be juſtly denominated the reign of decency and honour.

Sigebert died in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. He was buried in the church of Saint Medard at Soiſſons, where his figure may ſtill be ſeen

[5] Greg. Tur. l. iv. [6] Ibid. c. 51. 52. Geſt. Franc. c. 32.

on

on his tomb. He is there repreſented with a long coat, and that ſpecies of cloak which the Romans called *chlamys*. This dreſs was worn by all the children of Clovis, either becauſe they thought it had a more noble and majeſtic appearance, or becauſe they conſidered the title of "Auguſt" as hereditary in their family. Be that as it may, long coats were, during ſeveral centuries, peculiar to perſons of diſtinction; they were generally trimmed with martin, ſable, or ermine. Ruffs and collars were introduced by Henry the Second; till when, moſt of the French monarchs had their necks entirely bare. The ſhort coat, which was formerly confined to the country and the camp, became faſhionable during the reign of Lewis the Eleventh; it was exploded in that of Lewis the Twelfth; and renewed under Francis the Firſt. The favourite dreſs of Henry the Second, and his children, conſiſted of a cloſe doublet, a kind of half-trowſers, ſuch as are worn by the pages in Spain, and a ſhort cloak that did not reach below the waiſt.

The dreſs of the French ladies experienced as many revolutions as that of the men. It does not appear that they beſtowed much pains on the decoration of their perſons, till towards the concluſion of the ninth century. Their head-dreſs was extremely ſimple, and their linen plain, but fine. Lace was long unknown to them. Their gowns, which were adorned on one ſide with the arms of their huſbands, and on the other with thoſe of their own family, were made to ſit ſo tight, that they ſhowed every part of the ſhape, and, to come ſo high that they entirely covered the boſom. The widow's weeds greatly reſembled the dreſs of a modern nun. They did not begin to expoſe their ſhoulders to ſight till the reign of Charles the Sixth. During the gallant reign of Charles the Seventh, bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings were introduced. Anne of Britanny rejected with diſdain all thoſe frivolous embelliſhments; while Catherine of Medicis was inceſſantly employed in the invention of new decorations; vanity, luxury, caprice and coquetry, at length carried them to the height which they have now attained.

A. D. 576.] No revolution was ever more ſudden or complete than that which took place on the death of Sigebert[7]. The Auſtraſian army immediately raiſed the ſiege of Tournay; all the towns that had been taken in the kingdom of Soiſſons returned to their allegiance; Queen Brunehaut and her children were arreſted; and Chilperic, after he had recovered his dominions, ſaw himſelf on the point of aſcending the throne of his conqueror. Sigulphus, and ſeveral other of the Auſtraſian nobles, had acknowledged him for their ſovereign; and their example was followed by Sigo, the grand *referendary*—that was the title given, by the Merovingian kings, to the perſon

[7] Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 1. Geſt. Franc. c. 32. Fred. c. 71.

who kept the great ſeal, diſpatched letters, and ſealed the public ordinances. He was called *Chancellor*, under the Carlovingian monarchs, either becauſe he drew his pen acroſs ſuch letters as he rejected, or becauſe he affixed a ſeal to them, in an apartment that was ſecured with iron bars, or *chanceaux*, as they were then called[8]. It was formerly but the fifth place in the kingdom[9]; and it was not without great difficulty that a ſeat in the aſſembly of the peers was allowed him in 1224; and for a long time he took his place in the parliament after the princes and prelates. At length he has become the firſt officer under the crown; preſident of all the councils; head of all the judges and courts of juſtice; and diſpenſator of all favours, abolitions, and pardons. He is the only man in the kingdom who does not wear mourning, and the only ſubject who receives viſits without returning them.

Chilperic made his entry into Paris, accompanied by a variety of relics borne in proceſſion. He imagined that this affectation of religious zeal would avert the malediction to which he had ſubjected himſelf, in caſe he ſhould violate the treaty of diviſion; or, at leaſt, that the credit of ſo many Saints would prove ſufficient to counterbalance the authority of Polieuctus, Hilary, and Martin, whom he had called to witneſs his ſincerity. But his ſurprize and indignation were inexpreſſible, when he learned that the ſon and ſole heir of Sigebert had effected his eſcape. Gondebald, one of the firſt nobles at the court of the deceaſed monarch, had releaſed the infant prince from captivity. He was let down, from the window of his priſon, in a baſket, and received by a truſty perſon, who delivered him ſafe into the hands of the faithful Auſtraſian, by whom he was conducted to Metz. The great men of the kingdom aſſembled on Chriſtmas day; and Childebert, who had ſcarcely attained his ſixth year, was crowned king of Auſtraſia.

Enraged at the eſcape of his priſoner, the king of Soiſſons ſeized the treaſures of Sigebert, and ſent Queen Brunehaut to Rouen, where he ordered her to be ſtrictly guarded. But what cauſed the deepeſt affliction to this unfortunate mother, was the ſeizure of her daughters, Ingonda and Chlodoſinda, who were conducted to Meaux. Chilperic next diſpatched one of his generals, named Rocolene, to take poſſeſſion of Maine, and ſent his ſon Meroveus to reduce Poitou. The firſt had orders to ſeize Gontran-Boſon, whom the king ſuſpected of having killed his eldeſt ſon, Theodebert. This officer had fled for refuge to the church of Saint Martin of Tours, an aſylum that was more reſpected than any ſanctuary in France. This conſideration, however, was inadequate to reſtrain Rocolene from fulfilling the commands of his maſter; but his puniſhment for ſuch a profanation of this ſacred place, ſays Gregory of Tours, was prompt and

[8] Du Tillet, p. 278. [9] Teſſereau-Grande Chancellerie, p. 8.

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exemplary[10]. Stricken with a ſudden terror, he was forced to retire without putting his project in execution, and died a few days after at Poitiers. Young Meroveus, leſs faithful to the orders of his father, repaired to Tours, and leaving that place under pretence of going to Mons, where his mother Audovera reſided, he took the road to Rouen, where biſhop Pretextatus married him to Brunehaut, whoſe beauty was ſtill in its meridian; Fortunatus, indeed, repreſents her as a ſecond Venus[11]; and the particulars into which he enters on this ſubject, prove, either that he was not yet a biſhop, or that the prelates of thoſe days, though irreproachable, perhaps in their manners, were not very delicate in their expreſſions.

Chilperic, deeply offended at the conduct of his ſon, repaired to Rouen with a determination to puniſh the new-married couple, who, alarmed at his approach, took refuge in the church of Saint Martin, built on the ramparts of the city. In vain were every artifice and every ſtratagem exerted to induce them to quit their aſylum; they refuſed to leave it till they had obtained a moſt ſolemn promiſe, not only that no inſult nor injury ſhould be offered them, but that their marriage ſhould be confirmed, in caſe the biſhops ſhould deem it lawful. The king, after this accommodation, obliged Meroveus to follow him to Soiſſons, and left Brunehaut in her former priſon; from whence, he ſoon after ſent her into Auſtraſia, with the princeſſes her daughters. She was no ſooner arrived there, than ſhe engaged her ſon Childebert to declare war againſt his uncle. Godin, one of the chief nobles of Auſtraſia, [A. D. 577], who had before ſworn allegiance to Chilperic, received orders to march to Soiſſons, for the purpoſe of ſeizing the perſon of Fredegonda; but arriving a few hours too late, he was himſelf ſurprized, defeated, and ſlain. This commotion being aſcribed to Meroveus, they took from him his arms, and placed guards over him. The defeat of an army in the Limouſin confirmed theſe ſuſpicions, and entirely deprived him of his father's confidence and affection.

Gontran had joined Childebert againſt the king of Soiſſons, who had ſent two powerful armies to oppoſe them, one in Saintonge, under the command of his ſecond ſon, Clovis, and the other in the Limouſin, under the conduct of general Didier[12]. This laſt was attacked by Mummol, who gained a complete victory, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate action, in which twenty-five thouſand of Chilperic's troops, and five thouſand Burgundians, were ſlain. Meroveus, being conſidered as the author of this war, was made reſponſible for its conſequences. They cut off his hair, and, after he had been diſinherited, he was ordained prieſt, and confined to a convent. But eſcaping from his priſon, he fled to the church of Saint Martin at Tours; and Chilperic finding

[10] Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 1, 2, 4. [11] L. vi. Carm. 6. [12] Greg. Tur. c. 14. Geſt. Franc. c. 33.

all his efforts to make him quit this ſanctuary fruitleſs and unavailing, at length determined to remove him by force. He wrote on this ſubject to Saint Martin, whoſe indignation he was fearful of incurring. His letter, which was in the form of a conſultation, was placed on the tomb of the ſaint; and the king—ſuch was the ſimplicity and ignorance of theſe times!—had the precaution to ſend a piece of plain paper with it, on which he hoped the bleſſed pontiff would write his deciſion. But the Saint did not honour him with an anſwer; and the paper being found in *ſtatu quo*, at the expiration of three days, the ſuperſtitious monarch abandoned his deſign.

Meroveus, on his part, implored the protection of the ſame ſaint, againſt the rage and machinations of his father. He conjured him to point out his fate, by ſuch paſſages of ſcripture as he ſhould open on by chance; but not one of them proved favourable. All, ſays the hiſtorian from whom we take this account, foretold that he would die a violent death. The unhappy prince, after this fatal prediction, was a ſtranger to reſt and tranquillity. A fugitive—wandering about the country—paſſing from Touraine to Auſtraſia, and from Champagne to Artois[13]; abandoned by his wife, whoſe affection for him was ſincere, but who was totally unable to ſerve him; perſecuted by his father, and betrayed by the principal inhabitants of Terouane, he was at length aſſaſſinated by ſome people in the pay of Fredegonda.

This queen carried her revenge ſtill farther; ſhe had not forgotten the connection that formerly ſubſiſted between Pretextatus and Meroveus; and ſhe therefore undertook to procure the depoſition of that prelate, in a council holden at Paris, in the church of Saint Genevieve[14]. It is difficult to ſay which was the moſt calculated to excite aſtoniſhment; the ſituation of the king, who appeared as his accuſer, or that of the fathers, who were greatly embarraſſed to find any cauſe for reprehenſion in the conduct of a biſhop, who had married an aunt to her nephew. One might be tempted to conclude, either that ſuch marriages were not prohibited by the ancient canons, or that the eccleſiaſtics were perſuaded the ordinary had a right to grant diſpenſations. Our ſurprize is ſtill augmented when we reflect on the weakneſs of the party accuſed; who, at the inſtigation of ſome pretended friends, confeſſed himſelf guilty of crimes which he had never committed. But our aſtoniſhment is at its height, when we ſee the king throwing himſelf at the feet of the prelates, his vaſſals, to ſue for the condemnation of one of his ſubjects. He wiſhed to have his robes torn off in full council, and to have the maledictions, contained in the hundred and eighth Pſalm, repeated to him; or, at leaſt, to have a ſentence of eternal excommunication pronounced againſt him. But

[13] Fred. Epit. c. 78. [14] Greg. Ib. c. 9.

none

none of his requeſts were granted. The biſhop, however, was condemned on his own confeſſion, committed to priſon, and afterwards baniſhed. On the death of Chilperic, he was recalled by the king of Burgundy, and reinſtated in his biſhopric, in ſpite of Fredegonda, who, in revenge, had him ſtabbed in the midſt of divine ſervice. In conſequence of this horrid attempt, all the churches in Rouen were ſhut; the biſhops, who were there, forbade the celebration of the holy myſteries till ſuch time as the author of that ſacrilegious deed ſhould be diſcovered. This is the firſt inſtance of ſuch an interdiction in ancient days.

But the aſſaſſination of Meroveus, and the condemnation of Pretextatus, only ſerved as a prelude to the enormities of Fredegonda. Chilperic had one ſon by his firſt wife ſtill living; it was that ſame Clovis who commanded his father's army, in the war againſt the king of Auſtraſia. The cruel ſtep-mother reſolved to ſacrifice this prince to the elevation of her own children. She was firſt diſpoſed to put her abominable project in execution, by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy formed by Leudaſtes, governor of Tours. The means he employed were ſo far removed from the common modes of proceeding, in ſuch caſes, that they appeared to be infallible.

A. D. 578, 579, 580, 581.] He ſuborned witneſſes to accuſe Gregory of Tours of carrying on a correſpondence with Childebert, and of having ſpoken indecently of the amours of Fredegonda and the biſhop of Bourdeaux[15]. Gregory ſoon cleared himſelf from theſe odious imputations; his accuſers, being put to the torture, confeſſed that this intrigue had been feigned, for the purpoſe of inſpiring the king with ſuſpicions of his wife's fidelity; and that the deſign of the conſpirators was to aſſaſſinate Chilperic, to make away with the children he had by the queen, and to place Clovis on the throne. Though the young prince had no concern in the conſpiracy, he was greatly beloved by the people, which was alone ſufficient to enſure the hatred of Fredegonda. Having lately loſt three children by the dyſentery, ſhe bribed ſome perſons to ſwear that Clovis had poiſoned them[16]. He was accordingly ſeized and impriſoned in the caſtle of Noiſy, where he was ſoon after murdered: his mother, Audovera, experienced a ſimilar fate; the ſacredneſs of her retreat being inſufficient to preſerve her from the rage of her aſſaſſins. Baſina, ſiſter to Clovis, and daughter to the reigning monarch, was firſt diſhonoured by infamous hirelings, and then ſhut up in a convent.

[17] The writers of thoſe times tell us that theſe cruel deeds were preceded by the moſt evident proofs of the anger of Heaven—by earthquakes, inundations, conflagra-

[15] Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 31. [16] Marius in Chron. Fred. Epit. c. 82. [17] Id. ib.

tions,

tions, famine, epidemic diſeaſes, *ſhowers of blood*, and a total ſubverſion of nature, which made flowers blow in January, and grapes ripen in December.

While the kingdom of Soiſſons was the ſcene of ſuch horrid tranſactions, the kings of Auſtraſia and Burgundy had a meeting at Pont-Pierre, a ſmall village on the Maeſe, for the purpoſe of forming an alliance both ſincere and durable.

[18] Gontran, who had loſt two ſons, adopted Childebert, and declared him ſole heir to his dominions. The Auſtraſians, proud of this alliance, ſent to demand from Chilperic the reſtoration of thoſe places which he had taken from them, particularly Poitiers, which he had lately ſeized. The ambaſſador had orders, in caſe of refuſal, to declare war againſt him. His demands, however, were rejected, and his menaces deſpiſed; while the court of Metz quietly put up with the inſult, and took no pains to reſent it: but it is conjectured, and with great probability, that it inſtigated Waroc, earl of Britanny, to refuſe to pay homage to the king of Soiſſons; which refuſal produced a bloody war, that continued for ſome time: but how it terminated is not known.

A. D. 584.] In the mean time, Childebert, forgetting his adopted ſon, entered into a league with Chilperic againſt the king of Burgundy. Hoſtilities commenced with the ſurprize of that part of Marſeilles which had belonged to Sigebert, and which was now the object of contention. A civil war, which broke out at this period, in the kingdom of Auſtraſia, prevented the young prince from extending his conqueſts farther. Gontran profited by the occaſion to make his peace with the king of Soiſſons, to whom he ceded Perigueux, Agen, and all the places of which he had taken poſſeſſion. But the league was ſoon renewed; and a battle was fought near Melun, in which both parties claimed the victory. The Burgundian prince next attacked the camp of Chilperic, killed a great number of his troops, and by this advantage paved the way to an accommodation, which was ſpeedily concluded; and the two brothers and their nephew ſwore to obſerve an eternal friendſhip for each other.

At the concluſion of this war, the king of Spain ſent ambaſſadors to aſk the hand of Riguntha, daughter to Fredegonda, for his youngeſt ſon, Recarede. The court of Soiſſons affected to ſtart ſome difficulties at firſt, but the marriage was at length concluded. This was the laſt fortunate event of the reign of Chilperic. His only ſon, Thierri, died ſuddenly ſoon after. Childebert and Gontran were continually at war with him. Compelled to ſhut himſelf up in Cambray with all his treaſures, he rarely appeared at the head of his armies, and never undertook any expedition of importance.

[18] Fred. Epit. c. 78.

Having

Having gone to paſs ſome days at a favourite ſeat called Chelles, he was ſtabbed on his return from the chace one evening, and expired on the ſpot. It is probable the aſſaſſin was not known, as Gregory of Tours, a contemporary writer, does not mention his name[19]. Fredegarius, who ſeems to have written merely for the purpoſe of tarniſhing the reputation of Brunehaut, aſcribes his death to that princeſs[20]. An author, who did not write till long after this period, aſſures us, on the contrary, that it proceeded from Fredegonda[21]. The fact, as he relates it, is this:—Chilperic, juſt before he ſet out for the chace, went to the queen's chamber, who, hearing ſome one approach, thought it was a perſon named Landry, with whom ſhe maintained a criminal intercourſe; this miſtake led her to make uſe of ſome expreſſions which diſcovered the intrigue to her huſband. The king left the room abruptly, and appeared to be involved in thought. Fredegonda ſent for her lover, whom ſhe informed of what had paſſed, and in order to elude the puniſhment he was conſcious of deſerving, he determined to murder his ſovereign.

[22] Thus periſhed the Nero of the French empire, which he expoſed to every kind of calamity; the executioner of his family, which he ſeemed intent on exterminating; and the tyrant of his ſubjects, whom he ſo loaded with taxes, that they were compelled to abandon their poſſeſſions. Every acre of vines paid a barrel of wine; a poll-tax was levied not only on every ſlave, but on every free perſon; and no kind of effects whatever was exempt from impoſts. Not that theſe tributes were abſolute innovations; the chief part of the revenues of the firſt kings of France conſiſting of proviſions and effects, which were levied in the ſame manner as tythes are now; but Chilperic had prodigiouſly augmented them. He was tyrannically avaricious of money, and oſtentatiouſly magnificent in his furniture and equipages; voluptuous, even to debauchery, his incontinence knew no bounds; and if he was faithful at laſt to Fredegonda, his fidelity was rather the effect of fear than of duty; ſuperſtitious, yet impious, he ſcarcely believed in God, whoſe miniſters were to him objects of inceſſant raillery, though his reſpect for Saint Martin, and his fear of offending him, were inexpreſſibly great. Vain, preſumptuous, and raſh, he dared to ſound the depths of religious myſteries, and to ſubmit them to the feeble and inadequate ſtandard of human reaſon; in conſequence of which he had planned an edict to prohibit any diſtinction of perſons in the Trinity; but the vigilant and intrepid zeal of Gregory of Tours, and of Silvius, biſhop of Albi, induced him, though not without great difficulty, to ſuppreſs it. Anxious to acquire the reputation of an author and a wit, he compoſed ſome volumes of ſtupid proſe, and ſome of poetry ſtill more inſipid. He wanted to add all the double letters of the Greek alphabet to that of the French. He ordered them not only to be uſed in all new

[19] Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 46. [20] Fred. epit. c. 93. [21] Geſt. Franc. c. 35. [22] Idem. Greg. ib.

publications,

publications, but to be inſerted in the old. This intention was to repreſent by one character what before required ſeveral to expreſs. The cuſtom, however, ended with his reign [23].

At the death of this prince, a ſtriking example was exhibited of the little reliance to be placed by bad kings on the homage of an idolatrous court. The incenſe of courtiers is offered to their rank, and not to their perſons; while adoration hangs on the lip, contempt and hatred ſit enthroned on the heart. The body of Chilperic, forſaken by every one, would have remained on the ſpot where he was killed, but for the interference of Malulfus, biſhop of Senlis, who had it conveyed to Paris, where it was interred in the church of Saint Germain des Prés. He left but one ſon, an infant of four months, who ſucceeded him under the name of Clotaire. He had three wives; Audovera, whom he repudiated; Galſwinda, who was found dead in her bed; and Fredegonda, who plunged him into an abyſs of crimes and enormities.

[23] The letters he adopted were the Greek θ for th; φ for ph; χ for ch; ξ for cſ; and ψ for pſ.

CLOTAIRE

CLOTAIRE THE SECOND.

A. D. 584.] CHILDEBERT was at Meaux when Chilperic was aſſaſſinated: the preſence of ſo formidable an enemy ſo near to the court, ſtruck the mother of Clotaire with terror. Shuddering at the recollection of her crimes[1]; deteſted by her ſubjects, whom ſhe had oppreſſed without mercy; devoid of confidence in the nobles, who openly cenſured her conduct; purſued by the king of Auſtraſia, who imputed the death of his father to her; an object of hatred to Gontran, who dreaded her treachery; and ſolely relying for protection upon an infant of four months, ſhe fled to Paris, where ſhe was received by the biſhop of that metropolis, who placed her in his church, as a retreat that would ſecure her from the reſentment of the two kings. It was from thence that ſhe wrote to the king of Burgundy, offering him the crown of Chilperic, entreating him to act as a father to his nephew, and aſſuring him that ſhe was leſs anxious to reign than to encreaſe the number of her ſubjects. This prince, touched with compaſſion, haſtened to the capital of the French empire, where he took Clotaire under his protection, and openly declared himſelf in favour of Fredegonda againſt Childebert, who in vain called on him for juſtice on the aſſaſſin of a father, an aunt, an uncle, and two couſin-germans. Childebert was even forbidden to enter Paris; one of his ambaſſadors, who had been ſo bold as to threaten Fredegonda with the law of retaliation, was ſent back in diſgrace; and his deſigns on Tours and Poitiers, which had formerly belonged to his father, were fruſtrated. Thoſe cities, conſtrained to yield to a ſuperior force, took an oath of fidelity to Gontran, who was conſidered as guardian to the two young monarchs, and as head of the nation.

[1] Greg. Tur. l. vii. c. 4.

The conduct of the Burgundian prince had a great effect on the minds of the French nobles. Young Clotaire was proclaimed king of Soiſſons; and they aſſigned him a third part of the kingdom of Caribert; but took away from him Touraine, Saintonge, Perigord, Agenois, the Limouſin, and Albigeois, which his father had uſurped from Childebert. It does not, however, appear that this young prince was maſter of Soiſſons; though Gontran, in the ſequel, ceded Paris to him. Fredegonda was declared regent—a privilege which, formerly, was always enjoyed by the queen-dowagers—Brunehaut, under Childebert the Second; Batilda, under Clotaire the Third; Nantilda, under Clovis the Second; Alix of Champagne, under Philip the Auguſt; Blanche of Caſtile, under Saint Lewis; and Louiſa of Savoy, under Francis the Firſt; governed the ſtate with abſolute power, during the minority or abſence of their royal children. This cuſtom has paſſed from the throne into private families; the French law, both old and new, gives to mothers the guardianſhip, and *garde-noble* of their children; which means, ſays Paſquier[2], the government of their perſons and poſſeſſions, whether fiefs or not.

The power of the regent was equal to that of the king, whoſe revenues he received, without the obligation of accounting for them. Juſtice was adminiſtered in his name. All edicts, grants, and patents were ſealed with his own ſeal, when he was a prince of the blood, and when he was not with a ſeal peculiar to the regency. He diſpoſed of all offices and employments; received homage from the vaſſals of the crown; and was the ſovereign arbiter of peace and war. This authority appeared to be of ſuch enormous extent, that Charles the Fifth undertook to reſtrain it, at leaſt in its duration; for which purpoſe he publiſhed an ordinance, declaring the king to be of age at fourteen, inſtead of twenty-two, as before. By a law of Charles the Sixth, it was enacted, that the heir to the crown, though an infant, ſhould be proclaimed king, immediately after the death of his predeceſſor. Before that time, in conſequence of an ancient prejudice, he could neither be conſecrated, till he came of age, nor take the title of King, till after he had undergone the ceremony of conſecration. It is for this reaſon that John, ſon of Lewis Hutin, is not ranked in the liſt of the French monarchs. It appears, from another ordinance of Charles the Fifth, that the regency was ſometimes diſtinguiſhed from the guardianſhip: it is there declared, that, if Charles ſhould die during the minority of his ſon, the duke of Anjou, his brother, ſhould be regent of the kingdom, and the queen, with the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, ſhould have the care of his children. But this edict was only temporary; and theſe two titles, which had formerly been united, were never more ſeparated.

A. D. 585.] But the oppreſſive conduct of Fredegonda, the indolence of Gontran, and the weakneſs of Childebert, had led many of the French nobles to entertain

[2] Recherches de la France, l. ii. p. 149.

thoughts

thoughts of chuſing a new maſter. The heads of the conſpiracy were general Didier, who had ſo often commanded the armies of Chilperic; Mummol, ſo highly celebrated for his martial atchievements; and Duke Boſon, the moſt artful courtier, and the moſt deceitful man, that ever exiſted[3]. The perſon they brought forward, as the inſtrument of their deſigns, was no common adventurer; it was Gondebald, that illuſtrious child of misfortune, who was very generally received as the ſon of the firſt Clotaire. He had been involved in the diſgrace of his mother, who placed him under the protection of Childebert the Firſt; and that monarch conceived ſo ſtrong an affection for him, that he even intended to adopt him; but he had not ſufficient reſolution to withſtand the preſſing ſolicitations of his brother, who, after he had diſowned him, was contented with cutting off his hair. Such an inſtance of moderation, in ſuch a monarch as Clotaire, affords a ſtrong preſumption in favour of the pretended impoſtor. The death of his perſecutor revived the hopes of Gondebald, who experienced, from the new court of Paris, the ſame gracious reception, and the ſame baſe treachery, that he had met with from the old one. Being delivered by Caribert, who eſteemed him, to Sigebert, who oppreſſed him, his hair was again cut off, and he was baniſhed to Cologne. He then fled to Italy, where he re-aſſumed the title of Prince of France; and, having taken a wife, went from thence to Conſtantinople, where he was treated with great reſpect and attention.

He was now recalled to France by the malcontents, who promiſed to raiſe him to the throne; and, being ſeconded by Childebert, who ſupplied him with troops to oppoſe Gontran[4], he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, at Brive-la-Gaillarde, from whence he ſent ambaſſadors to the king of Burgundy. In order to preſerve them from danger, he gave them wands, or holy canes, which were an effectual ſecurity, among the French, to thoſe who carried them. But they were ſurprized at a time when they had not theſe ſacred arms in their hands; and the whole ſecret of the conſpiracy was forced from them by the means of torture. Childebert, apprized of a correſpondence between the new monarch and ſome noblemen of his court, became reconciled to his uncle, who once more adopted him, by ſhewing him to the army, and putting a lance in his hand, which was the ancient mode of deſignating the ſucceſſor to the crown. The king of Burgundy immediately ſent a powerful army to the banks of the Garonne, under the command of Leudegiſilis; and on the news of its approach Gondebald retreated towards the Pyrenees, and took poſſeſſion of Cominges; a place which, from the ſtrength of its ſituation, and from being well-ſtocked with proviſion and ammunition of all kinds, was in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege of ſeveral years. But this prince was ever doomed to be the victim of treachery: he was betrayed to the Burgundian general by thoſe ſame traitors who had proclaimed him king, and immediately put to death. His

3 Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 24. 4 Id. l. vii. c. 32.

hair was torn from his head, and his body ignominiouſly dragged round the camp, where it was left to rot in the open air. The perfidious conduct of the garriſon of Cominges ſoon experienced the chaſtiſement it deſerved—they were all put to the ſword—their general Mummol was aſſaſſinated, and biſhop Sagittarius maſſacred, by the king's orders. Such were the victims that were ſacrificed to the manes of a prince, who wanted neither courage nor prudence.

Theſe horrid executions reſtored tranquillity to the ſubjects of Gontran. That prince, before he left Paris, had eſtabliſhed a council of regency, to govern jointly with Fredegonda, whom he now began to miſtruſt; and leſt ſhe ſhould acquire too great an influence in the capital of the French empire, he compelled her to retire to Vaudreuil, a royal palace, about twelve miles from Rouen. The regent, enraged at this diviſion of her power, reſolved to aſſaſſinate Brunehaut, with whom ſhe imagined the plan originated, but the plot was diſcovered, and the aſſaſſin ſent back with contempt to Fredegonda, who, in a tranſport of fury mingled with ſhame, ordered his hands and feet to be cut off. She diſpatched one of her chamberlains at the ſame time, to enter into a treaty with Gondebald, whom ſhe wiſhed to ſecure, as an inſtrument that might enable her to ſhake off the yoke of the court of Burgundy. But the capture and death of that prince marred all her projects. Again reduced ſolely to rely on the protection of Gontran, ſhe earneſtly entreated him to ſtand godfather to her ſon; an office, the acceptance of which was, in thoſe times, regarded as the ſtrongeſt pledge of amity and affection, and the moſt ſolemn promiſe of an inviolable attachment. Her delay to have this ceremony performed, gave riſe to ſuſpicions on the birth of the child;—the Burgundian prince, in particular, openly expreſſed his doubts; which coming to the ears of the queen, ſhe haſtened to him in alarm, and ſwore that Clotaire was the real ſon of Chilperic. She alſo made three biſhops of her acquaintance, and three hundred other witneſſes, ſwear the ſame thing. This monarch was no longer permitted to doubt the truth of a fact thus ſolemnly atteſted; he even coincided with Fredegonda in the neceſſity of deferring the ceremony, which was performed ſix years after at the village of Nanterre.

Such was the ancient mode of verifying all doubtful circumſtances. The party accuſed was not admitted to clear himſelf by oath, unleſs his oath was confirmed by thoſe of perſons who were either related to him, or were of his own ſect or profeſſion, or, at leaſt, who lived in his neighbourhood[3]. It was requiſite that theſe witneſſes ſhould be people of irreproachable conduct, acquainted with the accuſer, and, if they were not eccleſiaſtics, reſident in the place where they made their depoſition. In earlier times they were drawn by lot: they were moſtly brought forward by the party

[3] Ducange's Gloſſary, on the word Juramentum.

accuſed—

accuſed—ſeldom by the accuſer. Their number depended on circumſtances—more or leſs were required, according to the importance of the cauſe, and the merit or quality of the parties concerned[6]. The judge, by way of warning them to be careful in what they were going to depoſe, either pulled them by or gave them a gentle box on the ear. The oath could only be adminiſtered on certain days, in the morning, faſting, and in the church, either upon the altar, the croſs, the teſtament, the canon of the maſs, the tomb of a ſaint, or upon ſome ſhrine. The party accuſed laid his hands upon that of the witneſs, at the time he was delivering his evidence, and proteſted in a loud voice that he was innocent of the crimes imputed to him. This ceremony, which was productive of ſo much perjury, cleared him from all further proſecution.

Gontran, on his return from Burgundy, gave orders to aſſemble a council at Mâçon, with the view to procure the condemnation of thoſe prelates who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Gondebald[7]. He had already publiſhed an ordinance, inflicting penalties on ſuch of the nobles as had neglected to follow the army of Leudegiſilis; and the commiſſaries appointed to levy them executed their charge with the utmoſt rigour. The eccleſiaſtics too, who had omitted to ſupply their ſtipulated quota of men, were treated with equal ſeverity. But there were ſome prelates who had ſhewn a more evident and deciſive partiality to the uſurper. Theodorus, who paſſed for a ſaint, had received him at Marſeilles; and at Cahors he had experienced the ſame degree of favour from another prelate. The biſhops of Bourdeaux, Xaintes, and Bazas, had even conſecrated Fauſtinian, whom he had nominated to the biſhoprick of Acqs. Childebert interceded for Theodorus, who was ſet at liberty, and permitted to take his ſeat with the reſt. Fauſtinian was depoſed, but allowed to retain the rank and honours of a biſhop. It was enacted by the decree of the council[8], that thoſe who ordained him ſhould pay him an annuity of a hundred crowns of gold. The prelate who received him at Cahors was excommunicated, condemned to abſtinence from meat and wine for three years, and prohibited, during that time, from the celebration of the holy myſteries: but what appears ſtrange is, that he was ordered to remain in his dioceſe; and, excepting the power of ordaining prieſts, of conſecrating churches, and beſtowing his benediction on the holy chriſm, he was allowed to exerciſe every other part of his epiſcopal functions[9]. We are told that a prelate had the preſumption to maintain, in the preſence of the council, that *woman could not be called man*, which occaſioned great diſputes among the fathers. At length, however, the authority of the ſcriptures, which expreſsly ſay that *God created man, male and female*, was received as deciſive.

[6] Ducange's Gloſſary, on the word Auris. [7] Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 12. [8] Tom. i. Concil. Gall.
[9] Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 20. p. 401.

The

The tranquillity of France was ſoon interrupted by two wars, which broke out at the ſame time; one in Burgundy, againſt the Viſigoths; and another in Auſtraſia, againſt the Lombards[10]. Gontran's pretext was, to revenge the death of Hermengild, brother-in-law to Childebert; but his real motive for commencing hoſtilities appears to have been, the expulſion of the Viſigoths from France, and the extenſion of the limits of the French empire as far as the Pyrenees. Childebert was induced to march into Italy, by the hope of reſcuing Ingonda from the hands of the Imperial generals, into which ſhe had been delivered, either for her own perſonal ſafety, or as a hoſtage for the fidelity of her huſband, Hermengild: but the progreſs both of Gontran and Childebert was ſlow, and their ſchemes proved finally unſucceſsful.

The Burgundians, ſeldom ſubdued, though often defeated, found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of entering into an accommodation with Recarede, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Leuvigild. That wiſe prince, who had recently abjured Arianiſm, was extremely anxious to put an end to the war; he had offered himſelf in marriage to Chlodoſinda, ſiſter to the king of Auſtraſia, and the match was concluded; but he neither married that princeſs, nor Riguntha, the daughter of Chilperic, who had likewiſe been engaged to him. This laſt, indeed, was actually on the road to Spain, when the death of her father occaſioned an alteration in her ſentiments and meaſures[11]. General Didier, being diſpleaſed with Fredegonda, took this opportunity of inſulting her, in the perſon of her daughter, by ſeizing all the treaſures which ſhe had received for her dower; theſe conſiſted of conſiderable ſums of money, both in gold and ſilver, beſides fifty large waggons loaded with rich clothes, and other precious effects: all of which Didier ſecured and depoſited in a ſafe place. Riguntha, returning to the court of Clotaire, there led ſuch a life of debauchery, that her mother uſed to correct her moſt ſeverely. We are told, by the hiſtorians of thoſe days, that their quarrels were ſometimes ſo ſerious, that they actually came to blows. One day, in particular, the queen pretending to give her that part of her father's treaſures to which ſhe was entitled, the princeſs ſtooped to take them from the trunk in which they were encloſed; when her mother preſſed the lid down upon her head, and, but for the interference of ſome perſon who was in an adjoining apartment, ſhe muſt inevitably have been ſacrificed to the fury of that pitileſs and unnatural woman.—We relate theſe circumſtances merely to convey an idea of the ferocity of manners which obtained in the firſt ages of the monarchy.

The Auſtraſians, in the mean time, had entered Italy; but being won by the ſubmiſſion and the preſents of Autharis, king of the Lombards, they contented themſelves

[10] Greg. Tur. c. 28. [11] Idem. l. vii, c. 9.

with

with merely paſſing the Alps. A ſecond expedition, which they undertook ſoon after, was attended with no greater advantage. A diſpute ariſing among the leaders, the army remained inactive, and returned to France without making a ſingle attempt. The king of Italy, however, continued his ſolicitations for peace, which was at length concluded. The court of Auſtraſia received his preſents, promiſed him the princeſs Chlodoſinda, and broke the engagement. The treaty was no ſooner ſigned, than the French made a freſh irruption into Lombardy[11]: but their perfidy was juſtly puniſhed by the moſt ſignal defeat which the nation ever experienced[12]. The Italian prince took every method he could deviſe in order to diſtreſs them; he perſuaded Garibald, Duke of Bavaria, to ſhake off the Auſtraſian yoke; and, to attach him the more firmly to his intereſt, he aſked his daughter, Theodelinda, in marriage. It is pretended that he accompanied the ambaſſadors himſelf; and that the princeſs, having preſented the cup to the envoys, according to a cuſtom that prevailed among the people over whom ſhe was going to reign, Autharis, in returning it, preſſed her hand[13], which made her bluſh, and led her to ſuſpect it was the king of Lombardy—who immediately confirmed her ſuſpicions by kiſſing what before he had only ventured to ſqueeze. This circumſtance calls to our mind a curious article of the Salic law[14], which ſays, *whoever ſhall kiſs the hand of a free woman, ſhall pay a fine of fifteen ſols of gold.* It muſt be owned, that if the preſent age is more poliſhed than that of the ancient French legiſlators, it is neither ſo reſpectful nor ſo reſerved.

The defeat of the French only ſerved to irritate their courage. They entered into a league with the empire; and Childebert ſent a numerous army into Italy, divided into two bodies[15]: one, under the conduct of Audovald, loſt time in waiting for the Imperial troops, in order to form the ſiege of Milan[16]; while the other, commanded by Cadinus, entered the country of Trento, where they took nine or ten places of ſtrength. They both returned with an immenſe booty, but conſiderably weakened by diſorders, proceeding from the extreme heat of the climate. This conſideration, joined to the mediation of the king of Burgundy, and enforced by motives of policy, which taught to weaken and not to deſtroy the Lombards, ſuperinduced the concluſion of a peace, on the condition of receiving from the Lombards a tribute of twelve thouſand ſols of gold[17], which was afterwards given up, on the payment of a ſtipulated ſum.

During theſe expeditions, ſeveral incidents occurred in France, which give us an horrid idea of the manners of thoſe times. Fredegonda, whoſe mind was ever fertile in projects of cruelty, and who could always find aſſaſſins to put them in execution, hired two eccleſiaſtics to murder the king of Auſtraſia with poiſoned poniards[18]. The

[11] Paul Longob. l. iii. c. 30. [12] Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 25. [13] Fred. 34. [14] Lex Salic. Tit. 22. [15] Greg. l. ix. c. 2, 3. [16] Paul Longob. l. iii. c. 32. [17] Fred. in Chron. c. 45. [18] Greg. l. viii. c. 39.

wretches

wretches were apprehended at Soiſſons; and being put to the torture, confeſſed the crime they intended to commit. Even Gontran, the friend of Fredegonda, and the father, the guardian, the protector of her ſon, was not exempt from her abominable machinations. As he was going into chapel one day to hear matins, he ſurprized an aſſaſſin whom ſhe had ſent there to poniard him: another time, as he was going to receive the ſacrament, a man advanced towards him—but, either from remorſe of conſcience, or reſpect for majeſty, he let the poniard fall from his hand[19]. He was immediately ſeized, and confeſſed his execrable deſign; but having been taken in a church, he could not be puniſhed;—as if the right of ſanctuary could be extended to the man who violates its ſacredneſs by the moſt deteſtable parricide!

The failure of ſo many diabolical attempts was inſufficient to deter Fredegonda from perſiſting in her murderous efforts. Intrepid in evil, ſhe appeared to acquire freſh force from diſappointment; and when one project was marred, another of greater importance was immediately formed[20]. The death of the king of Auſtraſia, and his mother, was again reſolved on; and the ſucceſs of this ſcheme appeared the more infallible, as ſhe had engaged three of the principal nobles, at the court of Childebert, to join in its execution: but that prince being ſo fortunate as to diſcover the plot, the conſpirators met the fate they deſerved. Raucingus, who called himſelf the natural ſon of Clotaire the Firſt, was ſtabbed juſt as he had quitted the king's apartment, whither he had been ſummoned on pretence of buſineſs. Urſion was ſlain after a bold reſiſtance; and Berthefred, though protected by Brunehaut, was murdered in a chapel, whither he had fled for ſhelter: the biſhop of Verdun having refuſed to give up the keys of it, the aſſaſſins, not daring to break open the doors, got upon the roof, and cruſhed him to death with the tiles.

Ægidius, biſhop of Rheims, was ſuſpected of being an accomplice in this conſpiracy againſt Childebert; but poſſeſſing the arts of intrigue and perſuaſion in an eminent degree, he acquired ſuch an aſcendancy over the king that he eluded the puniſhment due to his crime[21]. He was leſs fortunate, however, in a ſecond conſpiracy, which was diſcovered ſoon after the firſt. The leaders of it were the conſtable Sunegiſilis; the grand referendary Gallus; and Septimina, governeſs to Theodebert and Thierri. Their deſign was either to make the king repudiate his wife Faileuba, and baniſh Brunehaut, or elſe to poiſon him; in the hope that, in the abſence of thoſe princeſſes, or during the minority of the young princes, the reins of government would be entruſted to them. Childebert, averſe to ſhedding blood, contented himſelf with depriving them of their places, and ſending them into exile. But the conſtable having accuſed the biſhop of Rheims, Ægidius was apprehended, and committed to cloſe confinement at

[19] Greg. l. ix. c. 3. [20] Idem, l. x. c. 9. [21] Idem, l. ix. c. 38.

Metz.

Metz. Some of the biſhops complaining of the impropriety of taking a prelate from his dioceſe, on the ſimple depoſition of a layman, the king, moved by their remonſtrances, ordered him to be ſent back, and at the ſame time ſummoned a council to aſſemble in his capital. The culprit appearing, the letters he had written to Chilperic were produced, when his deſign to murder young Childebert being fully eſtabliſhed by them, his judges, notwithſtanding their diſpoſition to favour him, were obliged to pronounce the ſentence of degradation; but throwing themſelves at the king's feet, to beg he would ſpare the life of the biſhop, they obtained what they aſked; and, though the crime of which he ſtood convicted was of the deepeſt dye, yet exile and confiſcation formed his only puniſhment.

A. D. 590.] In the mean time Waroc, Earl of Brittany, had, at the inſtigation of Fredegonda, made incurſions into France, on the ſide of Rennes and Nantes. Gontran ſent Beppolenis and Elvacharius to oppoſe him[22]. The firſt, deceived by a traitor, advanced into a country full of defiles and marſhes, where he was attacked, defeated, and ſlain: but the laſt was more ſucceſsful; encouraged by an invitation from the inhabitants of Vannes, he marched to that city, which opened its gates at his approach. Waroc, alarmed at the loſs of ſo important a place, went to Elvacharius, acknowledged himſelf as the ſubject and vaſſal of the French monarchs, ſwore eternal fidelity to them, and alſo bound himſelf, by oath, never more to bear arms againſt the King of Burgundy. This oath, however, was no ſooner made than broken. The ſon of Waroc attacked the French troops, as ſoon as a part of them had paſſed the river Villaine, on their return home, and throwing them into confuſion, killed ſome thouſands, and took a great number of priſoners[23]. Elvacharius, being ſuſpected of maintaining a correſpondence with the Earl of Brittany, was diſgraced, and received orders to abſent himſelf from court.

A. D. 593.] The war in Brittany, and the chriſtening of Clotaire, were the laſt events of importance in the reign of Gontran, who died at Chalons upon Saone, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age. The abilities of Gontran were not above mediocrity;—deſtitute of that vigour and firmneſs, which are eſſential to the enforcement of authority, his ſchemes, though well conceived, were not unfrequently marred by thoſe whom he appointed to ſuperintend their execution. His diſpoſition was naturally good; yet was it rather calculated to encourage licentiouſneſs, than to command veneration: for though he loved his ſubjects, he had not ſufficient reſolution to ſecure them from the oppreſſion of his miniſters. He was mild, humane, and complacent; yet rather from timidity than virtue. In the moment of paſſion it was dangerous to approach him; and, in the firſt tranſports of rage, he would ſometimes

[22] Greg. l. x. c. 9, 12. [23] Fred. in Chron. c. 12.

condemn his ſubjects to death for the moſt trivial offences[24]. One of his wives, being at the point of death, begged him to have two of her phyſicians executed, becauſe ſhe imagined that their medicines had brought her into that ſituation; and Gontran was not only weak enough to make the promiſe ſhe required of him, but cruel enough to keep it. Going through a foreſt one day, he ſaw a wild bull juſt killed; he charged the keeper of the foreſt with the fact; but the man accuſed one of his chamberlains, who denied having any knowledge of it. The king ordered that the matter ſhould be decided by ſingle combat[25]. The chamberlain, being old and infirm, ſent one of his nephews to fight for him, who mortally wounded the accuſer; but, in ſtooping to diſarm him, he killed himſelf by falling on the poniard of his adverſary. The death of his champion, though accidental, was regarded as the conviction of the chamberlain, whom the king ordered to be immediately ſeized, and ſtoned to death on the ſpot. Such were the ideas entertained of juſtice in thoſe barbarous times. The biographers of Gontran tell us he poſſeſſed a vaſt fund of piety; and the auſterity of his life, the extent of his bounty to the poor, and his love, reſpect, and protection of religion, the church, and its miniſters, procured him a place in the long liſt of Romiſh ſaints. Gregory of Tours, whoſe credulity knew no bounds, ſays that he performed miracles.

That prelate, after ſpeaking in the warmeſt terms of commendation of Gontran's virtue, adds, that *he had a concubine whoſe name was Veneranda*[26]. This, at firſt, appears ſtrange and inconſiſtent; but our aſtoniſhment ceaſes, when we reflect that *concubinage*, though now a term of reproach, was then a lawful union; which, though leſs ſolemn, was equally indiſſoluble with marriage[27]. It was authorized by the civil law, whenever the want of birth or fortune, in a woman, raiſed a *legal* impediment to her marriage with perſons of a certain rank. Although a concubine, therefore, did not poſſeſs the ſame degree of conſideration in a family, with a wife of equal rank, it was ſtill an honourable appellation[28], very different to that of miſtreſs; and her children, according to the cuſtom of the ancient French, were capable of inheriting whenever their father choſe it. This kind of alliance was, for ſeveral ages, regarded by the weſtern church as a lawful connection. The firſt council of Toledo[29] formally declared—*that a man could only have one wife, or one concubine, whichever he preferred.*—Saint Iſidorus, of Seville; the council of Rome, under Eugenius the Second[30]; and another council, holden in the ſame city, under Leo the Fourth, expreſſed themſelves, in terms of a ſimilar import. The ſubſequent declarations of the nullity of ſuch connections, did not ariſe from their being conſidered as illicit in themſelves, eſpecially when the engagement was formal and perpetual, but from the numerous

24 Greg. l. v. c. 36. 25 Idem, l. x. c. 10. 26 L. iv. c. 25. 27 Leg. iii. ff. de Concubin. leg. ſtuprum. ff. ad leg. Jul. de Adulter. 28 Jacob Cuiac, de cohabit. clericor. and Malier. 29 Can. 17. 30 Concil. Rom. ſub Eugen. II. c. 37. collect. Hort. part 2.

abuſes

abuſes to which the want of ſolemnity gave birth[31]. It was for this reaſon, alſo, that the Romans, though they conſidered the offspring of an union ſo contracted as legitimate, did not grant them the right of ſucceſſion.

Gontran was fond of literature, and maſter of ſeveral languages. We are told that, at Orleans, he was harangued in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. He had three wives; Veneranda, Marcatruda, and Auſtregilda; two ſons, who died in their infancy; and two daughters, Chlodberga, and Clotilda. Some authors affirm[32], that this laſt ſurvived him, and that he left her an immenſe fortune, to diſpoſe of at her pleaſure.

Some account of the condition of the Princeſſes, of the firſt race, is here neceſſary: they received the title of *Queen*[33]; which placed them on an equality with Kings, without giving them any claim to the throne, and was regarded as a preſage of their alliance with a crowned head: for, under the Merovingian monarchs, there is no inſtance of a daughter of France, who did not either lead a life of celibacy, or eſpouſe a Sovereign Prince. Whenever their names were mentioned after their death, the epithet *glorious*, or, *of happy memory*, was always annexed to them; a prerogative that was confined to royalty[34]. They were provided with a ſuitable ſubſiſtence, by the aſſignment of lands, or even towns, either during the life of their father, or after his death; but they only enjoyed the revenues of ſuch poſſeſſions, which were never detached from the ſtate. Such was the law of the realm. The deviation from this law, at the celebrated treaty of Andelaw, by Childebert and Gontran, where the former was actuated by motives of benevolence to his ſiſter, Clodoſwinda; and the latter by affection for his daughter, Clotilda, was a particular privilege that rather tends to confirm than ſubvert it[35]. It is even remarkable, that in the very act which gave them poſſeſſion of the *fiſcal* lands, it was ſtipulated that they ſhould only receive the revenues ariſing from them ſo long as they remained in France; ſo very careful has the government of France ever been to prevent the exportation of the national wealth, and to prevent foreign princes from acquiring rights to any part of the monarchy.

The death of Gontran did not appear at firſt to effect any material change in the French empire. The king of Auſtraſia took poſſeſſion of Orleans and Burgundy without oppoſition[36]. His title to thoſe territories was founded on the adoption of his uncle; on the famous treaty of Andelaw, by which the crown was ſettled on him, in default of male heirs; and, laſtly, on the will of the deceaſed monarch, who left him ſole heir to all his dominions.

31 Concil. Leo iv. c. 37, ibid. 32 Greg. l. ix. c. 20. 33 Id. l. v. c. 50. 34 Sirm. Concil. tom. i. p. 370.
35 Greg. l. ix. c. 20. 36 Id. ib.

Young Clotaire, at the ſame time, was put in poſſeſſion of all his father's rights; and Soiſſons, which had put itſelf under the dominion of Childebert, was, nevertheleſs, reſtored to the ſon of Chilperic. It is even pretended [37] that the two kings entered into an amicable arrangement, with reſpect to their participation of the city of Paris; their friendſhip, however, did not laſt long.

Childebert, no longer reſtrained by the fear of Gontran, now gave a free vent to his juſt reſentment againſt the family of Chilperic. The death of a father, aſſaſſinated by the emiſſaries of Fredegonda; the danger to which he had been expoſed himſelf when arreſted, together with the queen his mother; a thouſand perfidious attempts upon his life; the doubtful circumſtances attending the birth of Clotaire; ambition; intereſt—all excited him to attack a prince, whoſe death or depoſition would render him ſole monarch of France. Thus ſtimulated, he raiſed a powerful army, which he ſent into the Soiſſonnois, where it committed great depredations. But this was the only advantage he gained; for Wintrion, who commanded his troops, was put to flight, after an obſtinate engagement [38], in which more than thirty thouſand men were ſlain. No other circumſtances of this memorable action are mentioned by contemporary writers; nor are any further particulars of this bloody war preſerved in hiſtory. It appears, however, that the king of Soiſſons loſt ſome part of his territories [39].

A.D. 594.] The motions of the Auſtraſian monarch, on the irruption of Waroc into the countries of Rennes and Nantes; the rapidity of his march againſt that rebellious vaſſal; the deſperate battle that was fought between the Britons and the French of the kingdom of Metz; the obſtinate inveteracy of the troops, which was ſo great, that ſcarcely a man ſurvived the action on either ſide;—all theſe circumſtances tend to prove that that part of Chilperic's dominions had been reunited to the crown of Auſtraſia, and that the love of glory received a powerful ſtimulus from conſiderations of intereſt.

The author of the book intitled, "Actions of the Kings of France" gives an account, not leſs ſingular than particular, of the defeat of Wintrion.—Fredegonda, he tells us, who was never alarmed at danger however great, had no ſooner learnt that the Auſtraſians had invaded the territories of her ſon, than ſhe gave orders for aſſembling the army with the utmoſt expedition. Braine was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the troops. She reviewed them herſelf [40], running through the ranks with her ſon in her arms, and preſenting that laſt relic of the family of Chilperic, reminded them of the oath they had taken to defend him; then placing herſelf

37 Geſt. Franc. c. 36. 38 Fred. in Chron. c. 14. Paul. Diac. de Geſtis Longobard. l. iv. c. 4. 39 Fredeg. c. 15. Aimoin, l. iii. c. 83. 40 Geſt. Franc. c. 36.

at

at their head, ſhe led them on to the enemy, whom they met at the village of Droiſſi, about five leagues from Soiſſons. She obtained all the honour of that celebrated day, by means of a ſtratagem, which implies almoſt a total ignorance of the utility of ſpies in thoſe days. It was the cuſtom, both in peace and war, to ſuffer horſes to graze at large, with a bell tied round their necks for the conveniency of finding them again. The queen, therefore, ordered her cavalry to ſupply themſelves with ſmall bells, and large branches of trees in full verdure; and, thus equipped, they advanced, during the night, towards the camp of Childebert. The ſtratagem ſucceeded, as the Auſtraſians miſtook them for the horſes that were feeding in the plain. The appearance of day led them into a freſh error: they thought it was a real foreſt, and did not perceive their miſtake till Landry, who commanded under Fredegonda, had advanced ſo near to them, that they had not time to range themſelves in order of battle: they were of courſe defeated, with a dreadful ſlaughter, and the victory of Fredegonda was complete.

But when we reflect that this child, which was carried about from rank to rank, was then in his tenth or eleventh year; that no contemporary writer takes notice of theſe particulars, ſo remarkable in their nature; that the author, who tranſmitted them to poſterity, did not live till a hundred and twenty years after the period in which they were ſuppoſed to have occurred;—there is every reaſon to believe, that the whole ſtory is a mere creature of the imagination, produced by a love of ſingularity, and adopted from a taſte for the marvellous.

A. D. 595.] The victory of Droiſſi was inſufficient to quiet the apprehenſions of Fredegonda, ſince Childebert ſtill remained maſter of two thirds of the French empire: her chief care was to encreaſe the number of his enemies. The revolt of Waroc was a ſtroke of policy in her; and ſhe now made another diverſion, at the oppoſite extremity of the kingdom of Auſtraſia, by engaging the king of the Varni to take up arms againſt the perſecutor of his ſon. The Varni were a German nation, eſtabliſhed on the ſea-coaſt, at the mouth of that branch of the Rhine which formerly emptied its waters into the ocean; but which now runs by Leyden, and then loſes itſelf in the ſands, at Catwick. The intrigues of Fredegonda proved the deſtruction of this unfortunate people[41]; who were not only defeated by Childebert, but ſo completely exterminated, that their very name was extinguiſhed for ever.

A. D. 596.] Childebert did not long ſurvive this victory. He died a few months after, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign[42]; more regretted from the hopes which he had given riſe to, than for the exploits which he had

[41] Fred. c. 15. [42] Fred. in Chron. c. 17. Geſt. Franc. c. 37.

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atchieved. His queen, Faileuba, died ſoon after. He had two children by her, who ſucceeded him under the conduct of their grandmother, Brunehaut. The eldeſt, Theodebert, was crowned king of Auſtraſia; and the youngeſt, Thierri, had the kingdom of Burgundy; to which were annexed Alſace, Sundgaw, Turgaw, and a part of Champagne. In this diviſion, which had been ſettled by Childebert, the wiſhes of the inhabitants, particularly thoſe of Alſace, had been chiefly conſulted. Their partiality to Thierri aroſe from his having been brought up among them at a country ſeat called Marlem.

Theſe country-ſeats of the ancient kings of France, or pleaſure-houſes, as they are generally termed, were very different from thoſe which the preſent monarchs devote to the mere purpoſe of amuſement. They were rather rich farms, than regal palaces, at which every object of convenience was to be found; where ornament was leſs ſtudied than utility, and where profit was more conſulted than pleaſure. There were above a hundred and ſixty of theſe royal ſeats, in different parts of the kingdom; and the ſovereigns paſſed their lives in travelling from one to another. The villages that lay on the road were obliged to ſupply them with carriages for their retinue; and the abbies and caſtles with lodging and proviſion. The abbots and nobles, not content with entertaining them in a ſtyle of ſuperior magnificence, never failed to make them a preſent of plate at their departure. That which at firſt was but a voluntary gift, a token of affection from the vaſſal to his lord, became, in the ſequel, a tribute of obedience. The kings, in time, grew tired of this wandering kind of life; but they were determined, notwithſtanding, to give up none of the prerogatives that were attached to it. They therefore impoſed on thoſe prelates and nobles, who had been accuſtomed to receive them, a tax of *agiſtment* [43].—A truly grateful reward for their hoſpitality!

The death of Childebert occaſioned a renewal of the war between the courts of Auſtraſia and Soiſſons. Fredegonda, taking advantage of the preſent conjuncture, levied an army, and took poſſeſſion of Paris, and of ſeveral other places on the banks of the Seine [44]. A contemporary writer obſerves, that this irruption was made after the manner of the barbarians, without any previous declaration of war; which neceſſarily implies that a treaty of peace had been concluded between the two crowns, after the battle of Droiſſi. Be that as it may, Brunehaut haſtened to aſſemble the troops of her grandchildren, and made them march, with the utmoſt expedition, to the relief of the provinces that were attacked. The two armies met at Leucofao, which was ſituated either in the environs of Laon, of Toul, or of Moret en Gâtinois; for the place is unknown at preſent, and authors are divided in opinion as to its

43 Ducange's gloſſary, on the word Giſtum. 44 Fred. ib.

ſituation.

ſituation. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy, and attended with great ſlaughter on both ſides. The three young kings, as we are told by hiſtorians, were placed at the head of their reſpective troops, though the oldeſt of them was but in his thirteenth year.—Victory declared for Clotaire.

A. D. 597.] Fredegonda had now attained the ſummit of proſperity; a crown procured by the ſplendor of her charms, and preſerved by the ſtrength of her genius; a huſband reſtored, through her, to a throne which he had loſt by his perfidy; a minority conducted with all the art of a conſummate policy; a regency rendered illuſtrious by two celebrated victories; and a new kingdom conquered and ſecured to her ſon:—all theſe atchievements are unequivocal proofs of her vigour and talents; and proved almoſt ſufficient to make her ſubjects forget that ſhe was ambitious, vindictive, and cruel; that ſhe had ſacrificed to her grandeur, or to her ſafety, one great king, two virtuous queens, two heirs apparent to the throne, and an infinite number of people of inferior rank. It was at this moment of triumph and exaltation, when her arms were crowned with victory, and her projects with ſucceſs, that GOD called her from the world; as if apprehenſive that the enormity of her crimes would, in the ſight of unthinking mortals, be ſunk in the ſplendour of her exploits. She was interred near her huſband, in the church of Saint Germain des Près, where her tomb is ſtill to be ſeen [45].

The death of this formidable rival, afforded leiſure and opportunity to Brunehaut to eſtabliſh univerſal tranquillity throughout her dominions: ſhe concluded a peace with the Huns, who, after the death of Childebert, had invaded the Auſtraſian territories; ſhe renewed the ancient treaties with the king of Lombardy; and ſhe engaged the pope to avert the difference which was likely to ariſe with regard to the valley of Aouſte, and the country of Suza, which Gontran had taken from the empire. But affairs of ſtate did not make her forget matters of religion. The ſovereign pontiff, apprized of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh to liſten to the doctrine of Chriſtianity, which had been greatly encouraged by Bertha, daughter to Caribert the Firſt, who had married Ethelbert, king of Kent, determined to ſend miſſionaries to promote the promulgation of the goſpel. Brunehaut granted theſe miſſionaries a free paſſage through her dominions, ſent ſome French papiſts, who underſtood both Engliſh and Latin, to accompany them [46], facilitated their journey to Canterbury and protected them ſo effectually, that, according to pope Gregory, *after God, England is indebted to her for its converſion to Chriſtianity.*

A. D. 599.] It was not long, however, before the flames of war began to rage with additional fury, throughout the empire of France. It is not known whether a deſire

[45] Geſt. Franc. c. 37. [46] Bede, l. i. c. 25, 26, 27.

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to recover Paris, induced Theodebert and Thierri to arm; or whether Clotaire, elated with ſucceſs, endeavoured to extend his conqueſts[47]. But it is certain, that this laſt monarch had entered upon the territories of Burgundy, before a junction had been formed between the armies of the two Brothers[48]. An actiontook place at a village, called by Fredegarius, *Doromellus ſuper Aroannam*, now Dormeil-upon-Queſne, near Sens, which terminated in favour of Theodebert and Thierri. Clotaire, obliged to retreat, fled firſt to Melun, afterwards to Paris, and then to Arelauna, now the Britiſh Foreſt, till the places he had reduced after the battle of Leucofao were retaken and ſacked; and he was, at length, compelled to ſue for peace; which was granted him, but on very hard terms. He was obliged to cede to the king of Burgundy all the towns in his poſſeſſion, which lay between the Loire, the Seine, the ſea, and the frontiers of Brittany; and to the Auſtraſian monarch he gave up the Duchy of Dentellenus, which comprized, according to the moſt probable opinion[49], that extent of country which is ſituated between the Aiſne, the Oiſe, the Seine and the ocean, and which nearly forms the preſent Iſle of France. He only preſerved for himſelf twelve diſtricts, between the ſea, the Oiſe and the Seine; by which means he was conſidered as a prince who had been ſtripped of his dominions and was reduced to a ſimple appanage for ſubſiſtance. This concluded the ſixth century in France.—The beginning of the ſeventh was ſignalized by the defeat of the Gaſcons.

A. D. 601.] That people, equally diſtinguiſhed for their wit and courage, had not yet eſtabliſhed themſelves in the province which now bears their name. They then reſided in Navarre, in a part of Old Caſtile and of Arragon[50]. Pampeluna and Calahorra were their principal cities. It was beyond the Pyrenees, therefore, that Theodebert and Thierri extended their incurſions. Victory followed their ſteps; the Gaſcons were defeated, and a tribute exacted from them.

A. D. 603.] While the kings of Burgundy and Auſtraſia were thus employed, Clotaire, who was ever intent on revenge, made a ſudden irruption into the country between the Seine and the Loire[51]. His ſon Meroveus, a child of ſix years, commanded his army, under the conduct of Landri. That general, after reducing ſeveral towns, inveſted Orleans, where Bertoald, mayor of the palace of Burgundy, had taken refuge. Thierri, informed of his ſituation, flew to his aſſiſtance; and Landri not being able to keep the field, retreated towards Eſtampes, with a reſolution to make a ſtand at the paſſage of the river of that name. The van of Thierri's army had no ſooner paſſed the ſtream, than he attacked it with determined bravery, and Bertoald, who commanded it, was ſlain, after performing prodigies of valour. But the reſiſtance made by this

[47] Fred. in Chron. c. 20. p. 748. [48] Geſt. Franc. g. 57. Aimoin, l. 3. [49] Boulainv. Mem. hiſt. c. 1. p. 219.
[50] Fred. in Chron. c. 21. [51] Idem, c. 26.

gallant

gallant officer, gave the remainder of the troops an opportunity of paſſing the river, and forming on the oppoſite ſide. The conteſt then became too unequal to be long ſupported. A dreadful carnage of the Neuſtrians enſued: the greateſt part of their army periſhed in the field, and the few that eſcaped were indebted for their ſafety to the precipitation with which they fled. Young Meroveus was taken priſoner; but what became of him afterwards is not known, ſince his name is never again mentioned in hiſtory. It has been ſuſpected[52] that he was put to death in priſon; but that is a mere conjecture.

Theodebert, in the mean time, had entered the kingdom of Soiſſons, and advanced towards Compiegne, where Clotaire had fixed his camp. The two main armies had juſt formed a junction, when they received intelligence of Landri's defeat; and the Neuſtrian prince being now compelled to ſue for peace, obtained it on reaſonable terms. The king of Auſtraſia began to entertain apprehenſions that his brother's enterpriſing ſpirit might prove prejudicial to his intereſt, and therefore wiſhed to ſecure a friend who might protect him from dangers, that exiſted but in his own imagination. This ſpirit of miſtruſt, when made known to Thierri, appears to have inſpired him with ſimilar ſentiments: hence the amity which had hitherto ſubſiſted between the brothers, being poiſoned by diffidence, was ſpeedily converted into diſcord.

Protades had been recently appointed to ſucceed Bertoald in the office of Mayor of the Palace of Burgundy. This nobleman was the moſt ſupple courtier, a man of the greateſt addreſs, and the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed cavalier of the age. All that reaſon could dictate, or intereſt ſuggeſt, did he exert, in order to irritate his maſter againſt Theodebert. The peace of Compeigne, concluded without the conſent, and contrary to the intereſt of Thierri, afforded a ſubject of complaint which he did not fail to profit by; and he contrived to acquire ſuch an aſcendancy over the mind of that prince, that war was declared againſt the king of Auſtraſia. There are ſome, however, who pretend, that this rupture proceeded from another cauſe, and that Brunehaut was the inſtrument of diſcord that ſet her grandchildren at variance. That vindictive woman, ſay theſe writers[53], had not forgotten the inſult ſhe had ſuſtained from Theodebert, who expelled her from his court; and ſhe was induced to revenge it by meditating the deſtruction of its author. She gave Thierri to underſtand, that this prince, who had hitherto paſſed for the ſon of Childebert, was, in fact, but the ſon of a gardener. Such, according to Fredegarius and his copyiſt Aimoin, was the true cauſe of the war betweeen the two brothers.

But the truth of this account is juſtly ſuſpected. The very year in which it is pretended that Brunehaut was expelled from the kingdom of Auſtraſia, ſhe engaged the

[52] Recherches de Paſquier, l. v. c. 23. p. 491. [53] Fred. in Chron. c. 19.

two princes to form a junction of their armies for the purpoſe of oppoſing Clotaire—a meaſure which certainly implies neither hatred nor miſunderſtanding. If that princeſs had really ſuſtained ſuch an inſult, Gregory, under whoſe pontificate this event is placed, would not have failed to write to her on the ſubject, either to conſole her, or to make her conſider her diſgrace as a juſt chaſtiſement inflicted by the hand of Providence. This pope, the firſt who interfered in the affairs of France, would never have ſuffered ſuch an opportunity for the exertion of his religious zeal to eſcape; ſince it is well known that he always conceived it to be his duty to convey inſtruction to crowned heads. The king of Auſtraſia would doubtleſs have experienced the ſeverity of his remonſtrances, on a proceeding ſo cruel and unjuſt. But, on the contrary, we find, from all the letters which he wrote at this period, that a ſtrict amity ſubſiſted between Theodebert and Brunehaut, and that the two courts were alike governed by the advice of that princeſs. We might add with Paſquier[54], that it is *highly credible* ſhe never reſided with Theodebert, but that, immediately after the death of Childebert, ſhe followed Thierri into Burgundy. It was a kingdom newly acquired, and of courſe but indifferently ſecured. It was out of the power of a child of nine years to ſecure it; and the preſence of Brunehaut, therefore, became a matter of neceſſity. What at firſt appears but probable, is rendered certain, when we conſider the great number of ſuperb edifices which ſhe cauſed to be erected in the dominions of the young Burgundian prince. It is not known, ſays the learned critic we have quoted above, that this queen, who is allowed by all to have poſſeſſed the appearance of devotion at leaſt, ever founded a ſingle church in Auſtraſia; whereas, a thouſand monuments, raiſed for pious purpoſes, or for public convenience, are ſtill to be found in the kingdom of Burgundy. The great roads and cauſeways which ſtill bear her name; the monaſtery of Aulnay, near Lyons; the abbey of Saint Vincent, at Laon; that of Saint Martin, at Autun; the celebrated hoſpital at the ſame place; with many other public works, which muſt have required ſeveral years to accompliſh, began and compleated during the pontificate of Gregory, all ſeem to demonſtrate, that long before her pretended exile ſhe had fixed her reſidence at the court of Thierri.

The ſuppoſition with regard to Theodebert is equally deſtitute of probability;—revenge deferred for ſeven years, by an enraged woman, by a queen capable of every enormity, by a monſter of wickedneſs and cruelty, for ſuch do theſe authors repreſent Brunehaut. This is a tale, ſays Paſquier[55], that may be calculated to impoſe on monks, who have taken a vow of patience, but not on people who frequent courts, much leſs on kings, at a time when they think themſelves greviouſly inſulted. Another problem, not leſs difficult of ſolution, is the facility with which the king of Burgundy ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that Theodebert was not the ſon of Chilperic; a perſuaſion with which, they tell us, he was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed, that he took up arms in order to dethrone

54 Recherches, l. v. c. 16, p. 477–78. 55 Ch. 17. l. v. p. 479.

him.

him. Yet war was no ſooner declared than the prince, who was ſo ſtrongly convinced of the illegitimacy of the uſurper, became ſuddenly reconciled to this pretended ſon of a gardener. Nay, he not only concluded a peace with him, but obſerved it moſt religiouſly, under the immediate inſpection, and by the direct advice, of her who is ſuppoſed to have revealed to him the horrid ſecret. Theſe are contradictions ſo highly repugnant to reaſon and common ſenſe, that they ſcarcely deſerve to be ſeriouſly confuted.

A. D. 605.] As ſoon as war was reſolved on, the two princes took the field. But when the armies came in ſight of each other, the Burgundian troops roſe up againſt Protades, whom they juſtly conſidered as the author of thoſe diſſenſions which prevailed in the royal family. The principal leaders of the ſedition were Uncelenus and Wulf[56], both patricians, and both envious of the favourite. The plot was carried on with ſo much ſecrecy, that, before any thing had tranſpired, the whole army had inveſted the royal tent, where the miniſter was playing with the king's phyſician *at tables*, that is to ſay at drafts, or probably at cheſs; which game, having been invented in the Eaſt Indies at the commencement of the fifth century, might very poſſibly have been known in France at the beginning of the ſeventh, ſince the French had long maintained a commercial intercourſe with Conſtantinople, between whoſe inhabitants and the Indians an intimate connection ſubſiſted[57]. The air ſuddenly reſounded with the tumultuous cries of the ſoldiers and their officers, who jointly demanded that the *firebrand* which had lighted the torch of war ſhould be delivered up to them. The king, ſurprized at this inſolence, was going forth to repreſs it, but his guard, either from zeal for his perſon, or from his connection with the rebels, oppoſed his paſſage, under pretence that he could not ſuffer him to expoſe his life to the fury of an armed multitude. He then ordered Uncelenus to carry his orders to the troops, and to make every man repair to his poſt. But that general, inſtead of obeying him, told the ſoldiers that the king gave up the mayor of the palace to their diſpoſal. Theſe words were no ſooner pronounced, than the royal tent was forced, and Protades dragged forth and torn in pieces. This event ſuperinduced the concluſion of a peace, and the two armies departed without fighting. Policy required that a conſpiracy of ſo heinous a nature ſhould not paſs unpuniſhed. Uncelenus, who had miſrepreſented the orders of his ſovereign, was accordingly mutilated by the amputation of a foot; a ſpecies of puniſhment then much in uſe. Wulf, who had inſtigated the army to mutiny, was ſentenced to death. The office poſſeſſed by Protades was given to a Gaulic nobleman, named Claud, a man of great ſenſe and courage.

Some time before this rupture between the two brothers, pope Gregory died. He was the firſt of the ſovereign pontiffs who had any particular connection with the French kings. One of his letters to Childebert the Second contains a glorious eulogy

[56] Fred. in Chron. c. 28, 29. [57] See Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres, tom. v. p. 252.

on the nation. "Your kingdom," says Gregory[58], "is as much above other nations, "as sovereigns are above other men." But this familiarity, as Pasquier remarks[59], though but of short duration, had nearly proved fatal to the ancient liberties of the Gallican church. The danger he alludes to, arose from the ambition of certain ecclesiasties. It was a custom that had been introduced some years before at the court of Rome, to send the *pallium*, or pall, to such prelates as the pontiffs wished to distinguish. This *pallium* was a kind of imperial mantle, with which the Christian emperors had decorated the bishops, as a mark of the spiritual authority they possessed over the church. The patriarchs of the east received it at the altar, during the ceremony of their consecration, and sent it to the metropolitans, who gave it to the bishops of their provinces. It was not known in the west, till the commencement of the sixth century. Cesarius of Arles was the first prelate of the French church that wore it. It was not till about the year eight hundred that it was sent to all metropolitans.

The bishops of Burgundy and Provence were led by their vanity to boast of this honour[60]. Vigilius of Arles was the first who solicited the *pallium*, with the consent, and at the recommendation of king Childebert. The pope, who acquired more than he gave, granted more than they asked:—"We appoint you," says Gregory to Vigilius, "to represent us in the whole extent of the kingdom of our son, Childebert. Should "any prelate be obliged to travel or to absent himself from his diocese for any length of "time, he must have your previous permission. If any matter of consequence should "occur, or any question of faith arise, you will assemble twelve bishops to decide it. "But should it be attended with any peculiar difficulty, you'll refer it to us. We send "you the *pallium*, but you'll only wear it in the church." This was a visible encroachment on the power of metropolitans, to whom it assigned a head or chief, a thing till then unexampled. It went still farther—it sapped the foundation of, destroyed and annihilated, the most valuable liberties of the Gallican church, which had hitherto decided all questions and all differences that had arisen within its jurisdiction by its own councils, finally and without appeal. But happily this assumption of power proved a vain prerogative that was never exerted. We do not find that Vigilius, or bishop Syagrius, who had also obtained the *pallium*, enjoyed any kind of precedency in the synods that were holden in those days, or that they exerted a right which the sovereign pontiffs could more easily grant than secure.

It was not ambition alone that infringed on the ancient prerogatives of the church; heresy sometimes encroached on them, and guilt often[61]. One Maximus, a Gaulic bishop, is mentioned in history, who retired to the court of Boniface the First, in order to obtain protection from the sentence of a council before which he had been convicted

[58] S. Gregor. l. v. Epist. 6. [59] Rech. de la France, l. iii. c. 9, p. 195. [60] Idem, p. 196. [61] Idem, p. 197.

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of Manicheism. But that wise pontiff, respecting the rights and privileges of the church, refused to take cognizance of the affair; he only wrote to the Gaulic bishops, to beg they would grant the fugitive prelate a short delay. This was all he obtained. It does not appear that Saint Brice[62], when accused of adultery, found greater protection at Rome, where he resided seven years. On the death of the prelate who had been appointed to his see he returned, and was established in his episcopal dignity, in the same manner as he had been deposed; that is to say, without any investigation of the charge preferred against him. Salonius and Sagittarius, two brothers, bishops of Embrun and Gap, the shame and disgrace of the prelacy, having been deposed by a council holden at Lyons, they obtained permission from Gontran to appeal to the pope, who restored them to their respective sees. But it must be observed that, in this case, the appeal was made with the express consent of the French monarch. It was he who conducted the whole business; who reconciled the two prelates to Victor, their accuser; and who put the sentence of the sovereign pontiff in execution. The forbearance of the bishops in so delicate a case is less to be considered as an acquiescence in the decision of the pope, than as an act of obedience to their sovereign. If they shewed their respect for the king in sparing two criminals whom he had taken under his protection, they gave proofs of their firmness, at the same time, by excommunicating Victor, who had been so mean as to withdraw his accusation.

This example, though evidently repugnant to the rights of the church, might have had dangerous consequences in future. This does not, however, appear to be the case[63]. Ursicinus having been deposed by the second council of Mâçon, had recourse to Gregory, after the death of Gontran. But that pontiff, though highly jealous of the authority of the Romish church, did not dare to take cognizance of the cause; he confined himself simply to intercession.

Simony was extremely prevalent in France at this period; and the only arms that the pope employed against a monster, that has been so often attacked, though never exterminated, were prayers, supplications, and complaints, preferred with the greatest humility. But he assumed a very different tone in Sicily, Dalmatia, Sardinia, and a considerable part of Africa. There he was no longer the servant of servants, but an absolute sovereign, who, from the plenitude of his power, could unite or divide bishopricks; could appoint, depose, or re-establish titularies; could command one to come to Rome to perform penance for his errors; a second, to submit his pretensions to the arbitration of the holy see; and a third he could punish with the utmost severity of the canons, if he took money for ordinations. But such was the opinion that then prevailed in

[62] Saint Brice succeeded Saint Martin in the see of Tours, whence he was expelled on an accusation of having had a child by a nun.

[63] Rech. de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 198.

France,

France, that the French biſhops, although devoted to the holy ſee as to the centre of unity, were nevertheleſs independent of the juriſdiction of Rome, as well in matters of diſcipline as in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes whatever [64].

A. D. 607.] It was immediately after the treaty of peace between the two crowns of Burgundy and Auſtraſia, that Thierri, if Fredegarius may be credited, married Ermemberga, daughter of Bettoric, or Vittoric, king of Spain. Brunehaut, who only ſought, ſays that author, to corrupt the manners of her grandſon, that ſhe might govern him with greater authority, prevented the conſummation of this marriage by the moſt deteſtable means; which rendered the new queen ſo odious in the eyes of the Burgundian prince, that he ſent her back to the king her father, without even reſtoring her dower [65]. But what reliance can be placed on a fact that requires the aid of witchcraft to ſupport it? What credit does an hiſtorian deſerve, who can find, in the works of contemporary writers, not a ſingle circumſtance that can tend to the confirmation of what he advances? Had Spain ſuſtained ſuch an inſult, in the perſon of one of her princeſſes, ſhe would doubtleſs have revenged it, or, at leaſt, attempted to do ſo. Yet not a veſtige of ſuch a tranſaction is to be diſcovered in the annals of that nation, which was ever ſo feelingly alive to any attack on her honour. Would Jonas the monk, whom credulity or adulation induced wantonly to calumniate Brunehaut, have forgotten a circumſtance ſo degrading to her character? He wrote before Fredegarius, and laboured under the ſame prejudices as that author; like him, he wiſhes to perſuade us that ſhe was ever anxious to prevent the king of Burgundy from forming a lawful connection; yet he obſerves a profound ſilence with regard to this pretended marriage; which we muſt, therefore, conclude to be a mere fiction.

The name of Jonas reminds us of other ſcandalous invectives, which he propagated againſt the memory of Brunehaut and her grandſon. This hermit, too credulous for an hiſtorian, too impaſſioned for a monk, relates that Thierri had four children, not one of whom was born in marriage [66]. Colomban, abbot of Luxeuil, frequently exhorted him to marry, but all his exhortations proved fruitleſs and unavailing. One day when that holy man went to viſit the queen, ſhe introduced the king's four ſons to him, requeſting him to give them his benediction—"Do not imagine," replied the monk, "that theſe children, which are born in infamy, ſhall ever wear the crown." This brutal exclamation inducing the queen to withhold the proviſions which ſhe had been accuſtomed to ſend to the convent, the zealous reformer went to complain to Thierri, who ſent him the moſt delicate viands, and wines of the moſt exquiſite flavour, all of which Columban threw away; crying out, in the ardour of his zeal, "GOD "rejects the preſents of the wicked." This pious tranſport ſo alarmed Thierri and

[64] Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 200. [65] Fred. in Chron. c. 30. [66] Jonas in vita. S. Colomb. c. 19.

Brunehaut,

Brunehaut, that they ſolemnly promiſed to reform; but the monarch, we are told, ſoon returned to his former courſe of life, which drew a ſecond reprehenſion from Colomban, couched in ſuch ſevere terms, that Brunehaut procured a ſentence of baniſhment to be pronounced againſt him: the abbot, however, returned to his convent, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition, and did not leave it till repeatedly urged by the officers, whom his ſovereign had ſent to enforce the execution of his orders[67].

Such is the account of Jonas, every line of which is marked by indecency, impoſition, and abſurdity. It is true, that the ſons of the king of Burgundy were born in concubinage; but we have already ſhewn that this kind of connection was authorized not only by the laws of the church, but by thoſe of the ſtate. No faithful hiſtorian would have concealed ſo eſſential a circumſtance: even Fredegarius[68], who is ſometimes obliged to yield to the ſuperior power of truth, remarks, that theſe princes had for their godfathers the moſt pious prelates in the dominions of Thierri. Is it credible, then, that ſo many perſonages of that deſcription, compelled by their ſtation to the repreſſion of ſcandal, ſhould have ſanctioned ſuch a proceeding, by their ſilence, when a ſimple monk was ſo loud in his cenſures? Is it likely that Saint Gregory, too, who could not poſſibly be ignorant either of Thierri's conduct, or his grandmother's approbation of it, ſhould have been ſilent on an occaſion in which religion was ſo deeply concerned? Was the ſacred flame of holy zeal ſo totally extinguiſhed in the boſoms of the pope and the prelates, that not a ſingle ſpark was to be diſcovered any where but in the breaſt of the good abbot of Luxeuil?—But the partial panegyriſt of Colomban loſes himſelf moſt when he converts the moſt unequivocal objects of cenſure into grounds for commendation—Such are the benediction which, he tells us, was ſo brutally refuſed to children whoſe birth, even if illegitimate, could not exclude them from regeneration in Jeſus Chriſt; the preſents, ſo ridiculouſly thrown away; and his inſolent affectation of contempt for the orders of his ſovereign. We boldly affirm, that either the anecdote of Colomban's zeal, his exile, and return, is wholly fabulous; or that Jonas the hermit was deſtitute of the virtues of meekneſs, humility, and obedience, which are the very ſoul of Chriſtianity. That ſatirical author was not aware that the very circumſtance which led him to repreſent Brunehaut as an implacable fury, would ſuffice to prove her a princeſs of the greateſt moderation. The abbot's diſobedience was a crime againſt the ſtate, and, conſequently, puniſhable with death; a ſentence of baniſhment, therefore, was a proof of clemency.

A. D. 610.] Theodebert began to be impatient at the diſmemberment of his dominions, by taking from him Alſace, Sundgaw, Turgaw, and a part of Champagne. He

[67] Jonas in vita S. Colomb. c. 22. [68] Fred. in Chron. c. 22, 24.

had

had long formed a project for reuniting theſe territories to his crown. Brunehaut, ever attentive to the intereſts of her grandchildren, ſpared no pains to terminate a difference which threatened to be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences[69]. Bilichilda, formerly a ſlave belonging to that princeſs, but now queen of Auſtraſia, a woman whoſe virtue was equal to her charms, had acquired a great aſcendency over the mind of her huſband, and would have deterred him from the purſuit of hoſtile meaſures, but for the intervention of his courtiers, who breathed nothing but war. At this time there appeared at the court of Auſtraſia, a young woman, of uncommon beauty, named Theudichilda; for whom the king conceiving a violent paſſion, he reſolved to marry her; but as Bilichilda proved an obſtacle to this alliance, the barbarian treated her as a ſlave over whom he enjoyed the right of life and death, and ſtabbed her with his own hand. The Auſtraſian nobles, having now no rival in the councils of their ſovereign, eaſily perſuaded him to commence hoſtilities againſt his brother. He accordingly entered Alſace, which he reduced before the court of Burgundy could poſſibly be apprized of his having taken up arms. He then wrote to Thierri, to propoſe the ſubmiſſion of the queſtion to an aſſembly of the nobles of the nation. A caſtle, then called Saloiſſa, now Seltz, between Saverne and Straſburgh, was choſen for the place at which the conference was to be holden. The two kings agreed to repair thither with a certain number of men, not exceeding ten thouſand.

The king of Burgundy, relying on his brother's word, attended with a very ſmall retinue. He was followed by Theodebert, whoſe ſuite was apparently not more numerous; but the troops, which he had diſtributed in different parts, ſuddenly uniting, inveſted Thierri, and preſſed him ſo cloſely, that, in order to eſcape the danger that threatened him, he found himſelf obliged to ſign whatever his brother required. By this means, the Auſtraſian prince remained maſter of the whole country which formed the object of conteſtation.

A. D. 611.] A treaty thus concluded from neceſſity, was, as might eaſily have been foreſeen, ſoon broken from revenge. The Burgundian monarch had no ſooner eſcaped from the hands of his brother, than he reſolved to regain by arms what he had loſt by treachery[70]. But in order to ſecure the king of Soiſſons, he engaged to promote the reſtitution of all that country which the Auſtraſians had uſurped from him, between the Oiſe and the Seine. On theſe conditions, Clotaire promiſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and he performed his promiſe with the moſt rigid ſcrupuloſity.

A. D. 612.] As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, Thierri opened the campaign, and advanced towards Andelau[71]. His firſt attempt was upon the caſtle of Nas, ſuppoſed

[69] Fred. in Chron. c. 37. [70] Idem, ibid. [71] Idem, in Chron. c. 38.

to

to be little Nancy, Nancey, or Nançois, which he had but juſt reduced when the army of Theodebert came in ſight. The battle was fought in the plains near Toul, where the Auſtraſians, after a bold and vigorous reſiſtance, ſuſtained a total defeat. The king, being obliged to fly, retired firſt to Metz, and then to Cologne, where he received a conſiderable reinforcement, compoſed of Saxons, Thuringians, and other nations of that part of Germany which belonged to France: this was a kind of corps-de-reſerve, which was never employed but on the moſt urgent occaſions. The king, placing himſelf at their head, marched immediately to Tolbiac, where Thierri had fixed his camp. This place, ſo famous on account of the victory which Clovis had there gained over the Germans, again became the ſcene of a moſt obſtinate and bloody action. To ſpeak in the hyperbolical language of Fredegarius, which the reader will know how to reduce to its proper ſtandard, "The ſlaughter was ſo dreadful that, in "ſeveral parts of the field, whole battalions of dead bodies were ſeen ſtanding upright, "preſſed cloſe together, as if they had been alive [72]."

The Auſtraſians, again defeated, only thought of gaining ſome place of ſafety.—But as many of them periſhed in the flight as in the battle. The fields and woods, from Tolbiac to Cologne, were ſtrewed with the bodies of wounded and dying ſoldiers. Hiſtory furniſhes but few examples of ſuch animoſity as was here exhibited.

The king of Auſtraſia fled beyond the Rhine, where he was taken and brought to his brother, who ſtripped him of all the emblems of royalty; and in this humiliating ſtate ſent him, under a ſtrong guard, to Châlons upon Saone [73]. This is all that we learn from Fredegarius of the fate of Theodebert: Jonas, indeed, goes farther; he ſays, that queen Brunehaut ordered his hair to be cut off [74], and then compelled him to embrace a religious life; and that all theſe precautions proving inadequate to ſatisfy this wicked woman, ſhe at length determined to murder him. But he is the only one of the ancient hiſtorians who mentions this circumſtance, which is not noticed even by thoſe writers, who are moſt inveterate in the abuſe of that princeſs. Another monk, and the author of the book, intitled, "The Actions of the Kings of France [75]," both ſay, on the contrary, that Theodebert, after his defeat, fled to Cologne, where he was beſieged by the king of Burgundy. The inhabitants of that city, in order to obtain better terms for themſelves, conſpired againſt his life, cut off his head, and threw it over the walls. It was only on ſuch conditions, which reflect equal diſhonour on the perſon who exacted, and on thoſe who ſubmitted to them, that they could obtain peace from the conqueror.

[72] Fred. in Chron. p. 752. Duch. tom. i. [73] Fred. in Chron. c. 38. [74] Jonas, in vit. Columbani.
[75] Almoin, l. iii. c. 87. Geſt. Franc. c. 38.

The two laſt authors affirm that Theodebert had ſeveral children; and ſay, that Brunehaut, who had gone before Thierri as far as Metz, ordered them all to be maſſacred, except one princeſs, of great beauty: for her Thierri conceived a violent paſſion, and accordingly reſolved to marry her; but the regent, being afraid that when ſhe was made queen ſhe would revenge the death of her father, repreſented to him that it was not lawful to marry his niece. "Did not you tell me, wicked woman that "you are," exclaimed the prince in a rage, "that he was not my brother? And "have you then rendered me guilty of parricide[76]?" As he ſaid this, he drew his ſword, and would have killed her, but for the interference of ſome noblemen who were preſent at the time. Brunehaut, ſay theſe writers, knowing the diſpoſition of her grandſon, reſolved to avert the effects of his vengeance by giving him poiſon, of which he died. Yet, if Fredegarius may be credited, who lived nearer to the preſent period[77], the king of Auſtraſia had only one ſon, named Meroveus, who being taken with his father, was conducted to Cologne, where his uncle had him put to death. This account is leſs liable to ſuſpicion, as it comes from a pen which appears only to have been employed for the purpoſe of calumniating Brunehaut. We ſhall ſhow, from the evidence of the ſame hiſtorian, that the death of the Burgundian monarch is aſcribed to her with equal injuſtice. The fact is thus related by him.

A. D. 613.] Clotaire, on the news of the defeat and capture of Theodebert, ſeized the dutchy of Dentelenus, which had been promiſed him as a reward for his neutrality; but the king of Burgundy, who made no ſcruple to violate the faith of treaties, ſummoned him to withdraw his troops; and ordered his ambaſſadors to declare war againſt him, in caſe of refuſal. The Neuſtrian prince being determined to maintain his rights with firmneſs and reſolution, both parties had recourſe to arms. Thierri, at the head of a numerous army, was preparing to invade the kingdom of Soiſſons, when he was attacked by a dyſentery, which carried him off in a very few days[78]. He was then in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign. Like his brother, his only recommendation was his courage, which was hereditary in the family of Clovis. This the Spaniſh Goths experienced under the reign of Gondemar, who, if Mariana may be credited[79], was tributary to the French monarchs; which, he ſays, may be proved by the teſtimony of Bulgaran, whoſe letters are ſtill preſerved in the archives of Alcala and Oviedo. Gondemar, then, whoſe reign commenced in ſix hundred and ten, and finiſhed in ſix hundred and thirteen, could only have been ſubjected to pay tribute by the two young princes who then held the reins of empire in France.

[76] Aimoin, l. iii. c. 82. Geſt. Franc. c. 39. [77] Fredeg. in Chron. c. 39. [78] Idem, ibid.
[79] Mariana, Hiſt. Hiſp. l. vi. c. 2.

A fatal

A fatal revolution enſued on the death of Thierri, who left four ſons—Sigebert, Childebert, Corbus, and Meroveus. The eldeſt of theſe was only in his eleventh year; and Brunehaut took every method to ſecure to him the double crown of his father, but ſhe was betrayed on all ſides. The Auſtraſian nobles, at the ſolicitation of Arnoul and Pepin, openly declared for the king of Soiſſons[80]. Clotaire, certain of their ſupport, entered Auſtraſia, and being received into ſeveral of the principal towns, advanced as far as Andernac, a ſtrong place on the Rhine, which he took by aſſault. There he gave audience to the ambaſſadors ſent by Brunehaut, to complain of his irruption into a kingdom that belonged to the children of Thierri. The monarch, aſſuming a ſemblance of moderation that was foreign from his heart, told the envoys that he was willing to ſubmit the deciſion of this affair to an aſſembly of the nobles.

The queen expecting a ſimilar anſwer, had ſent Sigebert into Thuringia, where ſhe hoped his preſence would engage the inhabitants to declare in his favour. But Garnier, the Mayor of the Palace of Burgundy[81], who attended him, held a correſpondence with the king of Soiſſons, and, in obedience to his inſtructions, obtained a promiſe from the Thuringians, that they would not only refrain from taking any ſteps in favour of Sigebert, but that they would immediately recall the troops which ſome of them had already ſent into France. Having thus ſecured this people, he took the young prince to Worms, where Brunehaut then was; and perſuaded that princeſs to return to Burgundy, where, he ſaid, ſhe would find the inhabitants more ſubmiſſive to her orders, and more faithful to her children. The motive alledged was ſufficiently ſpecious to deceive her; ſhe therefore went into Burgundy; but Garnier found means to engage the Burgundian nobles to acknowledge Clotaire for their ſovereign. It was then agreed to put Brunehaut and the young princes to death; and the plot was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, that ſhe did not entertain the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of it.

Though the Auſtraſians might veil their conduct beneath the ſpecious pretext of revenge for the death of their king, Theodebert; the defection of the Burgundians could admit of no palliation. To join ſome modern writers in the aſſertion, that the children of Thierri were illegitimate, would betray an ignorance of the firſt principles of the ancient law of France. We have already proved, that it was cuſtomary in thoſe times to admit to the ſucceſſion not only baſtards and ſons of concubines, but even the polluted offſprings of inceſt or adultery. Witneſs Theobald, who ſucceeded Theodebert, though ſprung from Deuteria, who was a married woman[82]; and Chilperic alſo, who was admitted to an equal diviſion with his brothers, although the ſon of Aregonda, ſiſter to Ingonda, both of them wives to Clotaire the Firſt, and at the ſame time.

[80] Fred. c. 40. [81] Idem. ib. [82] Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 22, 23. L. iv. c. 28.

Fredegarius is not more ſucceſsful in his choice of means for the juſtification of Garnier's conduct. Brunehaut, ſays he, ſuſpecting the fidelity of that officer, wrote to a nobleman named Alboin, who accompanied Sigebert on his journey to Thuringia, to beg he would rid her of a traitor who ſecretly favoured the cauſe of Clotaire. Alboin tore the letter; but a ſervant belonging to Garnier collected all the pieces, ſo that his maſter was able to read the contents. Enraged at the plot that was meditated againſt his life, from that moment he reſolved on the deſtruction of the queen and her children.—Such is the account of Fredegarius. But is it probable, that a man who had received ſuch an order, as that pretended to have been ſent to Alboin, would have been ſo imprudent as to tear it in ſo careleſs a manner, that the pieces might be eaſily collected and joined? If Garnier had been apprized of any machinations againſt his life, is it poſſible to believe that he would have preſented himſelf at the court of a princeſs with whom they had originated? If Brunehaut had entertained any doubts of Garnier's fidelity, would ſhe have entruſted him, not only with the adminiſtration of her affairs, but with the care of the princes, and the command of the army which ſhe ſent to oppoſe the enemies of her family?

Be that as it may, Clotaire, whoſe projects wore a moſt proſperous appearance, advanced with a numerous army as far as the plains of Châlons upon Marne. The Burgundians were encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, at ſome diſtance from the river Aiſne. The troops were preparing for action, when Sigebert's generals ordered the retreat to be ſounded. The whole army immediately fled; and the king of Soiſſons purſued it[83], according to agreement, but ſo ſlowly as to give the Burgundians ample time to eſcape. They continued in this manner till they came to the river Saone, where Garnier threw off the maſk, and put his infamous plans in execution. The traitor, in violation of the laws of religion, of probity, honour and humanity, ſeized Sigebert, Corbus and Meroveus, and delivered them into the hands of their moſt inveterate enemy. Childebert had the good fortune to eſcape, though it is not known what became of him.

Brunehaut, on the news of this fatal cataſtrophe, fled to the caſtle of Orbe, upon the lake of Neûchatel; but her retreat being diſcovered, ſhe was arreſted, and with Theudelana, ſiſter to Thierri, conducted to Ryonne, a village ſituated on the Vingene, where Clotaire had fixed his camp. An ancient author affirms, that this princeſs had the four children of Thierri murdered herſelf; and that ſhe preſented herſelf to the uſurper, decorated with all the embelliſhments of youth, in the hope of inſpiring him with love, and of inducing him to marry her. But that hiſtorian did not write till a century after theſe events occurred, and at a time when the immediate deſcendants of Clotaire ſwayed the ſceptre of France: it was then faſhionable to regard

[83] Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 28. Fred. ibid.

Clotaire

Clotaire as another Jehu, and Brunehaut, as a ſecond Jezabel. Nothing was ſpared to render the portrait ſtriking; even probability was ſacrificed to prejudice or adulation; for, in fact, is it conſiſtent with reaſon to ſuppoſe, that a queen, who was great-grandmother to four children, the eldeſt of whom was, at leaſt, in his thirteenth year, could flatter herſelf with the proſpect of becoming the wife of a youthful monarch, who was already married, and who was, moreover, her moſt implacable enemy?

Another hiſtorian, who wrote at a later period indeed, but who was equally inveterate in his animoſity againſt the memory of Brunehaut, juſtifies her completely from any concern in the murder of the young princes. "The queen," he tells us [84], "was no ſooner in the power of Clotaire, than he put Sigebert and his brother Corbus to death. He had compaſſion on Meroveus, to whom he ſtood godfather; and to that circumſtance alone was the child indebted for his life. He was entruſted to the care of Ingobod, who brought him up privately in Neuſtria, where he lived many years."—— But it is highly improbable that, in this ſingle inſtance, the ſuggeſtions of pity ſhould riſe ſuperior to the dictates of policy, in the ferocious mind of Clotaire. Meroveus had an equal right with his brothers to the double crown which the uſurper wiſhed to unite to his own. Neither is this fact atteſted by any other hiſtorian than Fredegarius, who wrote his hiſtory at the expreſs command of Childebrand, uncle to king Pepin, above a century after the tragical event. Beſides, that writer evidently contradicts himſelf, when, within a few lines of the above paſſage, he ſays that Clotaire reproached queen Brunehaut with the murder of *the three ſons of Thierri, who had juſt been put to death.*

This cruel execution was ſucceeded by another ſtill more barbarous. Brunehaut remained—Childebert was ſtill alive—the vengeance of Clotaire was but partially gratified—his fears were but partially diſpelled. He ordered that princeſs to be brought before him, at the head of his army, where, in a manner equally indecent and unjuſt, he reproached her with crimes which had chiefly been committed by his mother or himſelf. The troops, inflamed by his remarks, called loudly for her death. During three days ſhe was expoſed to the inſults and deriſion of the army, mounted on a camel, and parading round the camp; on the fourth, ſhe was tied to the tail of a horſe that had never been broken, and daſhed to pieces on the ground. What remained of her body was thrown into the flames, and reduced to aſhes. The horror which ſuch barbarity is calculated to excite, acquires double force on the peruſal of Fredegarius [85], who concludes his account of this infamous tranſaction, by a panegyric on the *humanity* of Clotaire. He was a prince, ſays that author, who feared God, was of a gentle diſpoſition, and an incredible ſuavity of manners!

[84] Fred. in Chron. c. 42. [85] Ibid.

Thus

Thus miſerably periſhed the daughter and mother of ſo many monarchs; that queen, whom biſhop Fortunatus[86] repreſents as a perfect model of Venus and the Graces: whom Gregory of Tours[87] recommends as a pattern of decency, virtue, wiſdom and meekneſs: whom pope Gregory[88] praiſes as a princeſs who was ever attentive to the diſcharge of the duties of religion, and ſtudious to prove herſelf a virtuous regent and a good mother. The hiſtory of her reign, amidſt the horrors with which the pens of calumny and detraction have been anxious to deface and diſguiſe it, affords many eminent proofs of her ſenſe, generoſity, firmneſs and benevolence. Her public magnificence was incredibly great; even at the time when Aimoin wrote, ſo many caſtles, churches, monaſteries, hoſpitals, high-roads, and other works of elegance and utility, erected by this princeſs, were ſtill to be ſeen, "that one could ſcarcely believe," ſays that author[89], "that they could have been performed by a ſingle monarch, who had only governed a ſmall part of France."

Several of the nobles were involved in the calamities which befel the unfortunate Brunehaut. Romulphus was one of the moſt wealthy and powerful of theſe; his ſon Romaric, too, retired to Luxeuil, and devoted all his poſſeſſions to the endowment of the celebrated abbey of Remiremont[90]. There are few ages in which the miſtaken piety of men gave riſe to ſo great a number of monaſtic inſtitutions as the preſent. About the year four hundred, ſome pious perſons who had retired from the noiſe and buſtle of life to indulge in ſerious meditations, left Italy to ſettle in the deſert iſles of Provence, and in the uncultivated mountains of the diſtrict of Vienne. The ſanctity of their lives procured them a number of diſciples. Monaſteries were built for them, where they lived under the inſpection of the biſhop of the dioceſe, and ſubſiſted by the work of their hands. The firſt of theſe religious retreats, and the moſt famous of of them all, is that of Lerins, founded by Saint Honorat; it was, for a long time, the ſchool for monks, and a ſeminary for biſhops. In the fifth century was erected, among others, the convent of Saint Maurice, in Chablais, which the Abbè Severin is ſaid to have rendered celebrated by his miracles and his virtues. A prodigious number of monaſteries ſprung up in the ſixth century:—Saint Meſmain, formerly Mici, near Orleans, was founded by Clovis; Saint Thierri, near Rheims, by Remigius; Saint Cloud, formerly Nogent, by Clodoald, the laſt of the family of Clodomir; Saint Croix and Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Près, by Childebert the Firſt; Saint Peter and Saint Paul, at Rouen, by Clotaire the Firſt; Saint Medard, at Soiſſons, begun by the ſame prince, but completed by his ſon Sigabert; Glannefeuille in Anjou, by Saint Maur, a diſciple of Saint Benedict; Saint Pierre-le-Vif, near Sens, by Theudichilda, daughter of Thierri the Firſt, king of Auſtraſia; Mouſtier-Saint John and

[86] Fortunat. l. vi. Carm. 6. [87] Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 27. [88] S. Greg. l. v. Epiſt. 5. [89] Aimoin, Præfat. in Hiſt. Franc. [90] It is called in Latin Romarici-Mons, by the name of its founder.

Saint

Saint Seine, both in Burgundy, Saint Martin, in the Cotentin, and Saint Erroul, in the dioceſe of Liſieux, all four of them named after their reſpective founders.—Theſe were the moſt conſiderable that were built in the ſixth century: the ſeventh was ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by the fervent zeal of religious founders.

Luxeuil, Eſtival, Moyen-Mouſtier, Saint Dié, Senone, and Bon-Mouſtier, were all erected in the duchy of Lorraine; Saint Gal in the mountains of Switzerland; Saint Vandrille, in the dioceſe of Rouen; Saint Vallery, on the coaſt of Picardy, and another in the ſame place, founded by Saint Joſſe, brother to Judicael, prince of the Britons; Saint Guiſlain in Haynaut; Saint Tron, in the territory of Liege; beſides Saint Godart, Feſcamp, Jumiéges and Noir-Mouſtier. An enthuſiaſtic emulation appears to have prevailed at this period among the wealthy, which made them ſtrive who ſhould erect the greateſt number of theſe retreats. The moſt diſtinguiſhed erections which reſulted from the pious conteſt, were Saint Marcel in the foreſt of Breſſe, founded by king Gontran; Saint Martin at Autun, by queen Brunehaut, for the reception of three hundred monks; Saint Denis, in the iſle of France, by Dagobert the Firſt, as much celebrated for the richneſs of it's revenues, as the magnificence of its buildings; Corbie, by queen Bathilda; Stavelo, in the Ardennes; Malmedy, in the dioceſe of Liege; Saint Martin in the Fields, near Metz, by king Sigebert; Saint Waſt, at Arras, by Thierri the Third; and Surgub, Haleſac, Koniſbruck, and Saint Sigiſmond in Alſace, by Dagobert the Second.

The queens, princeſſes, and women of quality, were not leſs zealous than their huſbands, in the encouragement of a monaſtic life. Many celebrated abbies were built at this period, where young women of condition found an aſylum for their virtue; widows, a place of refuge in the hour of calamity; and queens, a peaceful ſhelter from the tumultuous embarraſſments of royalty. Saint Croix, at Poitiers, owes its eſtabliſhment to Radegonda, wife to Clotaire the Firſt, who, preferring the ſweets of religion to the pleaſures of matrimony, left her huſband, and taking the veil, paſſed the remainder of her days at that convent. Bathilda founded the famous monaſtery of Notre Dame, at Chelles, where ſhe fixed her reſidence after completing the education of her royal ſon. Irmina, the daughter of Dagobert the Second, was the founder and firſt abbeſs of that of Ocren[91]. The convent of Notre Dame, at Soiſſons, of which ſeveral princeſſes have been abbeſſes, was erected by Leutruda, wife to Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace to Thierri the Third. Glodeſina, or Gloſina, daughter of Wintrion, duke of Champagne, inſtituted that at Metz, which ſtill bears her name. Fare-Mouſtier, in Brie, owes its origin to the illuſtrious Fara, ſiſter to Faro, biſhop of Meaux. Begga, widow of Anchiſes, ſon of Saint Arnoul, and daughter of Pepin the

[91] Horreum.

Old,

Old, founded that at Andene, which is now a college of ſecular maidens: and Aldegonda and Vaultruda, two ſiſters, erected the convent at Maubeuge. It would be an endleſs taſk to ſpecify every monaſtic inſtitution erected by women, in thoſe times; it is ſufficient to obſerve that the weaker ſex were not leſs eager than men to endure the fatigues and auſterity of a life of penitence and mortification.

There were formerly ſeveral claſſes of monks or hermits. Some of them lived in community, under the conduct of a ſuperior—theſe were the *cenobites*. Others, impelled by a deſire of attaining to a greater degree of perfection, retired to the moſt horrid deſerts—theſe were *hermits*, or *anchorites*. A third claſs travelled from province to province, either to viſit holy places, or to gain inſtruction from thoſe who were moſt celebrated for their ſanctity—ſuch were called *pilgrims*. A fourth, either built cells in towns, or elſe ſhut themſelves up in dreary caverns—theſe were named *recluſes*. There were, alſo, ſocieties conſiſting of three or four perſons who lived together, without any head or chief, neither reſtrained by rules, nor confined by vows. Moſt of them diſtributed their fortunes among the poor; but they were under no obligation ſo to do; nor did the laws exclude them from the poſſeſſion of eſtates, on their return to the world; though ſuch a return was regarded as a ſhameful deſertion.

Beſides the erection of monaſteries, the princes and nobles of theſe times diſplayed their zeal for religion, in the profuſion of preſents which they laviſhed on their inhabitants, and in the numerous and important exemptions which they granted them. Each abbey had its treaſury, which monarchs, and their opulent ſubjects, were ſtudious to ſtock with precious effects of various kinds; theſe generally conſiſted of rich girdles, magnificent belts, valuable vaſes, clothes embroidered with gold and ſtones, and articles of furniture more rare than uſeful. The monks made a point of preſerving ſuch gifts, as well for the glory of the convent, as for the honour of the donors. But they were ſtill more careful to preſerve thoſe charters which contained the enumeration of their privileges; and ſometimes, indeed, they had the temerity to amplify them. The French kings exempted them from all taxes on land, houſes, and goods, and from all contributions to the ſupport of the judges; a ſpecies of impoſt then in uſe. But even theſe precautions were inadequate to ſecure to them the full poſſeſſion of their property, ſince the biſhops were empowered to diſpoſe of all offerings made at the different churches in their dioceſe. They exacted ſo much for the benediction of the holy chriſm; ſo much for the conſecration of altars; ſo much for their viſitations; and ſometimes they even inſiſted on being paid for an ordination. The French monarchs perſuaded them to give up theſe rights in favour of ſuch monaſteries as were royal foundations; and the prelates engaged never to enter them, but when the authority of the abbot ſhould prove inſufficient to command reſpect, and to enforce obedience.

It

It was always the biſhop of the dioceſe, aſſiſted by the other prelates of the province, who granted this kind of exemption. The firſt, and moſt ancient, is that which was accorded to the abbey of Saint Croix and Saint Vincent, by Germanus, or Saint Germain, whoſe name it now bears[92]. It was from ſuch an example, that Saint Dennis, Corbie, Lerins, Luxeuil, Saint Maurice in Chablais, and Saint Vandrille were exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary; the hierarchy having employed its authority for its own deſtruction. Pope Deodat acknowledges that theſe exemptions were real abuſes; yet in the ſame bull in which he ſays they are contrary to the ſacred canons, he confirms all the privileges of Saint Martin, at Tours, if that can properly be called a privilege which annihilates all monaſtic perfection, which conſiſts in humility and obedience.

Although monaſtic inſtitutions are indiſputably liable to various objections of great weight and magnitude, it is certain that France has derived many advantages from the number of its religious eſtabliſhments. They tended, at leaſt in the early times of the monarchy, to the advancement of religion, and promoted the diffuſion of virtuous ſentiments; they furniſhed hiſtorians, who preſerved the annals of the nation, and who, with a proper allowance for their credulity and profeſſional prejudice, may ſtill be read with advantage; and they ſupplied the ſtate with uſeful citizens, to whoſe induſtry France is chiefly indebted for the preſent fertility of its ſoil. The frequent incurſions of the Barbarians had laid the whole country waſte; nothing but uncultivated plains, extenſive foreſts, barren heaths, and noxious marſhes, were to be ſeen in every diſtrict. Poſſeſſions, thus ſterile, it was juſtly thought might be ceded to the monks without any detriment to the ſtate. Under this idea, as many lands were granted them as they were able to cultivate; though they had embraced a life of penitence, and conſecrated themſelves to their Creator, they did not wiſh to encourage ſloth, or to ſubſiſt in idleneſs: they cleared the woods; drained the marſhes; ploughed, ſowed, and planted the lands; and made ſuch erections on them as were neceſſary for the purpoſes of agriculture. Nor was their labour polluted by motives of ſelfiſhneſs; they obſerved the ſtricteſt frugality, and the greateſt part of the produce of their toil was devoted to the relief and comfort of the poor. Under ſuch auſpices, the face of the country was ſpeedily changed; it aſſumed an aſpect of cheerfulneſs to which it had long been a ſtranger; the dark heath now wore an appearance of verdure, the gloomy foreſt was converted into pleaſing plains, and all was cultivation and fertility around. There were ſome abbies whoſe revenues, thus improved by induſtry, became ſo extenſive, that they could raiſe ſmall armies: whence it was that the abbots were, in after times, invited to the aſſemblies in the Field of Mars.

[92] It is proper to obſerve that this exemption was warmly attacked, as well as that of Saint Medard, at Soiſſons, Saint Corneille, at Compiegne, and ſeveral others; but it is not leſs true that ſimilar privileges have been conferred on different monaſteries.

The cuſtom, that ſo generally prevails at preſent, of making vows in favour of people who ſneeze, is commonly believed to have originated during the regency of Brunehaut, and the pontificate of Gregory the Great. It is pretended[93], that at this period there was a malignity in the air, ſo contagious in its nature, that whoever was unfortunate enough to ſneeze, expired on the ſpot; which induced Gregory to order all good Chriſtians to offer up prayers, accompanied by vows, for the purpoſe of averting theſe evil effects. But this is a fiction, framed in violation of all the rules of probability, ſince it is certain that the cuſtom ſubſiſted in every part of the globe, from the remoteſt antiquity[94].

In the Heathen Mythology, we are told[95] that, the firſt ſign of life given by the man of Prometheus, was a ſneeze. That pretended creator ſtole a portion of the ſun's rays, which having encloſed in a phial hermetically ſealed, he immediately returned to his favourite work, and applied it to the ſtatue. The ſolar rays had retained all their activity, and inſinuating themſelves into the pores, made the ſtatue ſneeze. Prometheus, delighted with the ſucceſs of his plan, offered up prayers for the preſervation of this ſingular being. His pupil hearing him, recollected what he ſaid, and was always careful, on ſimilar occaſions, to make the ſame vows in favour of his deſcendants, who have tranſmitted them from generation to generation.

The rabbis, in ſpeaking of this cuſtom, do not give it quite ſo early a date. They ſay that, after the creation, God made a general law, by which it was ordained, that every living man ſhould ſneeze but once, and that at the very moment he ſneezed he ſhould reſign his ſoul to the Lord, without any previous indiſpoſition. Jacob, by no means pleaſed with this abrupt method of quitting the world[96], and being deſirous of ſettling his affairs previous to his departure, humbled himſelf before the Lord, and urgently requeſted the favour of being excepted from the general rule. He obtained his wiſh; he ſneezed, and did not die. All the princes of the earth being informed of the fact, unanimouſly ordained, that, in future, every perſon who ſneezed ſhould offer up prayers for the preſervation and prolongation of his life.

Even from theſe fictions, it is apparent that this mark of politeneſs, which now univerſally obtains on the Continent, was in uſe long before the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. It was conſidered as very ancient, in the time of Ariſtotle, who was ignorant of its origin, and ſought the cauſe of it in his Problems[97]. He pretends, that the firſt men being ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of the head, which is the prin-

93 Polyd. Virg. Sigonius. 94 Mémoires de L'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv.. 95 Fam. ſtrada in prob. Acad. 96 Pirkᵉ R. Eliezer, c. 52. 97 Ariſtot. in Probl.

cipal

cipal ſeat of the ſoul, that intelligent ſubſtance, which governs and animates the whole maſs, extended their reſpect to the act of ſneezing, which is one of its moſt manifeſt and expreſſive operations. Hence the different compliments, uſed on ſuch occaſions, by the Greeks and Romans; ſuch as—" Long may you live!" " Good health to you!" " Jupiter preſerve you!"

CLOTAIRE THE SECOND,

(NOW)

SOLE KING OF THE FRENCH.

A.D. 613.] CLOTAIRE was the ſecond of his name, and, what is extraordinary, he was the ſecond king of Soiſſons who reunited the different parts of the French monarchy, which had been conſtantly divided ſince the death of Clovis. But his power was not equal to the extent of his domination. Could it, indeed, be expected, that a throne raiſed on a baſis ſo criminal, would be ſolid and durable; or that an all-juſt and all-ſapient Providence would ſuffer ſo many crimes to paſs unpuniſhed? Though Clotaire appeared to have laid a foundation for the greatneſs and elevation of his family, he was the firſt cauſe of its abaſement—of its deſolation—nay, of its total ruin. Garnier, mayor of the palace of Burgundy, had only declared againſt Brunehaut, on a promiſe of being confirmed in his office for the remainder of his life[1]. Rado, mayor of the palace of Auſtraſia, had eſpouſed the cauſe of Clotaire on the ſame conditions. Both of them governed in their reſpective departments more like kings than miniſters. Gondeland, mayor of the palace of Neuſtria, had alſo rendered great ſervices to the king—his reward was conſequently the ſame, and his power almoſt as abſolute. The weak monarch conſented to grant theſe important places for life, which originally were holden only during pleaſure. The mayors ſoon began to make an ill uſe of their authority, which daily continued to encreaſe, while

[1] Fred. in Chron. c. 14, 43. Geſt. Franc. c. 41.

that of the ſovereign diminiſhed in proportion; till at length, the deſcendants of Clovis were dethroned by the poſterity of thoſe very men who had favoured their uſurpation over the family of Thierri. This, Paſquier calls a vengeance truly divine.

A. D. 614, 615.] The mayors of the palace were not the only objects of apprehenſion to the French monarch. The Auſtraſian and Burgundian nobles had equally favoured the invaſion; and they imagined, that the leaſt reward that was due to their ſervices, was a permiſſion to commit all acts of violence with impunity. The king had appointed duke Herpin to the government of one part of Burgundy; an office which, though one of the moſt important in the French empire, had recently been filled by a woman—a thing hitherto unexampled in France[2]. But that woman, it muſt be obſerved, was Theudelana, ſiſter to king Thierri; ſo that it was not aſtoniſhing that cuſtom ſhould have been made to yield to fraternal affection. This princeſs was involved in the misfortunes of her family; being arreſted with queen Brunehaut, and brought to the victorious Clotaire: but what became of her aftewards is not known. All that we learn from hiſtory is, that duke Herpin was appointed to ſucceed her;—at leaſt, that is what we muſt conjecture from the account of Fredegarius. After ſaying that Theudelana was brought from Burgundy, whither Brunehaut had fled for ſhelter; doubtleſs, becauſe ſhe imagined that a country governed by her daughter muſt prove a ſafe aſylum for her,—he adds, that "duke Herpin ſucceeded Theudelana in the "government of that ſame province." This, however, is but a ſimple hiſtorical conjecture, which we may either admit, with father Daniel, on a ſuppoſition that the text is correct; or elſe reject it with ſome learned critics, who read Endelana inſtead of Theudelana.—Herpin was a man of great ſeverity, but rigid in the enforcement of order and juſtice. He undertook to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the nobles, who deſolated the province by their oppreſſive exactions; but, enraged at his conduct, they revolted, and the duke was maſſacred.

The king was then with his whole court at Marlem, a royal manſion in Alſace. He ſent a body of troops againſt the rebels, who quelled the ſedition, and returned with ſome of the chief conſpirators, who were firſt tortured and then put to death. Aletheus, who had conducted the plot from beginning to end, not only eſcaped ſuſpicion, but, by his artful intrigues, obtained that government which had become vacant by the death of the man he had aſſaſſinated. This important poſt revived all his ambition. He was a nobleman of high birth, and was endued with ſenſe, and poſſeſſed of courage. He even claimed deſcent from the ancient kings of Burgundy, and determined to aſcend the throne of his pretended anceſtors. The project was raſh in the extreme; but ſtill he found means to perſuade Leudemond[3], biſhop of Sion, that it muſt infal-

[2] Fred. c. 40 [3] Idem, 44.

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Interview of Leudemond Bishop of Sion with Queen Bertrude.

Publish'd as the Act directs. by C. Lowndes. Sep.r 17. 1791.

libly be attended with ſucceſs. The prelate undertook to make a propoſal to queen Bertrude, the moſt inſolent that ever was made by a ſubject to his ſovereign—he went to her palace, and told her in confidence, that it had been revealed to him that the king, her huſband, would die within the year: he next adviſed her to put all her treaſures in a place of ſafety, and offered his own epiſcopal city for that purpoſe; and then offered her the hand of Aletheus, and the crown, which that preſumptuous rebel had dared to regard as due to his merit and his birth.

Bertrude was naturally ſimple, and a prophecy thus circumſtantial, and related by ſuch a perſon, alarmed her affection for Clotaire. Being prevented, by exceſs of grief, from entering into an explanation on the temerity of Aletheus, ſhe haſtily withdrew, and retired to her apartment to give vent to her tears. The prelate, diſconcerted by the reception which his offers experienced, immediately perceived the whole extent of his imprudence, and the conſequent danger of his ſituation. Believing his deſtruction to be inevitable, he fled to Sion; but his fear proving too powerful to ſuffer him to remain there, he left it to throw himſelf under the protection of Euſtatius, abbot of Luxeuil, who afterwards procured his pardon. In the mean time, the king, informed by the queen of Aletheus's conſpiracy againſt his life, inſtantly diſpatched orders to apprehend him[4]. He was tried by an aſſembly of nobles at Maſſolac, a royal ſeat in Burgundy, and condemned to loſe his head.

A. D. 616, 617.] Theſe aſſemblies were often holden by Clotaire; they were called *placita*; and were a ſpecies of ambulatory parliament, compoſed of biſhops, chief officers of the crown, dukes, counts and *farons*, who have ſince been denominated barons. That which the French aſſembled this ſame year, at Bonneuil upon the Marne, was one of the moſt numerous that had been hitherto ſeen. All the Burgundian prelates and nobles were preſent[5]; the prince placed but little reliance on their fidelity, and therefore granted them all they required. Theſe aſſemblies generally met at one of the royal ſeats. The predeceſſors of Clotaire only convened them once a year, in the month of March; they were aboliſhed by the mayors of the palace, and re-eſtabliſhed by Pepin the Fat: but, for a long time, they were only holden twice a year.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed, however, that the adminiſtration of juſtice was neglected: each eſtate and each profeſſion had its peculiar tribunal, its laws and its cuſtoms. Eccleſiaſtics were tried by the clergy; the military by officers; the nobles by gentlemen; and the people by *centurions* in the boroughs and villages; by counts in the cities; and by dukes in the capitals[6]. There was no ſuperiority of juriſdiction among theſe different tribunals, from whoſe ſentences an appeal could only lay to the king himſelf. If

[4] Fred. c. 44. [5] Idem, ibid. [6] Ducange's Gloſſary on the words Judex, aſſiſſa, placitum.

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the appeal proved to be well founded, the judge became reſponſible for coſts and damages; if, on the contrary, the ſentence complained of appeared to be juſt, the appellant, if noble, was condemned to pay a pecuniary fine; and if not, to be whipped. Pecuniary fines were almoſt the only puniſhments known in thoſe days; and there was ſcarcely any other crimes than thoſe which affected the ſtate, that were puniſhed with death. The Salic law fixes the ſums to be paid to the king by way of fine, and to the party injured by way of reparation. The life of a biſhop was valued at nine hundred ſols of gold[7]; that of a prieſt at ſix hundred; and that of a laic at ſomething leſs, according to his quality[8]. The centurion did not poſſeſs the power of condemning criminals to die; the counts only poſſeſſed it in certain caſes; and the dukes were extremely cautious how they exerted that power. The court ſent commiſſaries, from time to time, into the provinces, never leſs than two, and always one duke, count, or prelate: their buſineſs was to hear complaints, and report them to the king.

Lawyers were unknown during the firſt race of kings. The judges, that is, ſuch as were not eccleſiaſtics adminiſtered juſtice armed with a ſword, a battle-axe and a ſhield. Their commiſſion, which was but for a time, interdicted them from making any purchaſe within their juriſdiction. To diſcharge the office of a judge with propriety, a deep knowledge of the national laws and local cuſtoms was eſſentially requiſite. The Frank was tried by the Salic law; the Gaul, who reſided beyond the Loire, by the Roman law; and the inhabitants of the northern provinces, by the common law, or cuſtom of the country[9]. The aſſizes were holden every week or fortnight, according to the number of cauſes, and always in ſome public place, that was open to every one. Each perſon pleaded his own cauſe—widows and paupers were privileged; they were under the protection of the church, and nothing could be decided againſt them, until the biſhop had been apprized of it. The prelates were holden in ſuch conſideration in thoſe days, that their intereeſſion ſufficed to ſave the life of a criminal, and they could even order a cauſe to be brought before them, which had been begun in a ſecular court[10]. This privilege was granted them by a law of Conſtantine; Charlemagne renewed it; and Lewis the Debonnaire, or *Gentle*, confirmed it. The biſhop could decide either in perſon, or by his official, on every thing that could be conſidered as a ſin—on bargains ratified by oaths, on marriages, wills, ſacrilege, perjury and adultery. This enormous power was founded on the dignity of their character, the ſanctity of their lives, and the extent of their capacities. Moſt of the nobles could neither read nor write: till tired at length with being ſubjected, like the common people, to the correction of prieſts, they began to ſtudy the law.

[7] The ſol of gold was worth about twelve ſhillings and ſix-pence of our Engliſh money. Two hundred ſols of gold were paid for a laic; a hundred for a Gaulic proprietor; and forty-five for a tributary Gaul. A Gaulic proprietor was a Gaul who had lands of his own, and a tributary Gaul, one who paid certain fines to the king.

[8] Baluze Capit. t. i. p. 387. [9] Recherches ſur le Droit Francois, Sect. ii. l. i. p. 71. [10] Cod. Theodoſ. in Append. P. Sirmundi.

Sometimes

Sometimes the monarch adminiſtered juſtice himſelf; the court was then holden at the gate of his palace. When he could not attend in perſon, he appointed two officers to receive petitions, and to give an immediate anſwer to ſuch as did not require much conſideration. Beſides theſe *maſters of requeſts*, there was a *count-judge*, whoſe counſellors were military men like himſelf, and were called aldermen of the palace[11]. This tribunal decided on all matters of ſtate, and all queſtions by which the prince or the public was affected. When the king preſided, aſſiſted by his prelates, abbots and dukes, the cauſe was reported to him by the *count-judge*; his majeſty then caſt up the votes, and pronounced ſentence. The form obſerved in this caſe may be ſeen in the ſecond book of Marculphus[12].

Some time before the parliament of Bonneuil aſſembled[13], a council had been holden at Paris, compoſed of ſeventy-nine biſhops, many of the nobles, and a great number of the king's vaſſals, who were called *leudes*, or *fideles*. This was the firſt council of that kind[14]; but many ſuch were aſſembled under Charlemagne and his ſucceſſors. It was there that thoſe celebrated ordinances were framed, which were denominated *capitularies*, from their having been compoſed in an aſſembly, or, according to the language of thoſe times, in a *general chapter* of the nation. This council, the fourth holden at Paris, after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, declares all ſuch eccleſiaſtical elections, as were either ſimoniacal, or made without the conſent of the metropolitan, to be null and void. The third canon prohibits the clergy, of whatever rank, from employing the credit of the great, or the authority of the king, to the prejudice of their biſhop. By the fourth it is decreed, that no ſecular judge could condemn or puniſh an eccleſiaſtic, without the knowledge of his prelate. All nuns who ſhould quit the monaſtic life, were declared to be excommunicated; and the prohibition of inceſtuous marriages was renewed. The king cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, by which he confirmed the ſtatutes of the councils, with ſuch additions as he thought neceſſary to preſerve the prerogatives of the crown.

In this edict it was declared, that a prelate, when elected after the forms preſcribed by the fathers of the council, could only be conſecrated by virtue of an order from the ſovereign; that every eccleſiaſtic who ſhould appeal to the king, for whatever cauſe, ſhould be pardoned, on preſenting himſelf to the biſhop, with a letter under the royal ſignet[15]; and that no eccleſiaſtic ſhould be ſubject to a ſecular juriſdiction, except in criminal caſes, when the prelates and ſecular judges ſhould have joint cognizance of the matter. Clotaire, by the ſame edict, declared it a capital crime, forcibly to carry off widows or virgins conſecrated to God, whether they reſided at home or in a mo-

[11] Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 19, and l. ix. c. 12. [12] Chap. 25. [13] in 615. [14] Tom. i. Concil. Gall. [15] In Decreto Reg. Clot. t. i. Concil. Gall.

naſtery.

naſtery. He finally aboliſhed all the new taxes, and revived thoſe which had been in uſe under Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. There is not any of the ancient edicts in which all the neceſſary forms are obſerved with ſuch ſtrictneſs and preciſion as in this.—It is ſigned by the king, and underſigned by the chancellor or referendary.

It was beneath theſe wholeſome regulations that Clotaire attempted to veil the injuſtice of his uſurpation. But though the diminution of impoſts ſecured the applauſe of the people in Auſtraſia and Burgundy, his ſpirit of reform was by no means agreeable to the inclinations of the great, who had only betrayed the family of their ſovereign, from the hope of living in a ſtate of perfect independence. It is not known whether Garnier really incurred the diſpleaſure of Clotaire, by the commiſſion of ſome treaſonable act, or whether he was only induced by the fears, which a knowledge of his vicious diſpoſition might naturally excite, to adopt meaſures for depriving him of his office. Be that as it may, we are aſſured by an ancient author [16], that the king only aſſembled the parliament of Bonneuil for the purpoſe of perſuading the Burgundian nobles to conſent to his depoſition. The attempt, however, proved unſucceſsful; for they all entreated him to pardon the miniſter, and confirm him in his place. His authority was ſo feebly ſecured that he durſt not refuſe their requeſts, and what happened the following year, ſufficiently proves that the power of the mayor was greater than that of the monarch.

A. D. 618.] The Lombards, as a mark of their ſubjection to the Gallic crown, paid an annual tribute to the French of twelve thouſand ſols of gold. Adaloald, their king, now diſpatched an embaſſy to Clotaire, not only to requeſt the remiſſion of that tribute, but the reſtoration alſo of Aoſte and Suſa [17], two places which had been conquered by Gontran. Theſe were poſts of great importance, as they opened a free paſſage for the French troops into Italy, and formed the ſole defence of the kingdom of Burgundy, on that ſide. The propoſal conſequently deſerved to be treated with contempt, and to experience a refuſal the moſt prompt and deciſive: but the council were of a different opinion; Garnier, and two other noblemen of Burgundy, had received two conſiderable bribes from the king of Lombardy, and they accordingly exerted themſelves with ſuch art, induſtry, and ſucceſs, that the weak monarch of France was prevailed on to comply with the petition, on receiving the ſum of thirty-five thouſand ſols of gold. By this baſe condeſcenſion, equally diſhonourable to the ſovereign and the nation, a ſtop was put to the conqueſts of the deſcendents of Clovis; and the gate of victory was for a long time ſhut againſt the French [18]. It was once more opened, indeed, under the ſecond race of kings, but not without a vaſt effuſion of blood.

[16] Hermann. [17] Fred. in Chron. c. 75. [18] Paſquier Recherches de la France, l. v. c. 25. p. 500.

Clotaire

Clotaire was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his rapine and injuſtice, without the frequent interruption of fear, and the reſtleſs inquietude of apprehenſion—the never-failing attendants of vice and uſurpation. It was rumoured about this time that Childebert, the ſon of Thierri, lay concealed in a monaſtery of nuns at the city of Arles. The affrighted king no ſooner heard the report, than he iſſued orders for apprehending the abbeſs, whoſe name was Ruſticula. She was accordingly brought before him, and took an oath that ſhe had never even harboured a thought of giving refuge to the object of his ſearch [19]. The piety of her life, and the goodneſs of her character, gave force to her declarations, and the whole court was convinced of her veracity. Clotaire, more ſuſpicious, becauſe more deeply intereſted, was the only perſon who ſuſpected her of diſſimulation and falſhood. He kept her in priſon, till the ſudden illneſs of his ſon Meroveus made him believe that Heaven interpoſed in her favour. Then influenced by ſuperſtition, as before by fear, both ariſing from the ſame cauſe, he reſtored her to liberty: the young prince, however, died, and queen Bertrude ſoon followed him. The king was greatly afflicted at this double loſs.

A. D. 622.] He had ſtill two ſons, Dagobert and Aribert; the former, though the oldeſt of the two, was yet very young. He is ſuppoſed to have ſprung from Haldetrude, Clotaire's firſt wife. The king, either from a love of repoſe, from policy, or from affection, ceded Auſtraſia to him, with the title of King [20]. This is the firſt example that occurs in the French hiſtory of a ſon being aſſociated with his father in the throne. Clotaire gave him, for his miniſters, two men holden in great eſtimation for their wiſdom and their virtue; Arnoul, biſhop of Metz; and Pepin, ſurnamed *The Old*, or, *of Landen*. But as prudence forbade him to deſpoil himſelf of all his authority, he reſerved a kind of ſovereignty over the kingdom which he ceded. Beſides that, too, he kept the Ardennes, Voſges, Auvergne, and all the towns, in ſhort, which the Auſtraſian monarchs had poſſeſſed on both ſides the Loire. This diſmemberment of the empire nearly proved, in the ſequel, a ſource of diſpute between the father and ſon.

A. D. 626.] Dagobert, accompanied by all the noblemen of his court, repaired to Clichi, a royal manſion near Paris, in order to eſpouſe Gomatrude, ſiſter to Sichilda, the reigning queen. The marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence; but the ceremony was no ſooner concluded, than the young monarch openly demanded the reſtitution of all the places which had been detached from the kingdom of Auſtraſia [21]. Clotaire, though extremely enraged at this ungrateful conduct, concealed his reſentment; and, as his timid policy ever led him to entertain apprehenſions of imaginary conſpiracies, he was induced to believe that his ſon would not have dared to make ſuch a propoſal, had

[19] Flor. Pr. in vita S. Ruſticul. p. 564. [20] Fred. in Chron. c. 47. [21] Idem, c. 33.

he not been impelled to it by the great men of the realm. Influenced by this perſuaſion, he conſented to leave the matter in queſtion to the deciſion of twelve noblemen, who prevailed on him to cede the Ardennes, Voſges, Rheims, Châlons, Laon, and Cambray. By this condeſcenſion, tranquillity was, for a time, reſtored to the French empire.

The firſt interruption it experienced, was from a revolt of the Gaſcons, which was, however, ſpeedily quelled. But an inſurrection of the Saxons, about the ſame period, wore a more ſerious aſpect. That fierce nation, regarding the youth of Dagobert, and the pacific diſpoſition of his father, as equal objects of contempt[22], thought the opportunity favourable for the recovery of their ancient liberty. Their duke, Bertoald, having previouſly ſecured the aid of ſeveral tribes of Barbarians, ſent a declaration to the king, that he would no longer pay the accuſtomed tribute. On receiving this intelligence, Dagobert immediately paſſed the Rhine, in order to chaſtiſe the rebels. He was met, and attacked by the duke, before he could be joined by the army of Clotaire. The conteſt was maintained for ſome time with great obſtinacy; but, at length, the young prince being wounded by the ſtroke of a ſabre, which divided his helmet and cut off ſome of his hair, he was obliged to retire from the field. He inſtantly diſpatched a meſſenger to his father, with the broken pieces of his helmet, which ſhowed that he had performed his duty, and ſerved as unequivocal proofs of the danger he had run.

The king loſt no time in taking the field; but haſtily collecting what troops he could, flew to aſſiſt his ſon. He found the two armies in ſight of each other, and only ſeparated by the Vezer. Bertoald, to encourage the Saxons, had ſpread a report in his camp that Clotaire was dead. That monarch, therefore, advanced to the bank of the river, and, taking off his helmet, expoſed his long grey hair to the ſight of his faithleſs vaſſal, who ſtood on the oppoſite ſide. The duke inſulting him, he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, ſwam the river, and being followed by a great number of his troops, immediately attacked the Saxons. Bertoald, alarmed for his ſafety, betook himſelf to flight; but he was purſued by Clotaire, who, having overtaken him, cut off his head with one ſtroke of his ſword, and ſtuck it on a lance. A horrible carnage then enſued; the whole army was cut in pieces, and the nation almoſt annihilated. It is ſaid that the ferocious conqueror ordered every one of theſe ſeditious people who was in ſtature taller than his ſword to be maſſacred; and that his orders were but too well obeyed.

A. D. 628.] This was the laſt memorable exploit of the reign of Clotaire; if, indeed, it may be reckoned among the atchievements of that prince; for that candour, which the hiſtorian ſhould never loſe ſight of, compels us to remark, that authors

[22] Geſt. Franc. c. 41.

of

of great weight have doubted its veracity. The author of "The Actions of the "Kings of France," is the only writer who mentions the fact. Fredegarius takes no notice of it. Be that as it may, Clotaire died about the ſame time, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and was interred at Paris, in the church of Saint Germain des Prés. He had three wives, Haldetrude, Bertrude, and Sichilda; and left two ſons, Dagobert and Aribert: it appears certain that he had the laſt by Bertrude.

In vain have contemporary hiſtorians, under the influence of prejudice, or of gratitude, repreſented this monarch as a juſt and gentle prince; his actions give the lye to their aſſertions. The uſurpation of Thierri's throne; the maſſacre of Brunehaut's grandchildren; the cruel death of that princeſs; the murder of Boſon; that of Godin, the ſon of Garnier;—all prove that he had nothing in his nature of that inflexible equity, and that incredible ſweetneſs of temper, which have been aſſigned him by his panegyriſts. Boſon, a young courtier diſtinguiſhed by the ſymmetry of his form, was ſuſpected, by the king, of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with his queen Sichilda[23]; and this ſuſpicion induced Clotaire to have him aſſaſſinated. Godin had married his father's widow; and inceſt being declared a capital crime by the new edicts, the king, inſtead of bringing him to a public trial, ſent ſome perſons, in whom he could confide, to put him to death ſecretly[24]. The young nobleman, however, being apprized of his intentions, eſcaped into the dominions of Dagobert, who procured his pardon, on condition that he would never more have commerce with his ſtepmother. That wicked woman, whoſe name was Berta, enraged at her huſband's ſcrupulous fidelity in the obſervance of his promiſe, accuſed him of a conſpiracy againſt the life of the king. Clotaire, on this accuſation, the reſult of malice and diſappointment, expreſſed a wiſh to put the fidelity of Godin to the teſt; and with this view he ſent two noblemen to him, avowedly for the ſole purpoſe of ſounding his diſpoſition; but, in fact, they had ſecret orders to ſtab him whenever a proper opportunity ſhould occur. Godin, ſuſpicious of their real deſigns, was accompanied by a number of armed men wherever he went. He wandered from church to church, from Soiſſons to St. Dennis, where he ſwore on the tomb of that ſaint, as he had before ſworn on that of Saint Médard, that he would ever preſerve his allegiance to Clotaire. It was propoſed to him to take the ſame oath of fidelity at Saint Agnan, at Orleans, to which he conſented. Hitherto he had been conſtantly on his guard; but being at length taken by ſurprize near Chartres, he fell a victim to the diſſimulation, perjury, and barbarity of a prince who was indebted to the intrigues of his father for the poſſeſſion of a great kingdom. Theſe are actions ſo highly repugnant to the ſpirit of equity, to the laws of honour, and the maxims of Chriſtianity, as to admit of no palliation or excuſe. It is a groſs reflection on the humanity of the age in which they were committed, that they were neither ſtigmatized as unjuſt, nor regarded as cruel.

[23] Fred. in Chron. c. 54. [24] Idem, ibid.

It cannot, however, be denied that Clotaire poſſeſſed many good qualities. He was certainly a valiant and brave prince; well verſed in the art of governing; popular, affable, charitable to the poor, and a zealous protector of the miniſters of religion. He had baniſhed the biſhop of Sens, for his attachment to the family of Thierri; but hearing of his piety and merit, he recalled him, and inviting him to court, there begged his pardon, placed him at his own table, and loaded him with preſents. He renewed the ancient vigour of the laws; and, by the new regulations which he enforced, acquired a juſt claim to be placed in the liſt of legiſlators. To him the French were indebted for the introduction of the German code, which was regulated, and committed to paper, by a parliament conſiſting of three-and-thirty biſhops and thirty-four dukes, aſſembled by the king's orders. He had a cultivated mind, was fond of the Belles-Lettres, and piqued himſelf on his politeneſs and gallantry. His complaiſance to the fair-ſex was ever carried to exceſs; and he was extremely attached to the pleaſures of the chace.

That noble diverſion, which Plato[25] calls a divine exerciſe, and the ſchool for martial accompliſhments, has ever been the favourite amuſement of the French ſovereigns, from the firſt foundation of the monarchy It appears from hiſtory that, in early times, every man had a right to ſhoot or hunt on his own lands, but never on thoſe of another, without the permiſſion of the owner. This reſtriction was enforced by the Roman law[26], which was adopted by the monarchs of France, and preſerved in its utmoſt vigour. Gontran condemned one of his chamberlains to die for having killed a buffalo in the royal foreſt of Vaſſac, or Vaugenne[27]. There are ſome good rules laid down, with regard to this diverſion, in the Salic law[28]. It forbids to ſteal or kill a tame ſtag, that has been trained for the field. It alſo fixes a puniſhment for any one who ſhall ſteal or kill a ſtag of which another is in purſuit; or who ſhall purloin game belonging to a ſportſman, or his dogs or his hawks. Theſe regulations have been repeatedly confirmed and renewed by the French kings, at different times[29].

It has been pretended that the ancient monarchs of France were deficient in policy, when they adopted a law that did not pay ſufficient reſpect to the rights of ſovereignty[30]. Be that as it may, a ſyſtem of juriſprudence is now univerſally received in France, Spain, and Germany, which declares the primitive right of the chace to be inherent in the king, and that the nobles hold it of him, either as a fief, by conceſſion, or privilege.

[25] Plat. de Leg. Dial. [26] L. 3. quod inde de acquirend. rerum domanio. [27] Greg. Tur. l. x. c. 10.
[28] Leg. Salic. c. 35. [29] Dagobert I. 650. Carol. Magn. 798. [30] Traité de la Pol. t. ii. l. 5. tit. xxiii. p. 1402.

DAGOBERT

DAGOBERT THE FIRST.

A. D. 628.] The news of Clotaire's death had no ſooner reached the court of Auſtraſia, than Dagobert exerted all the arts of a refined policy to get himſelf acknowledged ſole king of France, to the excluſion of his brother Aribert. He immediately diſpatched[1] into Burgundy and Neuſtria, ſuch of his miniſters as he knew to be moſt capable of inſinuating themſelves into the good graces of the inhabitants of thoſe kingdoms, and of procuring their votes in his favour. This ambitious monarch did not truſt entirely to intrigue; he raiſed a powerful army, and placing himſelf at its head, advanced as far as Rheims. He there found all the Burgundian nobles and prelates, who had come for the purpoſe of taking the oath of fidelity to him; and their example was ſoon followed by the Neuſtrians. Brunulf, brother to Aribert's mother, in vain attempted to oppoſe a reſolution ſo hoſtile to the intereſts of his nephew; he was conſtrained to yield to neceſſity, and came with Aribert himſelf to do homage to the new ſovereign.

This was an open violation of the laws of the realm, which had ever admitted all the children of the French monarchs to a ſhare in the kingdom. But, unfortunately, the moſt juſt cauſe is not always the moſt ſucceſsful[2]. The good qualities, however, of young Aribert, at length ſhone forth ſo conſpicuouſly, that the nobles began to pity his hard fate. The wiſeſt members of the council, fearing that this compaſſion might finally prove fatal to Dagobert, adviſed that monarch to form certain provinces into a kingdom, and cede it to Aribert. He accordingly gave his brother the Touloufain, Quercy, Agenois, Perigord, Saintonge, and all that country which lies between the

[1] Fred. c. 56. Geſt. Dagob. c. 15. [2] Ibid. c. 16.

Garonne

Garonne and the Pyrenees. But they obliged him to renounce all pretenſions to the reſt of the French monarchy. Aribert, having aſſumed the title of King of Aquitaine, ſet out immediately for his new dominions, of which Thouloufe was the capital. He lived there with ſplendour, ſubdued the Gaſcons who had revolted, and ſupported, with glory, the honour of royalty.

The commencement of Dagobert's reign was diſtinguiſhed by the moſt wiſe and equitable meaſures. The kingdom of Burgundy was deſolated through the oppreſſion of the nobles, who, profiting by the timid indulgence of Clotaire, had exerciſed every ſpecies of tyranny over their unfortunate vaſſals. The new monarch repaired thither in all the pomp of majeſty, and viſited Langres, Dijon, Saint Jean de Lône, Châlons-ſur-Saone, Autun and Auxerre, liſtening to the complaints of the widow and orphan, and of every one whoſe poverty or inſignificance had rendered them moſt liable to oppreſſion [3]. He adminiſtered ſtrict juſtice to all, and every crime was puniſhed with an inflexible ſeverity, without any diſtinction of rank or ſtation. He was loaded with the benedictions of the poor; a thouſand praiſes were beſtowed on the miniſters who adviſed him to purſue ſuch prudent meaſures; and to ſee a young monarch ſo much occupied in diſcharging the duties of his office, as ſcarcely to allow himſelf time to eat his meals, afforded a theme for univerſal admiration.

But amidſt theſe acts of juſtice, he committed one of a very different deſcription. Brunulf, Aribert's uncle, to avoid giving offence, had followed Dagobert into Burgundy, where that prince cauſed him to be arreſted; and, though he had nothing to accuſe him of, he baſely ordered him to be put to death, and three noblemen of his court were baſe enough to execute his orders. The king then returned to Paris; and ſoon after repudiated Gomatrude, under pretence of ſterility, and married Nantilda, one of her maids of honour [4]. But even this ſecond connection was inſufficient to fix his volatile diſpoſition. No longer reſtrained by the prudent councils of biſhop Arnoul, who, wearied out by a continual repetition of ineffectual remonſtrances, had at length obtained permiſſion to retire from court, the voluptuous Dagobert, hurried away by the impetuoſity of youth, gave a looſe to his paſſions, and rioted in exceſs of debauchery.

Impelled by vanity, rather than actuated by any deſire of adminiſtering juſtice to the inhabitants, he reſolved on a journey to Auſtraſia; where he diſplayed all that pomp and magnificence, of which he was ſo fond; appearing every where in his royal veſtments, attended by the chief nobles of Neuſtria and Burgundy. A young Auſtraſian, whoſe name was Ragnetrude, once more inſpired him with love [5]; and by her he

3 Fred. c. 16. 4 Id. Fred. c. 59. Geſt. Dagob. c. 22. 5 Id. Fred. c. 60.

had

had a ſon, afterwards ſo celebrated under the appellation of Saint Sigebert. She, however, was ſoon ſucceeded by another favourite; and this amorous monarch had three wives, at one time, all of whom were honoured with the title of Queen. His miſtreſſes were innumerable; and we are told that his exceſſes, with regard to women, were carried to ſuch a height, that hiſtorians were aſhamed to particularize them. The treaſures of this effeminate monarch proving inſufficient to ſatisfy the avidity of his women, he was ſoon compelled to diſtreſs his ſubjects by the exaction of new and onerous impoſts.

The magnificence diſplayed at the court of Dagobert exceeded every thing which had hitherto been ſeen in the kingdom of France. The king had a throne of ſolid gold; and that precious metal, with diamonds and other valuable ſtones, appears to have been very common among the nobles and courtiers at this period. The French were indebted for theſe articles of luxury, partly to their commerce with the eaſtern empire, and partly to their Italian conqueſts. But ſtill the people groaned under the iron hand of oppreſſion; and the miniſters became reſponſible for the exactions of the prince. The virtuous Pepin was the firſt object of public calumny, and of public hatred. Hoſtile to the vices of his ſovereign, he rather aſpired to the character of a cenſor, than to that of a baſe and ſervile flatterer[6]. Every ſcheme which malice could invent, was adopted for his ruin; but his prudence, his piety, and his virtue, fruſtrated all the pernicious deſigns of his unprincipled enemies.

A. D. 630.] Aribert, of a diſpoſition very different from that of his brother, was ſolely intent on promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects, by whom he was adored. The wiſdom and mildneſs of his government made the French repent the injuſtice of their conduct towards them. But he was unfortunately ſnatched from the world by a premature death, and left his ſubjects to deplore his loſs, with a deep and grateful ſorrow. His infant ſon, Chilperic, did not long ſurvive him; and at his death Dagobert ſucceeded to his treaſures, which were conſiderable; and to his dominions, which were in a moſt flouriſhing condition[7].

A. D. 631.] The tranquillity which France had enjoyed for a length of time, which, in thoſe days of commotion and revolt, was conſidered as extraordinary, was now ſuddenly interrupted by a merchant, formerly a ſubject of the Gallic monarchs, but lately promoted to the ſovereignty of a powerful nation. This man, whoſe name was Samo, had left home in company with ſeveral of his countrymen, for the purpoſe of traffick with the Sclavonians; a people that occupied not only that country which is now called Sclavonia, but alſo Boſnia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and a part of Bohemia[8]. They

[6] Fred. c. 62. [7] Idem c. 57. Geſt. Dagob. c. 24. [8] Fred. c. 48.

had

had advanced as far as the Danube, and had been ſubdued by the Abari; but the ill treatment they experienced from their conquerors at length induced them to revolt, in order to ſhake off a yoke which oppreſſion had rendered intolerable. At this period the French merchants arrived in their country, where the flames of war were about to rage with incredible fury. Samo generouſly offered them his ſervices, and in the courſe of the conteſt performed ſo many prodigies of valour, that they unanimouſly choſe him for their king. Endued with a capacious and heroic mind, his efforts were dictated by prudence, and enforced with courage; their ſucceſs was accordingly complete, and he had the ſatisfaction of liberating his new ſubjects from tyranny and oppreſſion. But forgetting he was a Chriſtian, he lived among them in all the licentiouſneſs of paganiſm; and, profiting by the cuſtom of polygamy, which he found eſtabliſhed in his dominions, he married twelve wives, who gave birth to two-and-twenty ſons, and fifteen daughters.

Such was the man who now diſturbed the tranquillity of his native country. The ſubject of the quarrel was an inſult offered to certain French merchants, who had, according to cuſtom, gone to traffic with the Sclavonians[9]. Thoſe barbarians, in violation of the rights of nations, had ſeized their merchandize, and maſſacred ſuch as attempted to defend their property. Dagobert demanded reparation for the injury, but in vain—Samo even refuſed an audience to his ambaſſadors; one of whom, however, named Sicharius, found means to gain admiſſion to his preſence under the diſguiſe of a Sclavonian dreſs; but he remonſtrated with the king in terms ſo indecent and brutal, that he ordered him to be diſmiſſed in an ignominious manner. War was accordingly declared, and three armies were ſent from France to attack the Sclavonian monarch in three different quarters, who was therefore compelled to make a ſimilar diviſion of his troops. The firſt of theſe diviſions was defeated by the Germans under the conduct of duke Clodobert. The Lombards, who though formerly tributary to, were now in alliance with, France, beat the ſecond, and obtained a conſiderable booty. But the third, in which Samo probably fought in perſon, attacked the Auſtraſians with ſuch vigour, that they retired in diſorder. This check ſuper-induced the defection of the Urbians or Sorabians, a people on the borders of Thuringia, who, with Dervan, their duke, went over to Samo. The Sclavonians, acquiring freſh courage from this acquiſition, extended their incurſions as far as French Germany, which they deſolated during ſeveral years.

Dagobert, indeed, had raiſed a powerful army, in order to oppoſe them, and had actually advanced as far as Mayence, where he was preparing to paſs the Rhine, when ſome envoys from the duke of Saxony came to make him a propoſal, that muſt have

[9] Fred. c. 68. Geſt. Dagob. c. 27.

been

been rejected with indignation and diſdain, had he not preferred the tranquil pleaſures of repoſe to the dangers attending the acquiſition of glory[10]. They undertook to defend with their own troops all the frontiers of the French poſſeſſions in Germany, on condition that the tribute of five hundred oxen, which the Saxons were obliged to furniſh for the king's houſhold, ſhould be remitted. He accepted this offer, granted the exemption required, and leaving the defence of Thuringia to them, diſmiſſed an army, at the head of which he might have given laws to all the nations in the vicinity of Auſtraſia.

A. D. 633.] The Saxons, however, ſoon diſcovered their inability to repreſs the incurſions of the Sclavonians; and accordingly giving up the attempt, Thuringia was again expoſed to the rage and avidity of that barbarous people[11]. Theſe diſappointments filled the monarch with grief, though they proved inadequate to rouſe him from his peaceful lethargy[12]. At length he determined to give the crown of Auſtraſia to young Sigebert, who had not yet attained his fourth year; he aſſigned him a revenue ſufficient for the ſupport of his regal dignity, and appointed two perſons to attend him, who were celebrated for their wiſdom, prudence, and virtue. Theſe were Cunibert, biſhop of Cologne, and Adalgiſe, duke of the palace of Auſtraſia[13]. This ſtep was attended with all thoſe beneficial conſequences which he expected to derive from it. The Auſtraſians, having now a king of their own, imagined they had recovered their ancient liberty, and proſecuted the war with vigour and effect. The Sclavonians, repulſed on all ſides, refrained from their depredations, and kept within the bounds of their own dominions.

A. D. 634.] But the ſatisfaction experienced by the Auſtraſians on this event was ſomewhat allayed by another meaſure of Dagobert's, the following year. By the advice of Saint Amand, whom he had recalled from baniſhment, he had again taken Nantilda to his bed, and had a ſon by her, named Clovis. Fearing that this young prince might meet with the ſame injuſtice as Aribert, he took every precaution that prudence could inſpire, to inſure him a crown after his death. With this view, he aſſembled the nobles of the three kingdoms at Paris[14]; and declared to them his intention of appointing Clovis to ſucceed him in the kingdoms of Burgundy and Neuſtria; at the ſame time enſuring to Sigebert[15] all the poſſeſſions he now enjoyed, and promiſing to leave him whatever had formerly appertained to the kingdom of Auſtraſia, viz. a part of Champagne, the Ardennes, Voſge, and all the places, in ſhort, which his predeceſſors had poſſeſſed in Aquitain, Provence, and other parts of the empire, with the ſingle exception of the dutchy of Dentelenus, which he re-united.

10 Fred. c. 74. 11 Geſt. Dag. c. 31. 12 Fred. c. 75 and 85. Geſt. Dag. c. 32.

13 It appears from hence, that the poſt of Duke of the Palace was diſtinguiſhed from that of Mayor, which Pepin enjoyed, both now and at a ſubſequent period.

14 Fred. c. 76. 15 Vit. Sigeb. reg. Geſt. Dagob. c. 32.

to Neuſtria, from whence it had been detached by Theodebert the Second. The Auſtraſian nobles could with difficulty be prevailed on to conſent to this diviſion of the kingdom, but all the reſt of the aſſembly declaring ſtrongly in favour of it, they were compelled to withdraw their reſiſtance, and place their hands to Sigebert's renunciation of Burgundy and Neuſtria.

A. D. 635, 636.] No ſooner was this buſineſs terminated, than Dagobert found himſelf obliged to ſend a numerous army againſt the Gaſcons, who had revolted. That turbulent people, however, were ſoon reduced to ſubjection; and Æghinan, their duke, with all their principal nobles, were forced to repair to Saint Denis, where they beſought the king's pardon for their offence, and took an oath of allegiance and fidelity.—A ſimilar inſurrection took place in Brittany, where duke Judicael, in violation of exiſting treaties, aſſumed the title of King, and committed depredations on the frontiers of France. But the reduction of the Gaſcons induced him ſpeedily to renounce his pretenſions to royalty; and in imitation of Æghinan, he haſtened to Clichi, where the court then was, aſked pardon for his tranſgreſſions, and ſwore eternal obedience to Dagobert.

A. D. 638.] That monarch, however, did not live long to enjoy the bleſſings of peace which he had ſecured to his ſubjects. Being ſeized with a dyſentery, at Epinay, a royal ſeat on the Seine, he was conveyed to Saint Denis, where he died in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, and was buried in the church belonging to that Abbey, which he had richly endowed[16]. He had four wives; Gomatrude, whom he repudiated; and Nantilda, Wlfégonda and Bertilda, who all reigned at the ſame time. It does not appear, that Ragnetrude, Sigebert's mother, ever enjoyed the title of Queen. The diviſion of his dominions between his two ſons, which he had made during his life, was rigidly obſerved. Sigebert governed Auſtraſia, and Clovis was proclaimed king of Neuſtria and Burgundy.

The monks, who were greatly indebted to his generoſity, have paſſed the moſt brilliant eulogies on the life and conduct of Dagobert. But though the gratitude of thoſe writers be deſerving of commendation, it has ſtill betrayed them into groſs flattery and flagrant miſrepreſentation. The commencement of his reign was well calculated to enſure the eſteem of his ſubjects—where the felicity of his people forms the chief object of a monarch's ſtudy and attention, their affection will invariably follow. But Dagobert only changed the ſource of oppreſſion; he reſtrained, indeed, the tyranny of the nobles, but he ſoon eſtabliſhed a tyranny of his own; diſtreſſing his ſubjects to ſupport his debauchery—loading them with burthenſome impoſts, in order to gratify

[16] Fred. c. 79.

the

the inſatiate avidity of his miſtreſſes. Though not deficient in perſonal bravery, yet he did not poſſeſs that active valour which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed all the deſcendants of Clovis. The faireſt objects of commendation in the character of Dagobert, are his charity, munificence, and generoſity—theſe virtues he certainly poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, though they were not directed with that propriety of judgment which is requiſite to give them their moſt beneficial effect.

During this reign, a collection was made of the laws of the different people ſubject to the domination of France. Thoſe of the French are comprized under the head of *Salic law* or *Ripuarian law*[18]. The firſt regarded ſuch of the French as inhabited the country between the Maeſe and the Loire[19], and the laſt was made for thoſe who lived between the Maeſe and the Rhine. They differ but little: it may be ſeen by them both, that ſubjects were then divided into two claſſes—*freemen* and *ſlaves*[20]. Of the former there were two ſorts—one noble, and the other not. The nobles only founded their nobility on the antiquity of their family—letters or patents of nobility were not yet known. The chief dignities were thoſe of patrician, duke, count, and domeſtic or governor of the royal manſions. The French paid no tribute; that was only exacted from the native Gauls, who were ſeldom diſtinguiſhed by any other appellation than that of Romans. Theſe were treated with contempt, and ſcarcely ever entruſted with any poſt of importance.

The French law had one diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, which no law indeed ſhould be without—that is, it left nothing to the diſcretion of the judge. Every poſſible crime had its peculiar puniſhment ſpecifically annexed to it; and the reparation for every ſpecies of inſult, indecency, or ill treatment, was appreciated with preciſion, if not always with rigid juſtice[21]. Heavy fines were inflicted on ſuch as ſtripped a man when dead or aſleep[22]; and on thoſe alſo who mounted a horſe without the permiſſion of the owner, or a horſe which they found aſtray[23]. Whoever dared to ſqueeze the hand of a free woman, was ſentenced to pay fifteen ſols of gold; if he took her by the arm, he paid double that ſum; and if he touched her boſom, quadruple. Theſe regulations were highly prudent in thoſe times; for the French being accuſtomed to take their wives with them to camp, it was neceſſary to ſecure them againſt every kind of inſult[24].

[18] Chron. Moiſſiac. [19] Ado Vien. et alii. [20] Lex Salic. tit. 37, 43, 44. Lex Ripuar. tit. 62. [21] Lex Sal. tit. 60. [22] Ibid. tit. 15, 17, 25. [23] Ibid. tit. 22.

[24] This attention to the fair ſex was ever juſtly conſidered as the certain mark of a tendency towards a refinement of manners; and in nations recently emerged from a ſtate of rudeneſs and barbariſm, the commencement of ſuch attention affords a ſtrong and almoſt infallible preſage of a rapid progreſs in civilization, and in the attainment of ſocial virtues. "It was (ſays a learned writer of our own country, ſpeaking of the ancient codes of the different people "in France and Germany) the firſt indication of the approach of theſe nations towards politeneſs, that their compoſitions "for injuries done to women were generally doubled."——Lord Kaims's Law-Tracts, p. 32, &c.

The provisions of the Salic law, with regard to homicide, were not equally salutary or unobjectionable. It allowed of that same composition for murder, which, in the ages of imperfect civilization, was common to almost all countries; and fixed a price on the life of each individual [25].

On this head it entered into a thousand particulars. If the assassin was insolvent, his relations, to a certain degree, were compelled to pay for him; and if they were not rich enough, he became a slave to the family of the deceased. Such a system of jurisprudence was rather calculated to authorize crimes than to repress them. Something, indeed, might be said in its favour, when applied to countries but thinly inhabited; since it preserved a member of the community, and assured to the relations of the deceased, either a slave, or an advantageous composition; which proved some compensation for the loss of a kinsman, whose labours might have contributed to their subsistence; and it was probably on this principle alone that such laws were founded. Every citizen, too, was compelled by it to keep a strict watch over the conduct of those who were allied to him by blood; since, in certain cases, he was responsible for their misbehaviour. It was allowable, however, for a man to exempt himself from the consequences of relationship, by a juridical declaration [26]; but the person who made such a declaration, forfeited all right of inheritance; and if he were killed, his fortune, or at least the fine exacted from his assassin, was paid into the exchequer [27].

The French laws also contained some regulations with regard to marriage; that, being founded on feudal principles, were more favourable to family pride, and perhaps to domestic harmony, than to conjugal happiness, or the increase of population. Children could not marry without the consent of their fathers and mothers [28]. The intended husband was obliged to offer a certain sum to the parents of his mistress; which, according to Fredegarius and Marculphus, was a *sol* and a *denier*. If the bride was a widow, *three sols of gold* and *one denier* were paid to the judges, who divided them among such of the relations of her first husband as were not heirs [29]. The offer of this sum was always made in a public court, where a shield had been elevated, and where three causes, at least, had been tried; without this formality, the marriage was declared null. By this species of purchase, the husband acquired so great a power over his wife [30], that if he dissipated her dower, or any estate that had fallen to her by suc-

[25] Tit. 43, 44, 45, 65. [26] Tit. 65.

[27] Of all the pecuniary fines to be found in the ancient codes, those of the Welch are the most curious. Howel Dda fixed the fine for murdering a chancellor at 189 cows; for killing the queen's cat, as much wheat as would cover her, when suspended by the tail; for a perjury, three cows; for the rape of a maid, twelve cows; of a matron, eighteen; and in cases of seduction, "Vir, si factum denegaverit, jurabit super campanam ecclesiae malleo destitutam; quod si fassus fuerit, compensabit denariis totidem, quot nates fœminæ operiantur."—Leges Wallicæ, p. 116, 202, &c.

[28] Tit. 62. [29] In Epitom. c. 18. form. 75. [30] Rip. Tit. 37.

cession,

ceſſion, ſhe had no right to call on him for reſtitution. The reaſon aſſigned for exacting a larger ſum for a widow than for a maid, is this—when a girl married ſhe was ſuppoſed not to change her condition, in point of ſubſerviency, as ſhe did but paſs from under the tuition of her parents to that of her huſband: a widow, on the contrary, had recovered her liberty; and therefore a greater value was placed on the ſacrifice of it. A girl who ſuffered herſelf to be carried off, was condemned to ſlavery. A freeman who married a ſlave became a ſlave himſelf.

The laws of inheritance were fixed with equal preciſion. The children of the deceaſed were ſole heirs to his fortune; in default of them, his father and mother inherited; if he had no parents, his brothers and ſiſters; after them the father's ſiſters, and the mother's ſiſters; and, laſtly, the next heir on the father's ſide[31]—adoption was allowed[32]. The child was adopted, in the King's preſence, who iſſued his letters for that purpoſe, and he enjoyed all the rights of a legitimate offſpring.

There were three ſorts of poſſeſſions.—Thoſe of which a man could diſpoſe at his pleaſure, and which were termed *propres*; *benefices*, which were either holden of the prince, or of the church, on paying certain fines; and *Salic lands*, holden on condition of military ſervice. Women could only inherit the firſt; the ſecond reverted to the king, on the death of the poſſeſſor; and the laſt were confined to the male heirs. It is worthy of remark, that the French monarchs, on their firſt eſtabliſhment in Gaul, left the native Gauls in poſſeſſion of two thirds of their lands, on paying a tribute. The remaining third was diſtributed among the victorious troops, who, from the ſoldier to the general, all held of the king.

[31] Salic. Tit. 14. [32] Rip. Tit. 45.

CLOVIS

CLOVIS THE SECOND.

A. D. 638.] ON the death of Dagobert, the royal family of France began rapidly to decline. The enormous authority uſurped by the mayors of the palace, during the long minority of his children, led them by degrees to the uſurpation of the regal dignity, to which alone ſuch power ſhould belong. Intereſt, ambition, and caprice became the ſole rules of their government; they brought up the young princes in a ſtate of ſhameful inactivity, purpoſely keeping them aloof from buſineſs; inſpiring them with no ſentiments worthy of their rank and birth; ſtudying their paſſions, not for the ſalutary purpoſe of reſtraint, but with the baſe view of affording them a dangerous indulgence; and even profiting by their diſpoſition to piety, in order to acquire a more perfect aſcendancy over their youthful minds. Vice, indolence, and ſloth, were the natural offſprings of ſuch an education.

Theſe acts of baſeneſs, however, cannot be attributed to Æga and Pepin, both mayors of the palace; one in Neuſtria, under Clovis; and the other in Auſtraſia, under Sigebert. There appeared in their conduct nothing which betrayed a deſign to encroach on the royal authority, or to oppreſs the people[1]. The firſt was a man of exemplary prudence, and approved fidelity[2]. The king, on his death-bed, had recommended his queen Nantilda, and the prince, her ſon, to his care; and the conduct of Æga ſhewed that the confidence of his ſovereign was not miſplaced. The firſt uſe which he made of his power was to reſtore to individuals what the officers of the exchequer had unjuſtly exacted from them. Pepin, ſtill more reſpectable from his virtues than from his political knowledge, procured ſuch reſpect to the authority of his pupil, that, ſo

[1] Fred. c. 80, 85. [2] Geſt. Dagob. c. 46.

long

long as he lived, it experienced no interruption, either from foreign invaſions or domeſtic commotions. As ſoon as he entered upon the duties of his office, he ſent an ambaſſador to Clovis, to demand a diviſion of the treaſures of Dagobert. [A. D. 639.] The requeſt was complied with: the two miniſters repairing to Compiégne, divided the gold, ſilver, furniture, clothes, and jewels, into three lots; the firſt of which was given to Clovis; the ſecond to Sigebert; and the third to Nantilda, in compliance with the French Ripuarian Law, which ordains that a woman ſhall inherit a third of her huſband's acquired property [3].

A. D. 640.] Pepin, unfortunately, died the year after this diſplay of his zeal for the intereſts of his maſter. The mildneſs and equity of his government, rendered his death an object of lamentation to the Auſtraſians; and the ſplendour of his virtues procured him a place in the liſt of Romiſh ſaints.

Ægа ſoon followed him; ſo that the royal family ſuſtained a double loſs. The ſucceſſors of theſe virtuous miniſters, neither poſſeſſed the ſame fidelity, nor the ſame moderation. Erchinoalde, the new mayor of Neuſtria, governed more like a king [4], than a miniſter. Among his ſervants was a girl of exquiſite beauty, named Batilda, whom he married [A. D. 646.] to the young monarch. She was a woman of ſtrict virtue, and an heroic courage. She was born in England, of a Saxon family, from whence ſhe had been carried off when a child, and ſold as a ſlave in France. The author of her life affirms, that ſhe was deſcended from illuſtrious parents [5]; but as Clovis was a king, and Batilda a ſlave, the virtue of the latter was inſufficient to counterbalance the inequality of the parties, in the eyes of the nation.

Grimoald, the ſon of Pepin, aſpired to the enjoyment of his father's poſt; and though powerfully oppoſed by Otho, the ſon of an Auſtraſian nobleman, who had been governor to the king [6], he found means to procure the aſſaſſination of his rival, and by that means obtained the object of his wiſhes. This was the firſt time that the office of mayor paſſed from father to ſon. It afterwards became hereditary.

While the court of Auſtraſia was harraſſed and divided by the intrigues of theſe ambitious young men, the ſtandard of rebellion was hoiſted in Thuringia, by Radulfus, duke of that province. This nobleman was poſſeſſed of great military talents: having conquered the Sclavonians, and reſtored tranquillity to the province over which he preſided, he became elated with ſucceſs [7], aſſerted his independance, and adopted means for the eſtabliſhment of his authority. It is probable the court had intended to recall him; but as they had never put their deſigns in execution, he ſeized the earlieſt oppor-

[3] Tit. 37, artic. 2. [4] Fred. c. 83, 84. [5] Vita S. Batild. c. 1. [6] Idem Fred. c. 88. [7] Ib. c. 87.

tunity;

tunity that occurred openly to declare his ſentiments, and to commence hoſtilities againſt his ſovereign. He had entered into a league with a Bavarian, named Fare, a man of quality, deſcended from the illuſtrious family of the Agilolfingians, hereditary dukes of Bavaria. That young nobleman, who poſſeſſed great riches, a high ſpirit, and extenſive connections, was actuated by reſentment for the death of his father, Crodoalde, whom Dagobert had ordered to be killed for ſome crimes which he had committed. An eager deſire of vengeance ſupplied him with the means of raiſing a conſiderable army, which he led to the aſſiſtance of Radulfus.

All the troops iu the kingdom were aſſembled to quell this formidable inſurrection, and the king marched in perſon to oppoſe the rebels. When the armies met, victory, at firſt, ſeemed to declare in favour of Sigebert. Fare, who had taken poſt beyond the Buconian foreſt, on the frontiers of Thuringia, was defeated and ſlain; but the face of the day was ſpeedily changed. The French army next advanced againſt Radulfus, who had entrenched himſelf on an eminence, on the banks of the river Unſtrut. The advantage of his ſituation induced the king to hold a council of war, in which the ſentiments of his officers were divided; ſome were of opinion, that the aſſault ſhould be immediately given; while others maintained the propriety of deferring it till the next day, when the troops would be recovered from their fatigue. The former, however, prevailed; and thoſe who were of the oppoſite opinion, foreſeeing the conſequence of this raſh deciſion, remained near the king, with a reſolution either to protect his life, or die at his feet. The event fully juſtified their conjectures. As the troops were aſcending the hill, the duke of Thuringia ruſhed out upon them, and attacking them with great fury, put moſt of them to the ſword. The ſlaughter was ſo dreadful, that Sigebert ſeeing the whole mountain covered with the dead and the dying, could not refrain from burſting into tears.

This terrible check ſpread an univerſal conſternation throughout the Auſtraſian army; and the king's perſon being thought in danger, it was judged prudent to enter into a negociation with the conqueror. Radulfus acknowledged that he held Thuringia under the authority of Sigebert; but, at the ſame time, expreſſed his hopes that he ſhould be confirmed in a poſt, which he had ſo richly deſerved by his numerous victories over the Sclavonians. The Auſtraſians were obliged to content themſelves with this kind of ſubmiſſion, and to re-eſtabliſh him in his government, where he afterwards exerciſed all the powers of a king.

This is the only memorable event in the reign of Sigebert, who was a good, though not an active prince; more buſied in religious foundations, than in military eſtabliſhments: a pious monarch, but a bad politician; and rather formed by nature for obedience than command. He erected and endowed twelve monaſteries; yet from a letter of his, which is ſtill extant, it appears, that he had ſufficient ſpirit to maintain his

his authority againſt eccleſiaſtical encroachments: it is addreſſed to Didier, biſhop of Cahors, and contains ſome ſevere reprimands on the ſubject of a ſynod that had been convened without his knowledge; with a ſtrong prohibition to the prelates, not to aſſemble in any place whatever, without his expreſs permiſſion. It is ſaid, that though he was very young, and recently married, he adopted the ſon of Grimoald[8]. But having a ſon, ſome time after, named Dagobert, by his queen Imnichilda, the adoption was revoked[9].

The birth of this prince encreaſed the devotion of the monarch, and the credit of the mayor of the palace. Sigebert devoting his whole time to works of piety, Grimoald held the reins of government, diſtributing favours as he pleaſed, and regulating every thing according to his wiſhes. The king's confidence in this ambitious miniſter was ſo great, that, finding himſelf attacked by a dangerous diſeaſe, he recommended his ſon to his care.

A. D. 654.] Sigebert died at Metz, and was buried in the magnificent church which he had recently built in that city, and dedicated to Saint Martin. Dagobert ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition; but he had no ſooner aſcended it, than he was removed from his ſtation by an act of treaſon the moſt abominable. The conſpirators being afraid to make an attempt on his life, cut off his hair, and ſent him to Scotland—where he long lived in a ſtate of obſcurity—under the conduct of Didon, biſhop of Poitiers; who, though deſcended from Clovis, was not aſhamed to undertake the infamous commiſſion[10].

A. D. 655, 656.] A report was immediately ſpread that young Dagobert was dead; and they even affected to bury him with great pomp. The ſtory of the pretended adoption was renewed; no circumſtance was omitted that could tend to eſtabliſh its truth; and, ſuch was the extent of Grimoald's power, that his ſon Childebert was proclaimed king. But the Auſtraſians, ſhocked at theſe proceedings, had recourſe to arms[11], depoſed the new monarch, and ſeizing the mayor of the palace, conducted him to the king of Burgundy and Neuſtria[12]. It is not known what puniſhment was inflicted on this perfidious miniſter, nor what became of the young uſurper. Dagobert, either from a belief that he was dead, or from ignorance of his retreat, was not recalled. Auſtraſia ſubmitted to Clovis, who reunited, for the fourth time, the different kingdoms of the French monarchy.

The reign of this prince, like that of his brother Sigebert, was undiſtinguiſhed by any brilliant atchievement. There are few kings of whom more good and more evil

[8] Vita Sigeberti Reg. [9] Geſt. Franc. c. 43. [10] Vita Sancti Vulfridi. [11] Vita Sigeberti Reg. Act. S. Audoeni. [12] Geſt. Franc. c. 43.

has been ſaid. The motives of their commendation and cenſure exhibit, in a juſt light, the judgment and ſpirit of the writers of thoſe times. [A. D. 657.] A great famine happening in France, Clovis, in order to procure nouriſhment for the poor, ſold the plates of gold and ſilver, which covered the tombs of Saint Denis, and his companions. This was a charitable action, and truly worthy of a Chriſtian king; but, at the ſame time, it was an encroachment on the treaſures of the monks. Clovis, ſays the continuator of Fredegarius [13], was a prince addicted to every ſpecies of vice:—he was brutal and unfeeling; a debauchee, and a drunkard. Some time after this, he obtained for the ſame abbey, of Saint Denis, an exemption from all juriſdiction; Landry, biſhop of Paris, conſented to it, and the deed for that purpoſe was drawn up in a general aſſembly of the prelates and nobles of France. Then the ſcene changed; he was no longer that monarch who, during the *whole courſe of his life had not performed one virtuous action*; he was now a great king, ſays Aimoin [14]; wiſe, valiant, brave, equitable, full of religion, and highly agreeable to God.

A. D. 660.] The monks have imputed another crime to him—the ſeizure of an arm of Saint Denis, for the embelliſhment of his oratory. This appeared a matter of great importance to thoſe who dreaded a diminution of the number of pious pilgrims who went to pay their devotions at the ſhrine of the French apoſtle. It was a crime, they tell us, which Heaven took care to puniſh, by depriving Clovis of his ſenſes. And, if the monks may be credited, to that impious meaſure muſt be aſcribed all the calamities which France experienced under the ſucceſſors of this monarch; who died in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and the fifteenth or ſixteenth of his reign. He was buried at Saint Denis.

13 Monachus Dionyſianus, c. 1. 14 Aimoin Hiſt.

CLOTAIRE

CLOTAIRE THE THIRD.

A. D. 660.] CLOVIS left three ſons, Clotaire, Childeric, and Thierri; the eldeſt of whom was proclaimed ſole King, under the conduct of queen Batilda, and of Ebroin, mayor of the palace of Neuſtria, who was a man of addreſs and courage, capable of great undertakings, but cruel and ambitious. He had the art, however, to conceal his vices, to which he was induced through the fear of diſpleaſing Batilda, whoſe wiſe plans he ever ſeconded with chearfulneſs and alacrity. The regency of that princeſs was diſtinguiſhed by its mildneſs, prudence, juſtice and virtue[1]. The Gauls, without diſtinction of age or ſex, paid a heavy poll-tax, which either prevented them from marrying, or elſe ſubjected them to the neceſſity of expoſing, or even ſelling, their children. They now carried their complaints to the foot of the throne; and Batilda, moved by their ſupplications, remitted this onerous tribute, and redeemed all thoſe whom the rigid exaction of it had reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. Nor was ſhe leſs attentive to the intereſts of the church; ſhe diſplayed her zeal for religion in her endeavours to promote a reformation of manners; in the repreſſion of intrigues for obtaining the honours of epiſcopacy, and in the extermination of ſimony.

The Auſtraſians, however, bore with impatience the yoke of the Neuſtrians; they demanded a king of their own; and the queen, in compliance with their requeſt, appointed her ſecond ſon to reign over them. Wlfoalde was created mayor of the palace, and declared guardian to the young prince, whom Imnichilda obtained permiſſion to accompany. In this condeſcenſion, Batilda diſplayed more goodneſs than policy; for Imnichilda was beloved[2], and Dagobert was ſtill alive; ſo that the reſidence of that

[1] Vita Batild. c. 127. [2] Ib. c. 23.

princeſs, in a kingdom which belonged to her ſon, might be attended with diſagreeable conſequences. But the virtuous mind, conſcious of its own rectitude, is ſeldom open to ſuſpicion. Childeric was received and crowned with every poſſible demonſtration of joy, and tranquillity appeared to be eſtabliſhed throughout the three kingdoms.

A. D. 665.] The virtuous regent was ſtudiouſly bent on promoting the intereſts of religion, the welfare of the ſtate, and the education of her ſon. Her court was filled with people renowned for their wiſdom and piety. But, unfortunately, her partiality to biſhops proved prejudicial to the church, and injurious to her own reputation. She invited to court, among others, two men equally celebrated for their mental endowments, though not poſſeſſed of an equal portion of merit. One of them, the illuſtrious Leger, who was allied to the royal family, was prudent, pious and learned; endued with a ſuavity of manners that captivated every heart, and with a ſtrictneſs of virtue that conciliated univerſal reſpect. Him the queen appointed to the biſhoprick of Autun, and the ſanctity of his life evinced the wiſdom of her choice[3]. The other was Sigebrand, biſhop of Paris[4], a prelate whoſe conduct had been hitherto irreproachable, but whoſe vanity proved the cauſe of his deſtruction. This haughty favourite, in order to enſure a greater degree of conſequence, ſuffered a wrong conſtruction to be put on Batilda's kindneſs to him. The nobles, jealous of the credit he enjoyed, began to murmur; and, at laſt, put him to death. The aſſaſſins then haſtened to the queen, and adviſed her to ſhut herſelf up in a monaſtery. As ſhe had long ſighed after a life of ſolitude, ſhe was eaſily prevailed on to liſten to their advice, and retired to the abbey of Chelles, which ſhe had founded[5]. She there paſſed the remainder of her life, in the exerciſe of every virtue. She was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 668.] Batilda's receſſion from the regency left the kingdom a prey to the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the mayor of the palace. Ebroin, poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority, now ſhowed himſelf in his true character—a monſter of avarice, cruelty, perfidy, and pride. His adminiſtration was one continued ſcene of injuſtice, tyranny, outrage, and oppreſſion. If a man was rich, powerful, or virtuous, he was expoſed to become the victim of his avidity, ambition, or malice. Deteſted by all men of integrity, he baniſhed the nobles from court, and forbade them to appear there without an expreſs invitation from him. Things were in this dreadful ſituation when Clotaire died, in the twentieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. He left no children: it is not even known whether he was married. Some pretend that he was interred in the church belonging to the abbey of Chelles: others, at Saint Denis[7].

The ambitious Ebroin, hated by all the world, could not hope to preſerve his place, if the uſual forms were obſerved in the election of a mayor of the palace. Influenced

[3] Vita S. Leodeg. c. 1. [4] Vita San. Batild. c. 8. [5] Ibid. c. 7, 8. [6] Vita S. Leodeg. c. 2. [7] Ib. Diplom. p. 467.

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by this conſideration, without ſummoning the nobles of the kingdom to deliberate on the matter, he raiſed Thierri to the throne, and had him proclaimed King of Burgundy and Neuſtria. This exertion of power aſtoniſhed the nobles[8], though it did not give them any kind of averſion to their new monarch. They were even on the road, for the purpoſe of paying their reſpects, and doing homage to him, when they received a renewal of the prohibition to appear at court without permiſſion. Enraged at an inſult ſo pointed and groſs, they immediately aſſembled and flew to arms. The crown was unanimouſly transferred to Childeric, who haſtened to join them at the head of a powerful army[9]. The conſpiracy was ſo general and ſo ſudden, that Ebroin, forſaken by every body, had but juſt time to eſcape the fury of the nobles, by taking refuge in a church. His life was ſpared, but his poſſeſſions were all confiſcated, and he was conſtrained to paſs the remainder of his life in the convent of Luxeuil.

A. D. 669.] Thierri experienced a ſimilar treatment. They cut off his hair, though without any orders from Childeric, who expreſſed great compaſſion for him. He even told him that he was ready to grant whatever he could deſire. "I aſk nothing," replied Thierri, "I have been unjuſtly dethroned; and I truſt that Heaven will revenge my "cauſe." He retired to the abbey of Saint Denis, not to turn monk, but to let his hair grow. He had not quite completed the firſt year of his reign.

[8] Vita S. Leodeg. Diplom. p. 46. [9] Geſt. Franc. c. 45.—Continuat. Fred. c. 94.

CHILDERIC

CHILDERIC THE SECOND.

THE commencement of this reign was devoted to acts of gratitude, and to the ſupport of the laws. Childeric made a point of rewarding ſuch of the nobles as had contributed to his elevation; and as Leger, biſhop of Autun, had been greatly inſtrumental in effecting this revolution, he entruſted him with the adminiſtration of affairs, and declared him his principal miniſter. The great credit which this prelate enjoyed with his ſovereign, has made ſome writers believe[1], that he was created mayor of the palace of Neuſtria and Burgundy: but they did not reflect, that an office which gave the command of armies, and the power of judging in matters of life and death, was incompatible with the character of a prieſt and a prelate. However that may be, to the prudent councils of this great man was the king indebted for the reformation of numerous abuſes that had crept into the ſtate. It was ordained, that judges ſhould be guided in their deciſions by the ancient laws and cuſtoms of each province. One law in particular was made, [A. D. 670.] which might have redeemed the kings from a ſtate of ſubjection, had they poſſeſſed ſufficient firmneſs to enforce it—it enacted, that no children ſhould ſucceed their fathers in any of the great offices of ſtate. But all theſe flattering ſymptoms of a wiſe and virtuous reign ſpeedily vaniſhed. The nobles, ſeeing that this reformation would effect a diminution of their own enormous power and undue conſequence, adopted every means they could deviſe for corrupting the mind of their young ſovereign. Having acquired a perfect aſcendancy over him, they led him into every kind of exceſs; debauchery ſoon gave way to indolence, and indolence to cruelty[2]. He ſuffered all thoſe ordinances which he had ſo properly renewed to be violated with impunity; and authorized a contempt of the laws by his own example, in contracting

[1] Vita S. Leod. [2] Ibid.

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an inceſtuous marriage with his couſin-german. In vain were the ſolicitations and remonſtrances of his miniſter exerted to induce him to the purſuit of a different courſe of life. His repreſentations, though at firſt they were liſtened to with ſome degree of attention, ſoon became inſupportable; and it was reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity that ſhould occur for effecting his ruin.

A. D. 671.] It was cuſtomary in ancient times for biſhops to invite their ſovereigns to celebrate the feſtival of Eaſter in their cathedrals: Leger requeſted Childeric to do him that honour, and the king ſtill retaining ſome degree of reſpect for him, accepted his invitation, and repaired to Autun. He there found Hector, patrician or governor of Marſeilles, who had a favour to aſk of him. That nobleman, whoſe merit was equal to his birth, was intimate with the miniſter[3], and knowing the credit he enjoyed with his ſovereign, had frequently conferred with him on the ſubject of his preſent application. It was inſinuated, however, to the king, that there was ſome myſtery in this interview, and that the two friends had formed a deſign to interrupt the tranquillity of the ſtate. Thus prejudiced againſt the prelate, inſtead of going to the cathedral on the night of Eaſter Sunday, which the early Chriſtians always paſſed in prayer, he repaired to the church of Saint Symphorien, where he received the ſacrament from the hands of biſhop Prejectus. The next morning, after a grand repaſt, he went almoſt intoxicated to the cathedral, ſwearing and blaſpheming, and threatening Leger in the moſt indecent manner. From thence he repaired to the epiſcopal palace, where the biſhop joined him as ſoon as he had ſaid maſs. Childeric loaded him with reproaches and inſults; and Leger, finding from his conduct, that his ruin was inevitable if he remained any longer at Autun, left the city with his friend Hector: but they were very ſpeedily purſued;—Hector after a vigorous defence, was killed, and Leger was brought back to the king, who ſent him into confinement at the monaſtery of Luxeuil. There the prelate met with Ebroin, the depoſed mayor of the palace, who earneſtly beſought his friendſhip.

A. D. 673.] Childeric, being now deprived of the advice of his miniſter, fell into the extremes of vice, and finally became an object of univerſal contempt[4]. A nobleman, named Bodillon, venturing to repreſent to him the danger that would ariſe from an oppreſſive impoſt that he was on the point of eſtabliſhing[5], the king ordered him to be tied to a poſt, and had him ſeverely flogged. The nobles, enraged at ſuch an inſult to a man of rank, conſpired againſt his life. Childeric was then with the royal family at a ſeat in the foreſt of Leuconia, ſuppoſed to be the foreſt of Livri, near Chelles. Thither the conſpirators repaired; and, forcing his palace, maſſacred him, with his queen Bilihilda, who was pregnant, and their ſon Dagobert, an infant. Another ſon,

3 Vita S. Leod. c. 5, 6. 4 Geſt. Franc. c. 43. 5 Continuat. Fred. c. 94.

named

named Daniel, had the good fortune to escape, and afterwards reigned, under the title of Chilperic the Third. Childeric was in the twenty-third year of his age; the length of his reign is not precisely known, but the most probable opinion seems to be that he reigned nineteen years[6].

This prince was destitute both of courage and conduct. He neither possessed sufficient knowledge to govern a great kingdom, nor sufficient discernment to appreciate and pursue the wise councils of a prudent and virtuous minister. He was not interred at Saint Peter's at Rouen, as the author of the life of Saint Ouen[7] affirms, but at the abbey of Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Près.

We are told by some writers, that Childeric, overcome by the prayers of Imnichilda, whom he always esteemed, allowed her to recal Dagobert, to whom he ceded a part of Austrasia. Others assert that this prudent princess took advantage of the interregnum which ensued on the death of Childeric, to win over the Austrasians, by whom she was tenderly beloved, and to prevail on them to proclaim her son king. Be that as it may, it appears certain, from a variety of circumstances, that this young prince reascended the throne, from whence he had been unjustly deposed, and reigned several years[8].

[6] P. Anselme Hist. Geneal. de France, t. i. p. 10. [7] Fred. in vita S. Audoen. [8] Henschenius, lib. de tribus Dagobertis.

THIERRI

THIERRI THE THIRD.

A. D. 673.] LEGER, who, as well as Ebroin, had left the convent of Luxeuil, on the death of Childeric, was received at the court of Thierri as a tutelary deity. His firſt care was to procure the election of a mayor of the palace; and the choice fell upon Leudeſie, ſon of Archinoalde[1]. The news of this election diſconcerted Ebroin, who retired into Auſtraſia, where his friends were numerous[2]. Wlfoalde, who governed that kingdom under Dagobert the Second, ſupplied him with troops, with which the preſumptuous rebel advanced as far as Nogent-les-Vierges, near Verneuil, where the king then held his court. The alarm was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that every one had recourſe to flight; Thierri, the mayor of the palace, and all the noblemen of their retinue, fled, firſt to Baiſieu, between Amiens and Corbie, and then to Crecy in Ponthieu. The royal treaſury was plundered, the churches were pillaged, and the whole country was laid waſte. The conqueror, however, deſpairing of ſucceeding by force, had recourſe to ſtratagem; and, inviting Leudeſie to a conference, which that credulous nobleman accepted, he there put him to death.

A. D. 675, 676.] This murderous deed only ſerved to render Thierri's hatred of Ebroin more inveterate, and to ſhow that monarch the danger of entruſting ſuch a man with any conſiderable degree of authority. Ebroin, ſenſible that the conjuncture was not favourable to his deſigns, again retired into Auſtraſia[3], but with the determination to put his plans in execution whenever an opportunity ſhould occur. He had the audacity to produce a pretended ſon of Clotaire the Third; and poſſeſſed ſufficient credit to get him crowned, under the title of Clovis the Third. In this infamous project he was aſſiſted by two prelates, who had been deprived of their epiſcopal dignity on account of their

[1] Geſta Reg. Franc. c. 45. [2] Continuat. Fred. c. 96. [3] Vita S. Leodeg. c. 8.

crimes: theſe were Didier, biſhop of Châlons-upon-Saone, and Bobon, biſhop of Valentia. All the provinces that refuſed to acknowledge this phantom of a monarch were expoſed to the moſt cruel and deſtructive depredations. Leger was the firſt who felt the effects of Ebroin's reſentment [4]. Vaymer, duke of Champagne, was ſent to beſiege him in Autun, and the place was on the point of being carried by aſſault, when the good prelate, having diſtributed his effects among the poor, ſurrendered himſelf to the enemy, that the inhabitants might not be expoſed to the fury of a military mob. —Didier was ſo inhuman, as to order his eyes to be put out.

A. D. 678, 679.] The king, having loſt his beſt friend, and moſt prudent adviſer, found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of treating with his rebellious ſubject. Ebroin was declared mayor of the palace, and the pretended ſon of Clotaire ſunk into his original nothingneſs. The new miniſter at firſt publiſhed a general amneſty [5]; but ſoon after, affecting a profound reſpect for majeſty, he ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made into the conſpiracy againſt Childeric. The crime was certainly deſerving of the ſevereſt puniſhment; and had Ebroin been really actuated by motives of juſtice, his conduct on this occaſion would have merited the higheſt commendation. But the inquiſition which he eſtabliſhed was ſolely for the purpoſe of ſacrificing ſuch of the nobles as had hitherto eſcaped his reſentment. Count Guerin, Leger's brother, though a nobleman of unimpeached fidelity to his ſovereign, was ſtoned to death; and the virtuous prelate himſelf, after being inhumanly tortured, was ſent in diſgrace to the monaſtery at Fécamp. Some years after this period, the tyrant aſſembled a council of ſlaves, rather than of biſhops, at which Leger was firſt degraded, and then delivered to Chrodobert, count of the palace, who had him beheaded in a foreſt in the dioceſe of Arras, not far from that of Amiens, where he was buried at a place that ſtill bears his name. Two years after his body was conveyed into Poitou, and honourably interred in the church of Saint Maixant.

A. D. 680.] About this time Dagobert the Second, king of Auſtraſia, was aſſaſſinated, in an inſurrection of his ſubjects. The cauſe of the revolt, and the names of its authors, are not mentioned in hiſtory. He was interred at Saint Peter's, at Rouen. This prince had, by his queen Matilda, one ſon, named Sigebert, who died before him, and four daughters, Irmina and Adella, who were afterwards canonized; and Rotilda, and Ragnetrude.

The death of Dagobert ought to have reunited the whole monarchy under the authority of Thierri; but the averſion of the Auſtraſians to the government of Ebroin deterred them from acknowledging that monarch. Martin and Pepin being declared dukes or governors of the kingdom [6], they took up arms; but their new leaders being defeated near the foreſt

[4] Vita S. Leodeg. c. 9. [5] Ibid. c. 12, 13. [6] Geſt. Franc. c. 46.

of

of Leucofao, on the frontiers of Neuſtria, were compelled to fly [7]; the firſt to Laon, where he periſhed by the perfidy of the mayor of the palace; and the ſecond to the fartheſt part of Auſtraſia, where he exerted all the endowments with which nature had favoured him, for the purpoſe of undermining the royal authority. This nobleman was deſcended, on his father's ſide, from Saint Arnaud, biſhop of Metz, and on his mother's from Pepin, ſurnamed *the Old*, or of Landen. He is ſometimes called, in hiſtory, *Pepin the Fat*, from his corpulence; ſometimes *Pepin of Heriſtal*, from the name of a palace which he had on the banks of the Maeſe, a little above Liege; ſometimes *Pepin the Young*, to diſtinguiſh him from his grandfather; and ſometimes *Pepin the Old*, to diſtinguiſh him from his grandſon, who reigned under the appellation of Pepin the Short.

A. D. 683.] Ebroin did not long enjoy the fruits of the victory at Leucofao. A nobleman, named Emanfroy, attacked him as he came from church, clove his head aſunder with a broad ſword, and delivered his country from a monſter who merited univerſal execration [8]. The mayors who ſucceeded him, made war on Pepin at different times, but without ſucceſs [9]; and Bertaire, the laſt of them, a man wholly deſtitute of every good quality, was doomed to be at once the witneſs and the victim of his elevation.

A. D. 687.] A great number of noblemen, who were diſcontented with the government of Neuſtria, had retired into the kingdom of Auſtraſia, where Pepin, as well from policy as generoſity, ſupported them. He even ſent deputies to the king to beg he would pardon theſe unfortunate men, whom a violent ſpirit of perſecution had compelled to quit their country. The monarch [10] proudly anſwered, that he would ſave him the trouble of ſending them back, by going to fetch them in perſon, at the head of a powerful army. Preparations for war were immediately made, and the two armies met at Teſtris, a village ſituated on the ſmall river Daumignon, between Saint Quintin and Peronne [11]. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy; but victory at laſt declared in favour of the Auſtraſians. The king, obliged to fly, retired with precipitation to the capital of his empire. Bertaire alſo had the good fortune to eſcape from the enemy, but he was aſſaſſinated by his own ſoldiers. The conqueror took poſſeſſion of the royal treaſury, forced the gates of Paris, ſeized the perſon of Thierri, and, cauſing himſelf to be declared mayor of the palace of Neuſtria and Burgundy, reduced the whole kingdom under his own domination.

Pepin, when he had ſecured this enormous extent of power, conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence, moderation, and propriety, that he attracted the attention of foreign powers, many of whom honoured him with particular marks of eſteem; enforced

7 Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 97. 8 Geſt. Fr. c. 47. 9 Idem Continuat. Fredeg. c. 98.
10 Geſt. Franc. c. 48. 11 Idem Contin. Fred. c. 100.

reſpect from the nations dependant on France; and excited the benediction of his countrymen, by the deſtruction of tyranny and oppreſſion [12]. He re-eſtabliſhed the biſhops, who had been depoſed, in their ſees and poſſeſſions; he reſtored to the nobles their dignities and eſtates; to the orphan and widow, their lawful rights; and to the laws their primitive vigour: he eſtabliſhed order in the finances, introduced diſcipline among the troops, and vigilance and regularity in the police. So many objects of public utility, conceived and effected in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, excited univerſal aſtoniſhment; and men began to be perſuaded that the ambitious duke had only taken up arms to promote the happineſs and welfare of the nation.

A. D. 689.] While duke of Auſtraſia, he had ſubdued the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the Suevi; and he now propoſed, at an aſſembly of the nobles, to march without delay againſt the reſt of the German rebels [13]. This propoſal was accepted with joy; but, before he ſet out on this expedition, he left a man, of the name of Norbert, in whom he could confide, to watch the motions of Thierri. Victory followed his ſteps. Radbode, duke of the Friſians, having offered him battle, was attacked and defeated; Pepin took from him a part of his dominions, and made him pay tribute for the reſt. On his return to Neuſtria, he aſſembled a council, in which ſome excellent regulations were adopted for the reformation of manners, the aſſiſtance of the poor, and the protection of the widow and orphan. By this artful ſyſtem of policy, and by a thouſand actions of piety, juſtice, and valour, he conciliated the affections of the people, and attempted to overcome their ſettled averſion to acknowledge any other maſters than the deſcendants of their ancient monarchs.

A. D. 692.] Such was the ſtate of France when Thierri died, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. By his wife Clotilda, whom ſome writers call Doda, he had two ſons, Clovis and Childebert. He was buried at Saint Waſt, at Arras, which he had founded [14]. Without entering into the character of this prince, of which we know but little, ſince all the writers of that age were devoted to the family of Pepin, we may obſerve, that he was continually the ſport of fortune, and a victim to the ambition of his nobles. Excluded from the ſucceſſion in his infancy, and dethroned by an ambitious brother, he only recovered his rights to become the ſlave of thoſe whom he was born to command. The battle of Teſtris finally decided the fate of his empire, and left him but the ſhadow of royalty.

[12] Geſt. Fr. Contin. Fred. c. 100. [13] Paul. Diac. l. xvi. c. 37. [14] Geſt. Franc. c. 49.

CLOVIS

CLOVIS THE THIRD.

CLOVIS, the eldeſt of Thierri's children, was proclaimed king of Neuſtria and Burgundy. Auſtraſia, ſtill detached from the crown, acknowledged no other authority than that of Pepin, who continued to reign under the name of the new monarch[1]. No event of importance occurred during the life of Clovis, the length of whoſe reign is not aſcertained, though from ſome public acts ſtill extant it appears that he reigned at leaſt four years[2]. One of theſe is an account of an aſſembly of the ſtates of the kingdom, holden at Valenciennes[3] (693). Clovis preſided, and after him twelve nobles or prelates are mentioned in the act, and the title of Illuſtrious is given to them, the ſame as to the kings who had no other diſtinction than the epithets *moſt glorious*, *moſt pious*, *moſt merciful*, or *moſt excellent*, annexed to their names. The next on the liſt are eight noblemen of inferior rank, who are ſimply denominated *Counts*; eight *Grafions*, who were magiſtrates appointed to try cauſes relating to the exchequer or public finances; four domeſtics, or governors of royal manſions; four referendaries, whoſe buſineſs it was to affix the royal ſignet to all public acts; and four ſeneſchals, who were inferior officers, ſubordinate to the mayors—they were in thoſe times only entruſted with the adminiſtration of the revenue of the king's houſhold, but in the ſequel the office of ſeneſchal became the firſt dignity in the realm. The Count of the Palace is mentioned the laſt. He, perhaps, had a ſeparate place at the king's feet, or, what is more probable, as he was obliged to give an account of his deciſions, he was not ſeated among the judges. The ſentence of the aſſembly is ſigned by the chancellor, who was the perſon appointed to write or ſubſcribe thoſe acts which the referendary was to ſeal.

[1] Secund. Cont. Fred. c. 101. [2] Geſt. Fred. c. 49, 50. [3] Ann Metenſ.

It

It does not appear, that Pepin attended this aſſembly, ſince his name is not inſerted in the liſt. He was probably employed in ſome expedition. It was in one of theſe aſſemblies, holden during the preceding reign, that he iſſued a command, in the king's name, for every duke to hold himſelf in readineſs to march on the firſt order of the mayor of the palace, and on the ſecond; to lead his ſtipulated quantum of men, without delay, to the place of rendezvous. Regular troops were then unknown; each province had its militia: and that was generally commanded to march, which was neareſt the ſcene of action. All who held *benefices* of the prince or church, all who poſſeſſed *Salic lands*, all the French, in ſhort, were obliged to ſerve the king in perſon[4]. Even the biſhops were not exempted from perſonal ſervice. Such of the prelates as were of a martial diſpoſition armed themſelves cap-a-pie, and mixed with the throng: while thoſe who were averſe to ſhedding blood, contented themſelves with invoking the benedictions of Heaven on the arms of their countrymen; and the moſt prudent among them bought off the obligation with a ſum of money. In that caſe, they ſent their vaſſals under the command of an *avoue* or *vidame*, who was a brave and powerful nobleman, appointed by the church to defend their patrimony. Such as were incapacitated from attending through age, obtained letters of diſpenſation; and thoſe who failed to appear at the general rendezvous of the army, were ſentenced to pay a heavy fine.

In the different provinces, and particularly on the frontiers, there were magazines eſtabliſhed, for providing the troops with ſubſiſtence. It does not appear that the ſoldiers had any pay; their ſole reward conſiſted in the booty they made, which it was cuſtomary to collect into one common maſs, and then to divide it equally. The priſoners were condemned to ſlavery; and the hoſtages experienced the ſame fate, when thoſe who gave them, failed to perform their engagements. The French armies, during the reign of the Merovingian princes, were wholly compoſed of infantry. If there were ſome few horſemen, it was only for the purpoſe of eſcorting the commander in chief, and carrying his orders. During the ſame period too, the only banner uſed by the French troops, was the *cope* of Saint Martin; it was a kind of veil made of ſilk, and bearing the image of the Saint, from whoſe tomb it was brought with great pomp, whenever it was wanted. It was kept under a tent; and juſt before the battle began was carried round the camp in triumph. The early kings had ſuch confidence in the protection of their ſaint, that, with this ſtandard, they thought themſelves ſure of victory.

A. D. 694, 695.] The aſſembly of Valenciennes was the laſt memorable event of the reign of Clovis, who died in the fourteenth or fifteenth year of his age, and was buried at Choiſy upon the Aiſne, near Compiegne.

[4] Baluze Capit. t. i. p. 146, 155, 190.

CHILDEBERT

CHILDEBERT THE THIRD.

A.D. 695.] CHILDEBERT ſucceeded to the dominions of his brother, and became equally a captive with that monarch. He was but in his tenth or eleventh year when he aſcended the throne; and his minority gave Pepin a freſh opportunity of acquiring a conſiderable augmentation of authority[1]. His court was attended by all the chief officers—the count of the palace, the grand referendary, and the attendant of the royal manſions. He only placed about the perſon of his youthful ſovereign a few faithful ſervants of his own, who were leſs ſtudious to ſerve him than to watch his motions[2]. The ambitious regent had two ſons, Drogon and Grimoald, the firſt of whom he created duke of Burgundy, and the ſecond he appointed mayor of the palace of Neuſtria. The eldeſt dying ſoon after, the youngeſt ſucceeded to his *principality*, as it is called by the author of the annals of Metz[3]; whence it appears that this dutchy was a kind of ſovereignty.

A.D. 706, 707.] Pepin did not ſuffer his whole time to be occupied by projects of ambition; he devoted a part of it to the ſofter purſuits of love. Some writers pretend that he repudiated Plectrude, in order to marry Alpaida, by whom he had a ſon, afterwards ſo well known by the name of *Charles Martel*. But there are ſeveral acts ſtill extant, which prove that the former was never ſeparated from her huſband: ſo that the ſecond only enjoyed the title of miſtreſs[4]; or elſe the Auſtraſian duke, like many of the firſt kings of France, and according to the cuſtom of the ancient Germans[5], had two wives at the ſame time. This offence againſt the ſacredneſs of the marriage rites excited the zeal of Lambert, biſhop of Liege, who openly inveighed againſt it, as a public inſtance of adultery, that merited the ſevereſt reprobation.—The prelate was aſſaſſinated by Odo, brother to Alpaida.

[1] Geſt. Franc. c. 49. [2] Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 104. [3] Annales Metenſes, ad Annum 712. [4] Id. Con. c. 101. [5] Ann. Met.

Some

Some military expeditions took place during this reign. War was declared againſt Egica, king of the Viſigoths; but no accounts of its progreſs or termination have been preſerved. Radbode, duke of the Friſians, revolted a ſecond time[6], and was again defeated, and reduced to ſubjection. The Germans, or Allemani, in union with the Suevi, ſhook off the French yoke; and Pepin, marching againſt them, defeated Williare their duke; but yet he could not ſubdue the ſpirit of that nobleman[7], who, in a ſhort time, again took up arms, and experienced a ſimilar check. Still his courage was unabated, and it was found neceſſary to ſend a third army againſt him, which was on the point of entering on the German territories, when the death of Childebert ſuper-induced its recal.

This prince died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth of his reign. He was buried, with his brother, at Choiſy upon the Aiſne. Childebert had a wife whoſe name is unknown; and one ſon, who ſucceeded him under the appellation of Dagobert the Third. But few monarchs have paid a greater attention to the precepts of Chriſtianity than Childebert. His ſtrict obſervance of juſtice, and his efforts to enforce a due adminiſtration of it, throughout his dominions, procured him the ſurname of *Juſt*.

[6] Geſt. Reg. c. 49, 50. [7] Ann. Metenſ.

DAGOBERT

DAGOBERT THE THIRD.

A. D. 711.] DAGOBERT, on aſcending the throne, was deſtined to experience the fate of his predeceſſor. He was ſhewn to the people, received their homage and their preſents, and was ſhut up in a country ſeat, to lead a life of indolence, unworthy his birth and ſtation. He was not more than twelve years of age; ſo that Pepin continued to enjoy his uſual extent of authority [1].

That nobleman renewed his deſign of ſubduing the Germans and Suevi; and, in the courſe of the war that he waged againſt them, ſo many of them were killed, that they were diſabled, for ſome time, from the purſuit of hoſtile meaſures. But Radbode, duke of the Friſians, continued to give him ſerious cauſe for apprehenſion [2]. In order to avert the effects of his enmity, Pepin aſked the hand of his daughter Theudelinda, for his own ſon Grimoald [3]. The marriage was accordingly concluded, though it was not attended with any of thoſe advantages which Pepin expected to derive from it.

A. D. 714.] Some time after this, Pepin fell dangerouſly ill at Jupil, one of his country-houſes, on the banks of the Maeſe, oppoſite his caſtle of Heriſtal. Grimoald immediately left the capital, in order to viſit him, and as he paſſed through Liege he entered the church of Saint Lambert, where he was aſſaſſinated by a man, named Rangaire [4]. He left an infant ſon, called Theodald, whom Pepin appointed mayor of the palace of Dagobert. Such an appointment was a groſs encroachment on the privileges of the nobles, who had always enjoyed the right of chuſing the mayor; it was alſo an injury to the ſtate, by giving it a child for a governor; and an inſult on

[1] Secund. Continuat. Fredeg. c. 104. [2] Ann. Metens. [3] Ges. Re. Fr. c. 50. [4] Ann. Met. ad. Ann. 714.

the king, by placing him under the tuition of an infant. But as the duke's authority was abſolute, no one dared to murmur.

This was the laſt ambitious attempt of Pepin; his diſorder encreaſing, he expired at Jupil, after having reigned, with deſpotic authority, for twenty-ſeven years and an half. He certainly poſſeſſed many of thoſe qualities which are eſſential to the formation of a hero; his mind, though capacious and enterpriſing, was ever regulated by the laws of prudence; he poſſeſſed a boldneſs of ſpirit, which roſe ſuperior to every impediment, though it never betrayed him into unneceſſary peril; he had wiſdom and penetration to foreſee and ſurmount dangers, with courage to face them whenever it was neceſſary; and he poſſeſſed, in a ſuper-eminent degree, the admirable talent of keeping turbulent ſpirits in awe, and of ſo managing them, as always to turn them to his own advantage. He proved uſeful to his country, by the reeſtabliſhment of order, piety, and juſtice. But, at the ſame time, he muſt be conſidered as an uſurper and a tyrant, becauſe he deprived his ſovereigns of their lawful authority, and kept them in a ſtate of ignominy and oppreſſion.

He had four ſons, Dragon and Grimoald, who died before him[5]; *Charles Martel*, to whom, according to Eginard, he bequeathed the office of mayor; and Childebrand, from whom, it is pretended by ſome, the third race of monarchs deſcended. Theodald had ſucceeded his father Grimoald in the office of mayor of the palace of Neuſtria and Burgundy, and diſcharged the duties of his office under the tuition of his grandmother Plectrude[6]. This ambitious woman, in order to regain all the power which her huſband had poſſeſſed, cauſed Charles Martel to be arreſted, and put in confinement at Cologne, where ſhe generally reſided.

A. D. 715.] But the Auſtraſian nobles, ſoon becoming diſguſted with a female government, applied to Dagobert, who was then in his eighteenth year, and excited him to war[7]. The young prince, rouſed by their repreſentations, took the management of affairs upon himſelf, and marching againſt the Auſtraſians, came up with their army in the foreſt of Guiſe[8], and obtained a compleat and deciſive victory. The ſlaughter was ſo dreadful and univerſal, that Plectrude's grandſons could with difficulty eſcape. But the king wanted firmneſs to profit by his ſucceſs; he ſubmitted to a renewal of his captivity, by ſuffering the election of another mayor of the palace. This important poſt was given to Rainfroy, one of the braveſt and moſt powerful noblemen at the court of Neuſtria. He carried the war into the heart of Auſtraſia, and, according to the ferocious ideas of thoſe times, he ſignalized his valour by the extent and cruelty of his depredations.

5 Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag. 6 Geſt. Re. Franc. c. 51. 7 Ibid. 8 In Cotia Sylva;—it is now called the Foreſt of Compiégne.

A. D.

A. D. 716.] It was during theſe troubles that Charles Martel eſcaped from priſon. The Auſtraſians received him with every demonſtration of joy; and, as he poſſeſſed all the brilliant qualities of Pepin, they looked on him with a kind of adoration, and with an unanimous voice, choſe him their duke. Such was the ſtate of affairs, when Dagobert died, in the fifth year of his reign[9]. He was buried at the monaſtery of Choiſy, upon the Aiſne. This monarch left one ſon, Thierri, by a wife whoſe name has not been preſerved in hiſtory. Rainfroy, thinking the prince too young to hold the reins of government, took Daniel, ſon to Childeric the ſecond, from the monaſtery in which he had aſſumed the habit of an eccleſiaſtic, and placed him on the throne, under the title of Chilperic the Second.

[9] Geſt. Reg. Franc. c. 52.

CHILPERIC THE SECOND.

A.D. 716.] THIS monarch was in the forty-ſixth year of his age when he aſcended the throne. Scorning the ſpiritleſs indolence of his immediate predeceſſors, his reign was diſtinguiſhed by activity and vigour. Accompanied by Rainfroy, he marched into Auſtraſia to oppoſe the pretenſions of Charles Martel. Radbode, duke of the Friſians, who was in alliance with him, had paſſed the Rhine, and advanced to the very gates of Cologne[1]. Charles attacked him before he could be joined by the royal army; but though that nobleman diſplayed the moſt intrepid courage, he was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retire.

After this victory the Friſians formed a junction with the Neuſtrians; and the two armies, having ravaged the whole country from the Ardennes to the Rhine, laid ſiege to Cologne. But Plectrude averted the ſtorm by the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money; which was no ſooner received than Radbode and Chilperic returned home. Charles in the mean time had collected the ſcattered remains of his army, and thrown himſelf into the foreſt of Ardenne with five hundred men, in order to profit by any favourable circumſtance that might occur[2]. He had not been long in this ſituation, when the king fixed his camp at Amblef[3], a royal manſion, ſituated on a river of that name, near the Abbey of Stavelo. An Auſtraſian ſoldier applied to Charles, and offered to throw the Neuſtrian army into diſorder, provided he ſhould be permitted to attack it alone. He accordingly marched towards the camp, and found the Neuſtrians unarmed and defenceleſs. He attacked them ſword in hand; and exclaiming with a loud voice, *Here is Charles with his troops!* bore down all reſiſtance. The whole camp became a ſcene of confuſion; and Charles, obſerving the conſternation that prevailed among them, advanced with his men, and put the Neuſtrians to flight; they fled with ſo much precipitation, that Chilperic and Rainfroy had ſcarcely time to eſcape.

[1] Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 106. [2] Idem, c. 53 and 107. [3] Ann. Met.

A.D.

A. D. 717.] This victory encreaſed the reputation of Charles, and revived the hopes of his party. The Auſtraſians flocked to his ſtandard in crouds, and he ſoon found himſelf enabled to carry the war into the enemy's country. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he opened the campaign; and, paſſing the Carbonerian foreſt, puſhed his deſtructive march as far as Cambray, where he was met by Chilperic [4]. A battle enſued, at the village of Vinchy, and was long diſputed with equal ſpirit; but Charles, though inferior in numbers, at length obtained a complete victory, put the Neuſtrian army to flight, and purſued the king to the gates of Paris [5]. Finding that capital prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance, he ſuddenly changed his courſe, and marched to Cologne, which opened its gates to him. Plectrude was obliged to give up the treaſures of Pepin, and to ſurrender her grandſons, Theodald, Hugh, and Arnould, whom the conqueror ſecured. By this means, Charles became maſter of all that part of the French empire, and again cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed duke of Auſtraſia.

A. D. 718.] But notwithſtanding his recent ſucceſs, he was ſtill of opinion that his power required a more ſolid ſupport. He knew the ſecret attachment of the Auſtraſians to the deſcendants of Clovis, and their deſire to have a monarch who was ſprung from that prince: he, therefore, reſolved to gratify them; and accordingly raiſed up a phantom of royalty, in the perſon of Clotaire the Second, who, according to ſome, was the ſon of Thierri the third; and according to others, of Clovis the Second [6]. Rainfroy, juſtly alarmed at this ſtroke of policy, formed an alliance with the Gaſcons, who, having quitted their native mountains, had, during the preceding reigns, taken poſſeſſion of that country which now bears their name. They were commanded by duke Eude, a man of talents and addreſs, who, profiting by the troubles which prevailed in the kingdom, extended his conqueſts, and ſeizing all the country beyond the Loire, refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the king or kingdom of France [7]. To this daring rebel did the court of Neuſtria apply for aſſiſtance; and, on condition of being confirmed in the independent poſſeſſion of what he had uſurped, he conſented to grant the ſuccour required.

Chilperic, thus reinforced, marched againſt the Auſtraſians in full hopes of ſucceſs. But the intelligence that Charles was advancing towards Soiſſons produced ſuch a conſternation among his troops, that they refuſed to face the enemy; Eude returned with precipitation to Aquitaine; Chilperic followed him, with as much of his treaſures as he was able to carry with him; while Rainfroy fled to Angers, where, four years after, he capitulated, and ſubmitted to the authority of Charles, who left him the poſſeſſion of that county for the remainder of his life.

4 Ann. Met. 5 Ann. Met. ad. An. 717. 6 Geſt. Franc. c. 53. 7 Sec. Cont. Fred. c. 107.

A. D.

A. D. 719.] The conqueror purſued the fugitives; and paſſing the Seine took Paris, overran the Orleanois and Touraine, compelled the nobles to proclaim Clotaire king of Neuſtria and Burgundy, and to elect him mayor of the palace of both kingdoms[s]. But the new monarch did not live long to enjoy his newly-acquired dignity; he died either this, or the following year, at the age of forty-nine, according to father le Cointe, who ſays he reigned three years and a half; but the majority of writers are of opinion that he only reigned ſeventeen months. His tomb is ſtill to be ſeen at Coucy, in Vermandois.

The death of Clotaire was followed by an interregnum, occaſioned by the policy of Charles, who wiſhed to ſound the ſpirit of the people. But finding they ſtill cheriſhed the title and authority of a king, he at length diſpatched ambaſſadors to the duke of Aquitaine to demand Chilperic, whom Eude ſent to Paris, loaded with magnificent preſents. On his arrival at the capital, that prince was proclaimed king of the whole monarchy, and the duke of Auſtraſia declared mayor of the palace of the three kingdoms.

A. D. 721.] Having completely eſtabliſhed internal tranquillity, Charles made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Saxons, who perſecuted with extreme violence the Bructeri, the Attuarians, the Celti, and the Thuringians, people who ſtrictly preſerved their attachment to the Chriſtian faith, and to the French monarchy. Soon after his return, Chilperic died at Noyon, where he was buried. This prince did not complete the ſixth year of his reign: though he was unfortunate in moſt of his undertakings, his merit was conſpicuous. His wiſdom, goodneſs, courage, activity and prudence, have procured him an honourable exemption from the liſt of *Faineans*, or indolent princes; an epithet which has juſtly been beſtowed on the later monarchs of the Merovingian race. As he had no children, Charles raiſed to the throne Thierri the Fourth, (ſon of Dagobert the Third) ſurnamed of *Chelles*, becauſe he had been brought up at that place.

[s] Sec. Cont. Fred. c. 107.

THIERRI

THIERRI THE FOURTH.

A. D. 722.] THIERRI was in his eighth year, when he was proclaimed king of Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Auſtraſia. That is the title by which he is diſtinguiſhed in two of his charters, ſtill extant, both of which were drawn up in Auſtraſia, one at Zulpic, and the other at his caſtle of Heriſtal[1]. Charles continued to reign under the name of this infant prince[2]. The remainder of that nobleman's life, was one continued ſucceſſion of wars, battles, victories, and triumphs[3]. He had no ſooner ſubdued the Saxons, and recovered poſſeſſion of all the country, as far as the Weſer, than his attention was called to the Germans, who had revolted. [A. D. 723.] Having reduced them to ſubmiſſion, he waged war againſt the Bavarians, whom he alſo ſubdued.—[A. D. 725.] The duke of Aquitaine, who took up arms about the ſame time, was overcome by Charles in two general actions, [A. D. 730] and compelled to ſue for mercy. But he had now a more formidable enemy to encounter; as the Saracens had entered France with a powerful army.

This people, the conquerors of the Eaſt, and of Africa, had been invited into Spain, [A. D. 714] by Count Julian; from a wiſh to revenge himſelf of Rodrigue, king of the Viſigoths, who had diſhonoured his daughter; or, as ſome ſay, his wife. At an interview with the Emir Muza, lieutenant to Valid, caliph of the Saracens, he offered him his country, on condition of receiving immediate ſuccour[4]. Eager to embrace ſo fair an opportunity of extending their conqueſts, they entered the dominions of Rodrigue, and committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations. A battle was fought on the

1 Le P. Labbe Melanges curieux, p. 439. 2 Ges. Reg. Fr. C. ultim. 3 Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 107, 108. 4 Rodoric, l. iii. c. 11.

banks

banks of the river Guadaletta, in which the king of the Viſigoths was overcome; and he was afterwards ſlain in the purſuit. This victory decided the fate of the empire. The kingdom of the Viſigoths, which had exiſted for more than three centuries, was extinguiſhed, and the nation almoſt annihilated. A ſmall part of them, indeed, took refuge in the mountains of the Aſturias, of Gallicia, and of Biſcay, where they founded a new monarchy, under the conduct of Pelagus, from whom the kings of Caſtille are deſcended. Some of them retired into France; and ſuch as ſubmitted to the Moors preſerved their religion, under the name of Mozarabian Chriſtians.

The conqueſt of Spain was followed by that of Languedoc, and of other territories which the Viſigoths ſtill poſſeſſed in France. The Saracens firſt took Albi, Rhodes, Caſtres, and then beſieged Toulouſe. They were compelled, indeed, to raiſe the ſiege; but they returned ſome years after, under the conduct of Abderame, when they entered Aquitaine, paſſed the Garonne[5], took Bourdeaux and Poitiers, burnt the church of Saint Hilary, and threatened that of Saint Martin at Tours, which was ſaid to contain immenſe riches. Eude, alarmed at the rapidity of their progreſs, applied to the French monarch for aſſiſtance. Charles was aware of the duke's deſigns; he knew that, in order to ſecure his independence, he had formed an alliance with Munuza, governor of Cerdagna, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage; but his concern for the public good riſing ſuperior to the dictates of private reſentment, he marched againſt the Infidels, with the united forces of Auſtraſia, Burgundy, and Neuſtria.

A. D. 732.] The two armies met between Tours and Poitiers, and the battle laſted a whole day; at the cloſe, the ſuperiority of courage and conduct over numbers was evidently manifeſted. On that memorable occaſion, the weighty ſtrokes of Charles firſt acquired him the ſurname of *Martel*, the *hammer*; Abderame himſelf was killed, and the bloody field was ſtrewed, if the monkiſh writers may be credited, with the bodies of three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand Mahometans. The camp of the Saracens, filled with the ſpoils of conquered provinces, was pillaged, and the plunder divided among the troops.

It is ſaid, that Charles after this victory inſtituted the celebrated order of *the Genet*, which conſiſted but of ſixteen Knights, who wore a gold collar with three chains, to which was ſuſpended a *Genet* of ſolid gold. Favinus and the Abbé Juſtiniani[6] aſſure us, that this order was much in vogue under the ſecond race of kings; it does not, however, appear, that military orders were in uſe before the twelfth century; which occaſioned Father Meneſtrier to fix this inſtitution of *the Genet* at the reign of Charles the Seventh.

[5] Rodoric, l. iii. c. 11. [6] Juſtiniani, t. i. c. 13.

A. D.

A. D. 734, 735, 736, 737.] A second irruption of the Muſſulmans into Provence revived the laurels of Charles, who, in a deciſive battle, again ſubdued the Friſians, and ſlew their duke with his own hand. On the death of Eude, Charles granted Aquitain to Hunalde, the ſon of that prince, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs the claim of homage, without even mentioning the name of his ſovereign.

A. D. 738.] A new war againſt the Saxons, equally ſucceſsful with the former, terminated the reign of Thierri the Fourth, who died in the twenty-third year of his age. It is ſuppoſed he was buried at Saint Denis.

INTERREGNUM.

THE Interregnum which enſued on the death of Thierri laſted ſix or ſeven years, according to the general opinion; though the Abbé Conrad, in his Chronicle, fixes its duration at five; and M. de Valois at four or five. Charles thought that the ſervices he had rendered the ſtate ought to have procured him an offer of the crown. Poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority, he might without impediment have placed it on his head; but knowing that the French were firmly attached to the royal family[1] he did not dare to aſſume a title which would have excited ſuch general envy[2]; and the nobles, who would have been ſorry to ſee him on the throne, had not ſufficient reſolution to deſire he would chuſe them a king from among the deſcendants of Clovis. Still he continued to exert an abſolute ſway, under the title of Duke of the French. Pope Gregory the Second, in one of his letters, ſtyles him Duke and Mayor of the Palace of France, which appears to confirm the idea that he always conſidered himſelf as an officer of the kingdom, and not of the king.

A. D. 740, 741.] The emperor Leo having publiſhed an edict prohibiting the worſhip of images, which he condemned as idolatrous, and accordingly ordered the objects of ſuch adoration to be taken from the churches, and broken in pieces, he was excommunicated by the popes, who excited an inſurrection in Italy. The Lombards, profiting by the opportunity, took poſſeſſion of Ravenna, and threatened Rome itſelf. Gregory the Third, a man of an inflexible temper, then filled the chair of Saint Peter, and was the firſt of the ſovereign pontiffs who took a deciſive part in the temporal concerns of princes; a pernicious example, that was attended with fatal effects both to the church and the empire[3]. He wrote ſeveral affecting letters to the duke of the French, to

[1] Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 109. [2] Ann. Meten. [3] Idem Cont. Fred. c. 110.

entreat

entreat his protection; but Charles, either from regard to Luitprand, king of the Lombards, or from the hope that more advantageous offers might be made him, was in no haſte to comply with his urgent ſolicitations[4]. This affectation of neglect, however, did not diſcourage Gregory, who ſent ambaſſadors[5] to him, with the keys of Saint Peter's tomb, and ſome links of the chains with which that apoſtle had been fettered. The ambaſſadors had orders to offer him the conſulſhip of Rome, on condition that he ſhould grant them aſſiſtance immediate and effectual. Charles agreed to accord the protection required; but, unwilling to break with Luitprand, he remonſtrated with him on the impropriety of his conduct, in uſurping the patrimony of the church, and urged him to reſtore what he had taken from the pope:—The king of the Lombards, either from fear or conviction, complied with his requeſt. To this application from Gregory, ſays the Abbé Velly, was Rome indebted for her temporal greatneſs, and the family of Charles for its elevation to the empire.

Charles, more debilitated by fatigue than by age, had been for ſome time afflicted with a diſorder that inſenſibly preyed upon his conſtitution; he therefore began to think of ſettling his family concerns. By his firſt wife, Rotrude, he had three children, Carloman, Pepin, and the princeſs Hildetrude. By Sonnichilde, his ſecond wife, who was niece to Odilon, duke of Bavaria, he had another ſon, named Grippon, or Griſon. Having convened an aſſembly of the nobles at Verberie, a country ſeat near Compiégne, he obtained their conſent to make the following diviſion of the French empire:—To Carloman he gave Auſtraſia, Germany and Thuringia; to Pepin, Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Provence: but a very ſmall portion of territory was aſſigned to Griſon. This diviſion gave riſe to ſome commotions in Burgundy; but they were ſoon appeaſed by Pepin and his uncle Childebrand.

A. D. 741.] Soon after he had made theſe arrangements, Charles died at Querſi-upon-Oiſe, in the fifty-firſt year of his age; and was interred with great pomp, at the abbey of Saint Denis. Although his victories over the Saracens moſt probably preſerved Europe from the impending yoke of Mahomet, yet has his character been impeached by the legends of the monks; and the clergy, who reſented the freedom with which he applied the revenues of the church to the defence of the Chriſtian religion, have not ſcrupled to enrol him among the damned. In a letter addreſſed to Lewis, the grandſon of Charlemagne, it is aſſerted, that on opening the tomb of Charles Martel, the ſpectators were affrighted by the ſmell of fire, and the aſpect of an horrid dragon; and that a ſaint of the times was indulged with a viſion of the ſoul and body of the founder of the Carlovingian race burning in the abyſs of hell.——But the ſtory is of a very clumſy conſtruction, for Saint Eucher of Rheims, to whom this wonderful viſion is aſcribed, certainly died before Charles Martel.

[4] Ann. Meten. ad Ann.

[5] The ancient French writers remark, that this was the firſt embaſſy ſent by the popes to the court of France.

Charles was undoubtedly right in ſeizing the eccleſiaſtical property, for the purpoſe of defending the church, ſo long as the clergy were able to defray theſe expences. Their revenues at this time were immenſe: the augmentation was owing, firſt, to their own induſtry, in cultivating the barren lands that had been granted; ſecondly, to the indiſcreet liberality of thoſe who impoveriſhed their families to enrich the miniſters of the goſpel; and laſtly, to tythes, which had now been paid for nearly two centuries. Theſe were at firſt a mere voluntary gift, though they were afterwards exacted as a tribute. Saint Auguſtin recommends their payment as a work of charity—the council of Tours inculcates the ſame idea; and the ſecond council of Maçon renders it obligatory. But though Charles was ſo far juſtifiable, yet ſome part of his conduct to the church merits reprehenſion. Not content with taking to himſelf the moſt conſiderable benefices, he diſtributed the biſhopricks and abbies among the principal noblemen in his army, and gave the livings to the ſubaltern officers, which opened a door to very flagrant abuſes.

The great ſees, ſuch as Rheims, Vienne, and Lyons, were ſoon deſtitute of paſtors. The eccleſiaſtics, that they might not be deſpoiled of their livings, made no ſcruple to bear arms. Benefices became hereditary—they were converted into an article of commerce, and divided among children, like any other poſſeſſions. Inventories have been ſeen[6], in which churches, altars, bells, ornaments, communion-cups, croſſes, and relics have been expoſed to ſale.—The abuſes were carried ſtill farther—when a girl was married, her fortune frequently conſiſted of a church living, of which her huſband received the tythes and chance-perquiſites. Some law-writers have regarded this liberality of Charles to his officers, as the true epoch of *feudal tythes*—that is, of tythes holden as fiefs by noblemen, or others of the laity

The death of Charles occaſioned great confuſion. His daughter Hildetrude, retired from court, and, paſſing the Rhine, repaired to Bavaria, where ſhe married duke Odilon. Carloman and Pepin being perſuaded that ſhe was induced to the adoption of this meaſure by the intrigues of Sonnichilde, who was diſcontented with the trifling inheritance of her ſon Grifon, reſolved to ſecure both the prince and his mother. The queen, aware of their intentions, retired to Laon, which was reduced after an obſtinate ſiege. Sonnichilde was by the victors diſmiſſed to the abbey of Chelles, and Grifon was confined in the caſtle of Neuchatel, near the foreſt of Ardenne. Theodald, the ſon of Grimoald, did not experience an equal degree of indulgence; his pretenſions were powerful, and he was accordingly ſacrificed to intereſt and ambition.

A. D. 742.] The two princes next marched againſt Hunalde, duke of Aquitaine, who, in violation of his oaths, refuſed to acknowledge their authority. He was

[6] Council of Chalons.

ſpeedily

ſpeedily ſubdued, his country laid waſte, and a renewal of homage exacted from him. During this expedition, they fixed the boundaries of their reſpective dominions; and Carloman, then paſſing the Rhine, advanced to the banks of the Danube, and conſtrained the Germans to ſue for peace. About this time, Charles, the eldeſt ſon of Pepin, who afterwards acquired the name of Charlemagne, from the ſplendour of his actions, was born at the caſtle of Ingelheim, near Mayence.

But the French were by no means ſatisfied with the long continuance of this interregnum; and thoſe princes who paid tribute to the crown, though willing to acknowledge the authority of a monarch, refuſed to pay obedience to men who, they ſaid, had annihilated royalty, and now oppreſſed the nobles.—Influenced by theſe conſiderations, Pepin reſtored the regal title in Childeric the Third.

CHILDERIC

CHILDERIC THE THIRD.

A. D. 743.] CHILDERIC, according to an ancient genealogical table of the kings of France[1], was ſon of Thierri of Chelles. He only reigned over Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Provence; Carloman reſerving Auſtraſia as an independent principality, which he governed himſelf.

The tributary princes ſtill obeying with regret the children of Charles Martel, entered into a freſh league, in order to ſhake off the authority of Pepin and Carloman. But the Alemanni, Bavarians, and Saxons, were ſucceſſively reduced to obedience; as well as Hunalde, duke of Aquitaine. [A. D. 744.] This laſt prince, entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of his brother's fidelity, ordered his eyes to be put out; and being afterwards ſtricken with remorſe for the barbarous act, reſigned his dominions to his ſon Gaifre, and retired to a convent.

A. D. 747.] Far different were the motives which influenced Carloman to embrace a life of religious ſolitude; even in the moment of triumph, in the midſt of ſucceſſive victories, he conceived the deſign of ſecluding himſelf from the follies and vices of the world, in the ſilent gloom of a cloiſter. He accordingly repaired to Rome, where he received the monaſtic habit from the hands of pope Zachary, who aſſigned him a place in the Benedictine abbey on Mount Caſſin.

A. D. 748.] Pepin, now become ſole maſter of the monarchy, releaſed his brother Grifon from confinement, loaded him with careſſes, and aſſigned him an apartment in his palace, with a penſion ſuitable to his rank. Intent on promoting the happineſs of

[1] Chronique de Fontenelle. See p. 792, of the firſt vol. des Hiſt. Franc. de Ducheſne.

the

the people, he eſtabliſhed tribunals in every part of the kingdom, for the more ſpeedy and effectual redreſs of grievances; and he ſought to conciliate eſteem, by protecting religion, rewarding merit, defending innocence, and puniſhing oppreſſion. In this ſtate of grandeur, of glory, and of power, Pepin entertained ſerious thoughts of uniting in himſelf the authority and title of King. But his ſchemes ſuffered a temporary interruption from the ambition of Grifon, who ſuddenly withdrew from court, accompanied by a number of the young nobility, and taking refuge among the Saxons, once more excited that people to revolt. The army of Pepin, however, again proved triumphant; the Saxons were routed, and their duke, Theodoric, was taken priſoner.

On the death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, his ſceptre had devolved on his infant ſon Taſſilon; and his widow Hiltrude readily offered an aſylum to her half-brother, the fugitive Grifon. Aſſiſted by a ſtrong body of malcontent French, the perfidious ſuppliant ſeized his ſiſter and her ſon, and uſurped the dukedom of Bavaria. But his tranſient power vaniſhed on the approach of Pepin; Taſſilon was reſtored to his dominions: and Grifon, again pardoned by his brother, again endeavoured to awake the dormant embers of faction; and, eſcaping from the city of Mons, ſought protection in the court of the duke of Aquitaine.

As this laſt attempt of Grifon was followed by an interruption of the public tranquillity, Pepin renewed his project for aſcending the throne. The chief obſtacle to his elevation aroſe from the oath of fidelity which the French had taken to Childeric. This impediment Pepin undertook to remove; though the means which he adopted for this purpoſe are variouſly related. The generality of writers pretend, that being aſſured of the favour, eſteem, and ſuffrages of the nation, he propoſed to them to conſult pope Zachary, [A. D. 750] who replied, That being already in poſſeſſion of the regal authority, he might certainly aſſume the title of King. The people were accordingly perſuaded that this declaration was ſufficient to releaſe them from the obligation of their oath [2]; and Pepin was proclaimed king. There are others, on the contrary, who affirm that Childeric, impreſſed with an earneſt deſire of embracing a religious life, voluntarily, and with the conſent of his principal vaſſals, abdicated the throne; by which means, the right of electing a new ſovereign reverted to the people, who unanimouſly conferred that dignity on Pepin. This laſt account, if not the moſt true, is, at leaſt, the moſt honourable to the pope, the new monarch, and the nation. It exculpates Zachary [3] from the charge of prevarication, in taking advantage of the religious prejudices of the people, in order to ſanction an act of injuſtice; it clears Pepin from that of uſurpation, and oppreſſion of his lawful ſovereign; and it fully acquits the nation of the crimes of perjury and treaſon. Whatever was the real ſtate of the caſe,

[2] Eginard. in Annal. ad Ann. 750. [3] Father le Cointe's Eccleſiaſtical Annals of the Year 752.

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it is certain that Childeric deſcended from the throne, and retired to the monaſtery of Sithieu[4]. He did not ſurvive his depoſition more than three or four years. He had one ſon, named Thierri, who lived and died in a ſtate of obſcurity, at the abbey of Fontenelle, now Saint Vandrille.

A. D. 751.] Thus finiſhed the Merovingian race, which had reigned three hundred and thirty-three years from Pharamond, and two hundred and ſeventy from the acceſſion of Clovis. It gave ſix and thirty monarchs to France, one and twenty of whom reigned over Paris. The four firſt were Pagans, the others Chriſtians, but rather in name than in manners. Till the reign of Clotaire the Second, cruelty, ferociouſneſs, and barbariſm, were generally prevalent: more mildneſs, religion, and goodneſs appeared under the later monarchs; and to thoſe qualities, indeed, may be aſcribed the deſtruction of the race—the daring projects of ambition being encouraged by meekneſs, and only repreſſed by exertions of ſeverity. The characters of the Merovingian princes, as pourtrayed by thoſe who wrote at the commencement of the ſecond race of kings, muſt be read with caution and miſtruſt. In order to juſtify the uſurpation of Pepin, to the Merovingians have been aſcribed all the calamities of the empire; while they have imputed to the Carlovingians every national improvement, and all the good that was done during their government of the kingdom under the title of Mayors of the Palace.

4 Now the abbey of Saint Bertin, at Saint Omer.

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THE

SECOND, OR CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

PEPIN.

A. D. 751.] THE deplorable end of the Merovingian race affords one of thoſe examples (which are not leſs common than dreadful) of the inſtability of human affairs. The antiquity of its origin, traced to the very earlieſt times; the ſplendour of its exploits; the number of its victories; the extent of its conqueſts; the habitual reſpect of the nation, and the natural attachment of the French to their lawful ſovereigns, all proved inſufficient to enſure its duration.

Pepin was crowned at Soiſſons, in a general aſſembly of the nation. A contemporary author[1] obſerves, that queen Bertha was, according to ancient cuſtom, placed by his ſide on the throne. But it is remarkable that this is the firſt mention of ſuch a cuſtom to be found in hiſtory; whence we are induced to believe, that it was an innovation adopted either for the purpoſe of rendering his inauguration more memorable, or elſe to inſpire the people with a greater degree of reſpect for the children which that princeſs had borne him. Actuated by the ſame principle, he reſolved to receive the ſacred unction from the hands of Boniface, archbiſhop of Mayence, and the pope's legate; by which means he led the people to regard his election as an order from Heaven[2], and acquired additional veneration to his perſon, and reſpect to his power. This ceremony, hitherto unknown in France, was performed in the cathedral at Soiſſons, and it was found to be productive of ſo many advantages, that all the ſucceſſors of Pepin followed his example,

[1] Sec. Cont. Fred. c. 117. [2] Eginard. in Ann. ad An. 750.

except Lewis the *Debonnaire* or *Gentle*, who being ordered by his father, Charlemagne, to go and take the crown from the great altar in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, put it on his head, and without any farther conſecration, was acknowledged king of the whole monarchy.

The ceremony of conſecration was formerly performed by the metropolitan of the province in which the new monarch was crowned. Philip, the firſt of his name, was alſo the firſt king who was conſecrated at Rheims; the right of conſecration was afterwards claimed by the biſhops of Rheims, but it was not confirmed to them till the reign of Lewis the Young.

A. D. 752.] The commencement of this new reign was diſtinguiſhed by a ſignal defeat of the Saxons, who had again revolted, and were again reduced to ſubmiſſion, and compelled to pay an annual tribute of three hundred horſes. The Britons experienced a ſimilar fate. During this expedition[3] he was delivered from the active enmity of an implacable relation, by the death of Grifon, who was ſlain in the valley of Maurienne[4]. It is not known whether he was killed by the emiſſaries of the duke of Aquitaine, in revenge of a criminal intercourſe which he maintained with his wife; or by aſſaſſins hired by Pepin himſelf, who was fearful that if he paſſed into Italy he would induce the Lombards to eſpouſe his quarrel.

A. D. 753, 754.] The kingdom of the Lombards, which, from the royal reſidence of Pavia extended to the gates of the ancient capital, oppreſſed the waining ſtrength and feeble age of Rome. Aſtolphus, the ſovereign of that hoſtile nation, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Ravenna, and extinguiſhed in Italy the nominal authority of the Emperor of the Eaſt. Rome was menaced by the victorious Lombard, and the life of each citizen was fixed at the annual tribute of a piece of gold. The Roman pontiff had in vain endeavoured to deprecate the injuſtice of his enemy; with fearful ſpeed he traverſed the Pennine Alps, and implored the protection of the French monarch. He was lodged in the abbey of Saint Denis, and treated with every poſſible mark of reſpect. At the requeſt of Pepin, Stephen ſolemnly placed the diadem upon his head, beſtowed the regal unction on his ſons, Charles and Carloman, and conferred on the three princes the title of Patrician of Rome.

Pepin's firſt care, after his new conſecration, was to aſſemble a parliament at Crecy-upon-Oiſe, in order to declare war againſt the Lombards. But he was extremely ſurprized to ſee his brother Carloman attend the aſſembly, who after having abdicated the throne, had aſſumed the monaſtic habit. The king of Lombardy, who was afraid that

3 Ann. Metens. 4 Idem, Contin. Fred. c. 118.

Stephen

Stephen would prevail on the French monarch to eſpouſe his cauſe[5], had perſuaded this prince to counteract his projects[6]. The pious monk accordingly obeyed the orders of his ſovereign in oppoſing the intereſts of the pope. A recollection of his former dignity, his birth, and his virtues, gave a great weight to his arguments. He ſpoke in favour of Aſtolphus with ſuch ſtrength and eloquence, that it was determined to ſend ambaſſadors to that monarch, to engage him to the adoption of pacific meaſures, before the nation ſhould arm. This proof of the influence which Carloman ſtill poſſeſſed gave umbrage to Pepin, who, having conferred on the ſubject with the ſovereign pontiff, ſent him into cloſe confinement at a monaſtery at Vienne, where he died that ſame year[7]. The ſubſequent ſeizure of his children, who were immediately ſhaved and immured in a convent, gave birth to ſtrange ſuſpicions on his ſudden death; and it was generally ſuppoſed that he had fallen a ſacrifice to the fears and ambition of his brother.

A. D. 755.] Aſtolphus received the French ambaſſadors with proper reſpect, and offered to forego his pretenſions to Rome; but he refuſed to reſtore either the Exarchate, or the Pentapolis, which the pope claimed as the ſpoils of a heretic. Pepin, not content with this propoſal, ſent a ſecond embaſſy[8], which did not prove more ſucceſsful than the firſt. He then, accompanied by his two ſons, made, with the conſent of his nobles, that celebrated donation to the church of Saint Peter, which gave riſe to the temporal power of the court of Rome[9]. It comprized, under the name of the Exarchate—Ravenna, Adria, Ferrara, Imola, Faenza, Forli, and ſix other towns, with their dependencies; and under that of the Pentapolis—Rimini, Peſaro, Fano, Senigaglia, and Ancona, with ſeveral places of inferior note. Pepin's generoſity, in thus diſpoſing of territories which did not belong to him, is truly curious: he reſolved, however, to acquire by conqueſt a right of diſpoſal; and for this purpoſe he marched into Italy. Aſtolphus, beſieged in Pavia by the French army, renounced all pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Rome, and reſtored the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. The king of the French, exulting in the ſucceſs of his expedition, repaſſed the Alps in triumph.

A. D. 756.] The ſatisfaction of Pepin was but of ſhort duration; the retreat of the French diſſipated the fears of Aſtolphus; he rejected the conditions which had been extorted from him, and already preſſed with menaces and arms the independance of Rome. On the receipt of this intelligence, the ſon of Martel again reſumed his armour; and the rapidity of his march was only to be equalled by that of his ſucceſs. The diſtreſs of Stephen was relieved, and the perfidy of Aſtolphus chaſtiſed. The Lombard was a ſecond time compelled to ſue for peace; and to the former terms was added the ſtipulation of an annual tribute of twelve thouſand ſols of gold.

[5] Ann. Metens. [6] Eginard. in Annal. [7] Secund. Continuat. Fred. [8] Annal. Fuld. ad Ann. 756. [9] Anaſt. in vita Stephan. Pap.

It was on Pepin's return from this expedition that he poſtponed the general aſſembly from the firſt of March to the firſt of May. As cavalry began to be introduced into the French armies during his reign, the neceſſity of finding forage cauſed the diet to be thus delayed till a more commodious ſeaſon of the year.

A. D. 757.] Pepin had now attained to the ſummit of glory: the crown of Lombardy had, on the death of Aſtolphus, through his intervention, been conferred on Didier; the pope was indebted to him for a conſiderable extent of territory; and the emperor courted his favour, and ſpared no pains to ſecure his friendſhip. At this period he convened a parliament at Compiégne, at which ſome regulations were adopted with regard to marriages. The leproſy was adjudged a ſufficient cauſe for diſſolving a marriage[10]; and the party who ſued for the divorce was allowed to marry again. It appears from hence, that this diſorder was then very common. When the Aſſembly were about to ſeparate, ambaſſadors arrived from Conſtantinople, loaded with magnificent preſents, among which was an organ, the firſt that had been ſeen in France[11]. Pepin gave it to the church of Saint Corneille, at Compiégne. All theſe advances, however, on the part of Conſtantine Copronynus, were attended with no effect; the French monarch returned attention with attention, but perſiſted in ſecuring to the pope the poſſeſſion of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis.

On the death of Stephen, his brother Paul ſucceeded to the chair of Saint Peter, and experienced from Pepin an equal degree of protection with his predeceſſor. The repoſe of France was again diſturbed by a general revolt of the impatient Saxons; but their endeavours to break, only ſerved to rivet their chains; they were ſpeedily ſubdued, and reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion[12]. The news of this ſucceſs filled with conſternation all the enemies of Pepin. The king of the Sclavonians ſent him an offer of tribute, and acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of France. The king of Lombardy, too, who had recently made an irruption into the papal territories, followed his example.

A. D. 759, 760, 761.] This victorious monarch was every where ſucceſsful. Narbonne, after reſiſting the terrors of a blockade during three years, ſubmitted to his domination, on the ſole condition of preſerving the Roman laws, which its inhabitants had conſtantly followed, and which ſtill prevail in Septimania. Gaifre, duke of Aquitaine, was the next that experienced his reſentment: that prince having uſurped the poſſeſſions of ſeveral churches[13] that were under the protection of France, Pepin ſummoned him to reſtore them, and on his refuſal, marched an army into his country, and reduced him to ſubmiſſion. Gaifre, however, had again recourſe to arms; and this

[10] Continuat. Fred. [11] Ann. Metens. [12] Eginard. [13] Id. in Annales.

ſecond

ſecond revolt produced a war which laſted ſome years, and at length terminated [A. D. 768] in the death of Gaifre, and in the re-annexation of the duchy of Aquitaine to the crown of France. During this conteſt, Taſſilon, duke of Bavaria, renounced his homage to the French king, and prepared to aſſert by arms his claim of independence. But intimidated by the misfortunes of Gaifre, he was induced to ſeek a reconciliation, and by his ready ſubmiſſion diſarmed the reſentment of the victor.

A. D. 768.] Soon after theſe atchievements, Pepin was ſeized with a ſlow fever, at Xaintes, was conveyed with difficulty to Saint Denis, and there expired of a dropſy, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign. He was interred at the place where he died; and was buried, according to his own orders, at the church-door, with his face downwards, and in the poſture of a penitent. By his wife Bertha, or Bertrude, daughter of Charibert, count of Laon, he had four ſons—Charlemagne, who ſucceeded to the kingdom of Neuſtria; Carloman, who governed Auſtraſia; Pepin, who died in his infancy; and Gilles, a monk, in the monaſtery of Saint Sylveſtre. He had alſo three daughters—Rothaide, Adelaide, and Giſele: the two firſt died young, and the third took the veil at the abbey of Chelles.

Pepin poſſeſſed great martial abilities, and great political talents; hence his ſkill and ſucceſs were equal in the cabinet and the field. Under his auſpices, France attained that ſtrength and conſequence, which enabled his ſon to purſue his triumphant career of greatneſs. But amidſt the ſplendour of his virtues, his vices and defects have been totally forgotten—Not one of his biographers has, in the delineation of his character, noticed the aſſaſſination of Theodald, ſon of Grimoald; the deſpotic authority which he exerted over his lawful ſovereign; the violation of his oath, in depoſing Childeric, and taking poſſeſſion of the throne; or the tyrannical confinement of his brother Carloman in a convent.—Theſe are weighty defects; and, though oppoſed by many great and glorious actions, are ſurely ſufficient not only to preclude indiſcriminate commendation, but to command a conſiderable degree of cenſure.

Pepin acquired the ſurname of *Short* from his diminutive form, which became a ſubject of pleaſantry to ſome of his courtiers. The king being informed of their remarks, determined to convince them of their error: with this view, he cauſed a combat to be exhibited, at the abbey of Ferrieres[14], between a lion and a bull. The former having thrown down his adverſary, Pepin turned to the noblemen, who were preſent, and aſked which of them had courage enough to ſeparate or kill the furious combatants. The bare propoſal made them all ſhudder—Not a ſoul replied.—I will do it then myſelf, ſaid the monarch calmly. He accordingly drew his ſabre, leaped into the *arena*,

[14] Monach. San—gal. l. ii. c. 23.

attacked

attacked and killed the lion, and then turning to the bull, aimed ſo ſevere a blow at his head, that he ſeparated it from his body. The whole court were aſtoniſhed at this prodigious exertion of courage and ſtrength. The nobles, who had indulged their wit at the expence of the king, were confounded. Pepin, turning towards them, exclaimed in a lofty tone—"David was ſmall, but he overthrew the proud giant who had dared "to treat him with contempt."

This ferocious kind of amuſement was common in theſe times. The kings not only exhibited combats of wild beaſts to the people, but they frequently indulged themſelves with this favourite diverſion within the precincts of the palace.

The plenary courts, *(cours plenieres)* alſo formed one of their principal amuſements. theſe were thoſe famous aſſemblies, which all the nobles were obliged to attend, on an invitation from the king. They were holden twice a year, at Chriſtmas and Eaſter, generally for the celebration of a marriage, or ſome other great rejoicing; they laſted a week; the place in which they were holden was ſometimes the royal palace, ſometimes a celebrated city, and ſometimes a vaſt plain; but always in a ſpacious place, capable of affording convenient accommodations for all the nobility in the kingdom: the ceremony commenced by a ſolemn maſs[25]; and the prieſt who performed it, before he read the epiſtle, placed the crown on the king's head, which the monarch wore till he went to bed. During the whole time of the feſtival the king always dined in public, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed dukes and prelates ſat with him at table: there was a ſecond table for the abbots, counts, and other noblemen; profuſion, rather than delicacy, was the leading characteriſtic of both. On the removal of each courſe, the flutes and obois played. When the *entremets* were ſerved, three heralds at arms, each with a rich cup in his hand, cried out three times, "Bounty of the moſt powerful of "king!" and then threw gold and ſilver to the people, who collected it with loud acclamations of joy. This diſtribution was announced and accompanied by a flouriſh of muſical inſtruments.

The amuſements of the afternoon conſiſted of fiſhing, gaming, hunting, rope-dancing, juggling, farce-playing, and pantomimical repreſentations. The pantomimes, or buffoons, are repreſented as poſſeſſed of admirable ſkill in training dogs, bears, and apes, to acts of imitation and mimicry. Theſe animals had parts aſſigned them in their different performances. Such was the taſte of the times. Plenary courts were particularly in vogue during the reign of the Carlovingian monarchs; they were ſupported with unuſual magnificence under Charlemagne, when they were attended by dukes and counts, who came from the fartheſt extremity of this vaſt empire, each

[25] Ducangé Differt. iv. ſur le Regne de S. Louis.

accompanied

accompanied by a brilliant court, and incurring an expence equal to that of his ſovereign.

This magnificence began to diminiſh from the time of Charles the Simple, the revenues of whoſe immediate ſucceſſors were inadequate to ſupport the expence of ſuch ſplendid feſtivals. They were revived, however, by Hugh Capet, continued by Robert, and maintained in their priſtine ſplendour by Saint Lewis: Charles the Seventh, finding them extremely burthenſome to the ſtate, finally aboliſhed them. The abolition was prudent, ſince they led the nobility to ruin themſelves at play, and the monarch to exhauſt his treaſures. At each of theſe feſtivals the king was obliged to give new dreſſes to the officers of his houſhold, as well as to thoſe who belonged to the queen and the princes. Thence came the word *livery*, becauſe theſe dreſſes were *delivered* at the king's expence. In ſhort, the whole expences attending the plenary courts amounted to an immenſe ſum. If there was any veſſel on the ſide-board of great value, or any ſcarce and curious jewel in the crown, cuſtom required that the king ſhould make a preſent of it to ſome one. In the room of theſe plenary courts feſtivals were eſtabliſhed, which, though devoid of that cumbrous magnificence that marked the former, were diſtinguiſhed by the ſofter and more pleaſing allurements of gallantry, politeneſs, and taſte.

CHARLEMAGNE.

A. D. 769.] PEPIN, aware of the ſuperior talents of his ſon Charles, had bequeathed him Auſtraſia; from a conſciouſneſs that the reſtleſs ſpirit of the German nations, and the unſettled ſtate of affairs in Italy, would afford him an ample field for the diſplay of his courage. According to this diviſion, Carloman was to have Burgundy, Provence, Languedoc, Alſace, a part of Germany, and of Aquitain[1]. But ſuch is the neglect of ancient authors, that not a word is ſaid of Neuſtria, one of the moſt valuable portions of the French empire. The laſt will of the deceaſed monarch, however, was not fulfilled[2]. The nobles, paying no attention to it, aſſembled in order to proceed to a new diviſion of the realm; by which Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, were given to Charles; and Auſtraſia, with all French Germany, to Carloman. The two brothers were crowned the ſame day; the eldeſt at Noyon, and the youngeſt at Soiſſons.

A. D. 770.] But the harmony that ſubſiſted between them was ſpeedily interrupted by the dictates of ambition. The firſt year of their reign a rupture took place, and Charles obtained poſſeſſion of part of Auſtraſia. Carloman was preparing to reſent this injury, and the flames of war were on the point of deſolating the empire, when their attention was attracted by another object of their mutual enmity. This was Hunalde, the old duke of Aquitaine, who ſuddenly burſting from the fetters of a monaſtic life, which he had patiently borne for more than twenty years, aſſumed the garb of royalty, and was received by his ſubjects with the moſt unequivocal demonſtrations of joy. The moſt important cities freely opened their gates to their long-loſt ſovereign; and a

[1] Continuat. Fredeg. [2] Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag.

conqueſt.

conqueſt, the laborious atchievement of ſeveral years, was threatened to be overturned in a few weeks. Charles was ſenſible how much his own reputation was concerned to oppoſe the torrent: his entreaties perſuaded the reluctant Carloman to take the field; but the forces of the royal confederates had ſcarcely formed a junction, before the fickle prince withdrew, with the troops immediately attached to his ſtandard, and left his brother to ſupport alone the weight of the war[3]. The commanding genius of Charles ſupplied the deficiency of his numbers; the duke of Aquitaine, defeated in a deciſive battle, eſcaped with difficulty to the territories of Lupus, duke of Gaſcony, who ſurrendered him to his enemy; and the captive Hunalde was diſmiſſed to a priſon.

The ſucceſs of Charles induced Didier, king of the Lombards, and Taſſilon, duke of Bavaria, who had planned hoſtilities againſt him, to forego their deſigns. The former endeavoured to ſecure the friendſhip of the youthful monarch by a double alliance. He had a ſon and a daughter; the former he propoſed to marry to the princeſs Giſele, ſiſter to Charles, and the latter to Charles himſelf, though he was already married to Himiltrude, by whom he had a ſon. This conſideration, however, was inadequate to make him deſiſt from the purſuit of a plan whence, he conceived, ſo many advantages muſt enſue. A negociation was accordingly entered into, and, notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition of the pope, who, in his holy invective againſt the Lombards, reproached them with the firſt ſtain of leproſy[4], terminated in the repudiation of Himiltrude, and the concluſion of the projected marriage. But Charles ſoon rejected his new wife on account of ſome ſecret infirmities[5], which prevented her from bearing children; and transferred the title and rank of queen to Hildegarde, who was deſcended from a noble Suevian family.

A. D. 771.] In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, Carloman died at Samancy, near Laon, and was interred at the abbey of Saint Remi, at Rheims. He left two ſons, Pepin and Siagre; but neither of them was permitted to ſucceed him; the Auſtraſians, impreſſed with reſpect for the talents of Charles, acknowledged him for their ſovereign. Gerberga, the widow of Carloman, trembling for the fate of her children[6], fled with them into Lombardy; where they were received with great affection by Didier, who was eager to embrace any opportunity of revenging the inſult offered to his daughter. The court of Lombardy ſoon became an aſylum for all the enemies of the French monarchy; Hunalde, having eſcaped from priſon, repaired thither; and ſeveral of the Auſtraſian nobles, diſguſted with the government of Charles, took refuge with his enemy.

A. D. 772.] Charles was not ignorant of theſe proceedings; but his immediate atention was called to another quarter. A revolt of the Saxons engaged him in a war,

[3] Egin. in Ann. [4] Epiſt. 45. in cod. Carol. [5] Monach. San—gal. l. ii. c. 26. [6] Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag.

which, with ſome ſhort intervals, exerciſed his perſevering valour during thirty-three years. From the Rhine, and beyond the Elbe, the martial inhabitants of the north of Germany were ſtill inimical to the government and religion of the French; they rejected with contempt the ſervile obligation of tribute; and, in ſucceſſive engagements, diſplayed a ferocious courage, which could only be repulſed by the veteran intrepidity of the troops of Charles. This firſt war was occaſioned by an irruption of the Saxons into the territories of France.

Charles entered their country, and laid waſte all before him; ſtill, far from being intimidated, they offered him battle; but fortune proving unfavourable, they were obliged to bend beneath the yoke of the victor[7]. Town after town was taken; their temples were demoliſhed, and their idols broken in pieces. Finding their inability to reſiſt, the Saxons ſued for mercy, and obtained it. Charles having exacted from them twelve hoſtages, as a pledge of their future ſubmiſſion, returned home, and prepared for an expedition into Italy.

A. D. 773.] Pope Stephen was dead, and had been ſucceeded by Adrian, who was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the papal dignity, than he ſent to the king of Lombardy, to demand reſtitution of ſome places belonging to the patrimony of Saint Peter, which he ſtill retained. That prince, inſtead of ſending an anſwer to his requiſition, advanced towards Rome, at the head of a powerful army, and took with him the two ſons of Carloman, on whom he wanted the pope to confer the crown of Auſtraſia. But Adrian, being convinced that the only means of eſcaping from the domination of the Lombards was by ſecuring the protection of the king of France, perſevered in his refuſal to crown the young princes[8]; and, profiting by this pretended mark of his attachment to Charles, he wrote the moſt preſſing letters to that monarch, to entreat he would march to his aſſiſtance. Charles, averſe from engaging in this war, made ſuch advantageous propoſals to Didier, that he began to imagine he was become formidable to the French monarch. Impreſſed with this idea, he rejected the proffered terms; and was ſoon ſurprized to hear, that Charles was advancing at the head of ſuch a powerful army, that it was evident he not only meant to aſſiſt the pope, but to conquer the whole kingdom of Lombardy. He had ſkilfully evaded the fortified poſts of the Alps; his preſence diſperſed the army of the Lombards; and while Didier, with the old duke of Aquitaine, who had eſcaped from priſon, took ſhelter in Pavia, his ſon Adalgiſe, with the widow and children of Carloman, ſought immediate ſafety in Verona. Both cities were beſieged at the ſame moment by the impatient activity of Charles. Verona was ſoon compelled to ſurrender; Adalgiſe eſcaped to Conſtantinople; the widow, and two ſons of Carloman diſappeared, and none of them were ever heard of after, till an account of

7 Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag. 8 Anaſt. in Adrian.

the

the fate of Siagre, the eldeſt ſon, was received by the celebrated Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux, in an ancient manuſcript, ſent him from the abbey of Saint Pons, at Nice. This manuſcript contained the life of that prince, written by a contemporary author; by which it appears, that he perſuaded his uncle to found the ſaid convent, where he aſſumed the monaſtic habit, and led ſuch a life of ſanctity, that pope Adrian was induced to take him from the convent and make him biſhop of Nice. He was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 774.] Didier diſplayed great courage in the defence of his capital.. The ſtrength of the place, the abundance of every thing that was neceſſary for a vigorous reſiſtance; the number and bravery of the troops it contained; and, laſtly, the preſence of the ſovereign who was fighting for his crown—all conſpired to perſuade Charles, that its reduction would prove a work of conſiderable time. This determined him to convert the ſiege into a blockade, and to pay a ſhort viſit to Rome. He was received by Adrian with the moſt grateful marks of attention; but that artful pope, in the midſt of his civilities, did not forget his intereſt. The king having accompanied him to the church of St. Peter, Adrian conjured him to remember the donation which his father had made to it[9]. Charles immediately ordered it to be read to him, and afterwards confirmed it with his *mark*—for though one of the moſt learned men of the age, he could not write. The only return which the king received for this pious offering, was that code of the holy canons which was uſed by the Roman church. It comprized all thoſe which Dionyſius the Little had collected in the ſixth century, that is to ſay, the fifty-firſt of thoſe which are falſely attributed to the apoſtles; thoſe of Nicæa, Ancyra, Neoceſarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Conſtantinople, Chalcedon, Sardis, and of ſome African councils. To theſe were added the Epiſtles of the Popes, from Siricius to Hormiſdas. This code, with the letters of Gregory the Second, and the falſe decretals compoſed by Iſidorus, was all the eccleſiaſtical law which the French had till long after the commencement of the third race of kings. It is dedicated to the Liberator of Rome. The preliminary epiſtle, compoſed by Adrian, is a poem in praiſe of Charles: each verſe begins with a letter of his name.

The king on his return to Pavia preſſed the ſiege with great vigour; the arms of the French were ſeconded by an internal enemy, and the ravages of the plague determined the inhabitants to implore the clemency of Charles. The old duke of Aquitaine fell a ſacrifice to his conſtancy in oppoſing the tumultuous clamour of the people; the gates were thrown open—the kingdom of the Lombards was finally extinguiſhed, and their unhappy monarch, Didier, was ſent to a convent in France, where he aſſumed the habit of a monk, At Milan, the victor was crowned king of Lombardy.

[9] Egin. in Vita Carol. Mag.

On the ruins of Lombardy a new monarchy was raiſed, which afterwards aſſumed the appellation of the Kingdom of Italy. It comprized not only Piedmont, the duchy of Montferrat, the republic of Genoa, the dutchies of Parma, and Modena, Tuſcany, the Milaneſe, Breſcie, Verona and Friuli, but all that country which Charles had given to the pope—that is, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, the Terra Sabina, Terracina, the dutchies of Spoleto and Benevento, the March of Ancona, the diſtricts of Ferrara and Bologna; and, if Anaſtaſius, the Librarian, may be credited, the iſland of Corſica, the provinces of Venice, and Iſtria, Mantua, and the dutchy of Reggio. But though Charles extended the papal dominions [10], he was careful to reſtrain the temporal authority of the pope within due bounds. All affairs were conducted in Rome by the king's orders. The money coined there bore his impreſſion; the public acts were dated according to the years of his reign; an appeal lay to his officers from all the ſentences pronounced by the popes with regard to their vaſſals; the ſovereign pontiffs themſelves had recourſe to the juſtice of the French monarch in their own perſonal concerns.

A. D. 775.] Such was the ſtate of affairs in Italy when Charles was ſummoned to repaſs the Alps, in order to reſtrain the deſtructive incurſions of the Saxons, who had already re-aſſumed their arms, and recovered Ereſbourg, near the Weſer, which they had loſt in the former campaign. That city, at the appearance of the French monarch, was again compelled to change its maſter; but a conſiderable detachment of French troops, appointed to guard the paſſages, and ſeparated from their companions by the broad ſtream of the river, was, in the moment of heedleſs confidence, overwhelmed by the crafty barbarians. This check, with new diſturbances in Italy, induced Charles to receive, with hoſtages from the different tribes, the doubtful profeſſions of the Saxons; and, after ſtrengthening the fortifications of Ereſbourg, he directed his march to the Weſt.

A. D. 776, 777, 778.] The clouds which obſcured Italy, and which had been ſwelled by the intrigues of the emperor of the Eaſt, and the fugitive Adalgiſe, the ſon of Didier, were diſpelled by the preſence of the monarch: but the ſtorm ſtill ſhook the North with unabated violence, and the boaſted works of Ereſbourg were ſwept away by the fury of the tempeſt. Charles, by his rapid return, ſurprized the Saxons in the ſiege of Sigebourg, and his unexpected appearance once more renewed their profeſſions of loyalty. The fortifications of Ereſbourg were reſtored, new forts were conſtructed along the Lippe; an aſſembly of the barbarous chiefs was holden at Paderborn, in Weſtphalia; and Charles having received their homage, prepared, at the ſolicitation of Ibinalarabi, lord of Saragoſſa, to march into Spain and to reſtore the ſuppliant Emir.

[10] In Cod. Carolin. Epiſt. 51, 52, &c.

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The authority of the exiled Arabian was reſtored by the proweſs of the Chriſtian monarch; who reduced Pampeluna, traverſed the Ebro, and ſucceſsfully inveſted the city of Saragoſſa. The rebellious followers of Chriſt and Mahomet were impartially puniſhed by the defender of inſulted ſovereignty; and the March of Spain, which the victor inſtituted, extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro. Barcelona was the reſidence of a French governor; he obtained the counties of Rouſſillon and Catalonia; and the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were ſubject to his juriſdiction. But, on his return, his rear-guard was attacked and defeated in the Pyrenean mountains; and this action, which has been ſo much celebrated in romance for the death of the famous Roland, ſeems to impeach the military ſkill and prudence of Charles.

The return of Witikind a Saxon chief, who had twice retired from the victorious arms of Charles, to the friendly court of Denmark, again rouſed the latent ſpark of independence in the martial boſoms of his countrymen. They advanced as far as the Rhine, ravaged the whole country from Duitz to Coblentz, plundering the churches, burning the monaſteries, violating the ſacred perſons of the nuns, and putting all who fell in their way to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex[11]. Charles was at Auxerre, when he received intelligence of this new revolt; he immediately diſpatched ſuch troops as were neareſt the frontiers, in ſearch of the enemy, whom they came up with at a place called Liheſi, ſituated on the banks of the Eder, in the principality of Heſſe. The battle was obſtinate and bloody; but victory at length decided in favour of the French, who, in revenge of the exceſſes committed by the barbarians on the Rhine, gave no quarter, but left the whole army dead on the field.

A. D. 779.] The lateneſs of the ſeaſon not permitting the French to purſue their advantage, the king aſſembled a Parliament at his palace of Heriſtal, where ſeveral excellent regulations, or capitularies, were adopted, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular[12]. The moſt remarkable of theſe relate to theft, and the franchiſes of the church. The right of aſylum was ſubject to a thouſand abuſes. Charles did not dare to authorize violence in order to force the criminal from his ſacred aſylum; but a canon was paſſed[13] to prohibit ſuch as ſhould take refuge on account of any capital crime, at the foot of the altar, from receiving any food or nouriſhment whatever. This was a ſerious attack on the privilege of eccleſiaſtic immunity, of which the biſhops were extremely jealous. But all their attempts to elude it proving unavailing, it was decreed—That theft ſhould, the firſt time, be puniſhed by the loſs of an eye; the ſecond time, by that of the noſe; and the third time, by death[14].

The aſſembly was no ſooner diſſolved, than Charles paſſed the Rhine, at the head of a numerous army. The Saxons had the courage to wait for him on the banks of the

[11] Ann. Metens. [12] Tom. xi. Concil. Gall. [13] Can. 8. [14] Can. 9, 11, 12, 24.

Lippe;

Lippe; where their army was cut in pieces. The victor then advanced as far as the Weſer; where deputies from the nation came to renew thoſe oaths which they had ſo repeatedly violated. He again pardoned them; but on condition that they ſhould admit prieſts and prelates to reſide among them[15], and engage to attend the diet, which he appointed to be holden the enſuing ſpring, at Horheim, on the banks of the Onacre. The Saxons were faithful to their promiſe. Every means which prudence could ſuggeſt was adopted to prevent a repetition of revolts, and ſeveral of the barbarians received baptiſm. The king was ſenſible of the inſincerity of their converſion, but being under the neceſſity of repairing to Italy, he aſſumed an appearance of content and ſatisfaction.

A. D. 781.] The Greeks had, for ſome time, ſtopped the revenues of certain poſſeſſions belonging to the pope, which was ſituated in the province of Naples; and the ſovereign pontiff, in order to make repriſals, had ſeized Terracina. The affair was ſubmitted to negociation; but, in the mean time, the Imperialiſts retook all the places that had been taken from them. The conferences, therefore, were broken off; and the court of Conſtantinople refuſed to liſten to any propoſals, either of reſtitution or accommodation. The ſovereign pontiff requeſted the king would ſend him one of his generals[16], with orders to raiſe an army of militia, to enable him to exact juſtice from his enemies. He gave him notice, at the ſame time, that the duke of Benevento continued to hold a correſpondence with prince Adalgiſe. Charles, who had the eſtabliſhment of his children in view, ſent him word that before the end of the year he would viſit Italy himſelf. The French king had four ſons—Pepin, by his firſt wife; and Charles, Carloman, and Lewis, by queen Hildegarde. Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Auſtraſia were deſtined for the two eldeſt; and he had a ſcheme in contemplation for inſuring a part of his ſucceſſion to the two youngeſt, whom, for that purpoſe, he took with him into Italy. They left Worms, attended by a numerous and ſplendid court, and arrived in Lombardy towards the end of autumn. His preſence ſufficed to diſſipate the clouds of faction; and the pope's diſpute with the empire was terminated to the ſatisfaction of Adrian.

Having paſſed the winter at Pavia, he went to celebrate the feſtival of Eaſter at Rome; where the pope, at his requeſt, baptized Carloman by the name of Pepin, crowned him king of Lombardy, and conſecrated prince Lewis as king of Aquitaine. The firſt of theſe kingdoms extended, as we have before obſerved[17], from the Alps to the Offanto; and the duchy of Bavaria was afterwards annexed to it. The laſt compriſed Poitou, Auvergne, Perigord, the Limouſin, and Gaſcony. The new Italian monarch remained in his own dominions; of which Milan became the capital, and

[15] An. Moiſſiac. [16] Epiſt. 64, in Cod. Carolin. [17] Annal. Eginard. et alu.

Ravenna

Ravenna the place of his reſidence. Young Lewis was carried back to France in a cradle; he was then only in his fourth year. At Orleans, cloaths and arms, ſuitable to his age and ſtature, were made for him; he was then mounted on a horſe, and conducted to Aquitaine, where he received the homage of the nobles and people.

The Abbè Velly, tells us, that it was during this journey to Italy that Charles held many conferences with Alcuinus, a celebrated Engliſhman, who had been induced to viſit the king, from the high character which he had heard of him. The fact is true, but the motive is miſtated.

Alcuinus was librarian[18] to Egbert, Archbiſhop of York, and brother to Eadbart, king of Northumberland. Being highly diſtinguiſhed for his talents, he was ſelected by Offa, king of Mercia, as a proper perſon to ſend on an embaſſy to Charles. This was the motive of his journey to the continent, where Charles conceived ſo great an eſteem and friendſhip for him, that he earneſtly ſolicited, and at length prevailed upon, him to ſettle at his court, and become his preceptor in the ſciences[19]. Alcuinus accordingly inſtructed him in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity; and he acquitted himſelf of his taſk in ſo able a manner, that he became one of the king's chief favourites. "He was treated with ſo much kindneſs and familiarity," (ſays Muratori, a contemporary writer) "by the emperor, that the other courtiers called him, by way of eminence, "—*the emperor's delight*[20]". Charles engaged his learned favourite to write againſt the heretical opinions of Felix, biſhop of Urgel, in Catalonia, and to defend the orthodox faith againſt that hereſiarch, in the council of Francfort, holden in 894; which he performed to the entire ſatisfaction of the king and council, and even to the conviction of Felix and his followers, who abandoned their errors[21]. An academy was eſtabliſhed by Charles, in the royal palace, over which Alcuinus preſided, and in which the princes and chief nobles were educated; other academies were alſo eſtabliſhed in the principal towns of Italy and France, at his inſtigation, and under his inſpection[22]. "France" (ſays Cave[23]) "is indebted to Alcuinus for all the polite learning it "boaſted of in that and the following ages. The univerſities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, "Soiſſons, and many others, owe to him their origin and increaſe; thoſe of which he "was neither ſuperior nor founder being, at leaſt, enlightened by his doctrine and "example, and enriched by the benefits he procured for them from Charlemagne."—Alcuinus, at length, with great difficulty, obtained permiſſion from Charles to retire from court to his abbey of Saint Martin at Tours. Here he maintained a correſpondence by letters with the king, (whom he ſtiles King David, according to the cuſtom

18. See a poetical account of the contents of Egbert's library, at York, then one of the beſt collections in the world. Alcuinus de Pontificibus et Sanctis Eccleſiæ Ebor. apud Gale. t. i. p. 730.

19 W. Malmſ. l. i. c. 3. 20 Murat. Antiq. t. i. p. 131. 21 Du Pin Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cent. 8. 22 Crevier Hiſt. des Univerſ. de Paris, t. i. p. 26, &c. 23 Cave Hiſt. Literar. ſec. viii. p. 496.

of

of that age, of giving ſcripture names to princes) by which it appears, that both Charles and his learned friend were animated with the moſt ardent love of religion and learning, and conſtantly employed in contriving and executing the nobleſt deſigns for their advancement[24].

A. D. 782, 783.] But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory—Charles having ſettled his affairs in Italy, returned to Saxony, where he held a parliament in his camp, on the banks of the Lippe. The attention of this aſſembly was chiefly directed to the adoption of means for ſtifling the ſpirit of revolt; and they imagined that they had effectually fulfilled this object of their convention: but the French troops had ſcarcely paſſed the Rhine, when Witikind again excited that martial people to aſſert their native claim of independence. Charles, engaged in other projects, ſent three of his lieutenants to chaſtiſe them. Theſe were joined by count Teuderic, a French nobleman, nearly allied to the royal family. The count's military talents were holden in high eſtimation; but, from the jealouſy with which they inſpired the other leaders of the French army, they proved fatal to the cauſe they were calculated to promote. The three generals, fearing that the victory would be ſolely aſcribed to Teuderic, reſolved to engage without giving him notice of their intention. They accordingly broke up their camp in great haſte, and marching towards the Saxons, who had pitched their tents at the foot of a mountain near the Weſer, attacked them with all that confidence which troops long accuſtomed to ſucceſs are apt to feel. The Saxons, however, ſuſtained the firſt onſet with ſucceſsful vigour; and by a rapid extenſion of their wings, contrived to take their enemy in flank, when the diſorder became general, and the ſlaughter dreadful. The few that eſcaped took refuge in the camp of Teuderic. Many officers and perſons of diſtinction were killed, and among others Geilon, the king's conſtable.

The office of *Conſtable* began to acquire importance at this period, although it had not yet arrived at that degree of grandeur and power which it afterwards enjoyed. The conſtable was originally entruſted with the care of the king's ſtables—his poſt was equivalent to that of *maſter of the horſe*; he had two officers under him, who were called mareſchals. Some of the conſtables diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo highly by their courage and conduct, that they were employed by their ſovereigns in the moſt important affairs of ſtate, and entruſted with the command of fleets and armies; but they only acted under a temporary commiſſion. It was Matthew the Second, lord of Montmorency, who made the dignity of conſtable the firſt military rank, under the reigns of Philip Auguſtus, Lewis the Eighth, and Lewis the Ninth. That of mareſchals was raiſed in proportion; and at laſt, took the place of the former. The conſtable was chief

[24] Epiſtolae Alcuini apud antiq. lection. Canisii, t. ii.

of

of the army and council; he took rank of the chancellor, even in the parliament; he appointed the officers, and gave orders to the troops. The king himself, if an ancient deed in the chamber of accounts at Paris may be credited, *could not undertake any military enterprize without his consent.* This post having become vacant by the death of constable Lesdiguieres, was suppressed by Lewis the Thirteenth.

A. D. 784, 785.] The defeat of his army proved a source of uneasiness to Charles, who was little accustomed to the reception of similar intelligence. He immediately marched into Saxony, with a full resolution to inflict exemplary vengeance on men, whose sole crime consisted in repelling the attempts of a foreign invader. At his approach their troops dispersed, and their nobles flocked to him with protestations of innocence and fidelity; but though he met with no opposition, he seized four thousand five hundred of the insurgents, and ordered them to be beheaded, as an example to their countrymen. After this unprecedented execution, by which he relinquished his claim to humanity without attaining the submission of Saxony, he went to pass the winter at Thionville. There he lost his queen Hildegarde, who was highly regretted by the nation; and some time after he married Fastrade, the daughter of a French nobleman.

The consternation occasioned by the recent slaughter of the Saxons, was soon converted into rage and despair. Witikind, that brave warrior, whom no threats could intimidate, no dangers appal, accompanied by duke Albion, again roused his countrymen to arms. The insurrection was so general, and the spirit of the insurgents so determined, that three bloody defeats were inadequate to restrain their attempts, and reduce them to submission[25]. But clemency effected what force could not operate. Charles filled with esteem for the untameable courage of Witikind, offered him an unconditional pardon, with hostages for the performance of his promise. The noble Saxon, subdued by this instance of generosity, repaired to the assembly at Paderborn, and from thence to the palace of Artigny, on the River Aisne, where Charles received him with so much kindness, that he became a convert to his government and faith. He was accordingly baptized, and after his admission into the bosom of the Church, he led a life of exemplary piety. Some authors pretend, that the illustrious family which now govern France are descended from him. Albion followed his example:—they both returned to their own country, where they kept the people in a state of submission, and remained faithful to God and their king.

The expedition into Saxony had nearly proved fatal to Charles. As he was in pursuit of Witikind and Albion, who had retired beyond the Elbe, he received information of a conspiracy against his life. It has been supposed that the new queen was the

[25] Annal. Egin.

authoreſs of it; Eginard ſpeaks of her as a woman addicted to cruelty; and ſays, that Charles was too condeſcending to her[26]. Whoever gave riſe to the conſpiracy, it appeared formidable from the number and rank of thoſe who were concerned in it: fortunately, however, it was attended with no bad conſequences. On its diſcovery, count Haſtrade, one of the leaders, had his eyes put out; and the other conſpirators were ſent into exile.

A. D. 786, 787.] The empire of France was, at this period, doomed to experience a continual interruption of its tranquillity. A revolt of the Britons now called the attention of Charles, who had no ſooner chaſtiſed the inſurgents than he repaired to Italy, and by his preſence diſconcerted the hoſtile projects of his enemies in that part of his dominions. Aregiſe, duke of Benevento, who was diſpoſed to reſiſt his authority, gave up his plan, and ſent him his ſecond ſon as a pledge of his ſubmiſſion. The court of Conſtantinople, on the point of coming to a rupture with France, ſent ambaſſadors to compliment the king on his arrival, and to aſſure him of their friendſhip. Taſſilon, duke of Bavaria, uneaſy under a ſtate of dependance, was ripe for revolt; he now threw himſelf at the feet of Charles, took a new oath of fidelity, and gave him his eldeſt ſon as an hoſtage. But being afterwards induced to renew his intrigues, his hoſtile negociations were extended to the barbarian Huns, the emperor of the Greeks, and the fugitive Adalgiſe; he fomented the diſcontents of the factious nobles of Aquitaine and Lombardy, but his ſubjects dreading in his raſh deſigns their own deſtruction, revealed the ſecret of his perfidy to Charles; and Taſſilon, as he fearleſsly entered the diet of Ingelheim, [A. D. 788.] was arreſted by the command of the French monarch. The evidence of his guilt was inconteſtable; he was condemned with his two ſons to loſe his head; but the puniſhment was commuted into monaſtic confinement, and the principality of Bavaria was annexed to the dominions of Charles.

The fate of Taſſilon could not avert the effects of his intrigues with the enemies of the ſtate. The Huns had raiſed two powerful armies to aſſiſt the duke; one of which they led into Bavaria, to ravage the territory of France, and with the other they marched to Friuli, in order to ſupport prince Adelgiſe, who, aſſiſted by the emperor, was preparing to invade the duchy of Benevento.

The empreſs Irene, fearing that Charles might wreſt from the Greeks their remaining poſſeſſions in Italy, had, ſome time before, ſent him a celebrated embaſſy, to aſk the hand of his eldeſt daughter Rotrude for young Conſtantine. The marriage was accordingly ſettled, and the princeſs betrothed. An eunuch, named Eliſée, was ſent to ſuperintend her education, to teach her the Greek language, and to inſtruct her in

[26] Annal. Egin. & in vita Carol. Magn.

the

the manners of the country over which ſhe was intended to reign. But this alliance never took place; though who was the means of preventing its completion is not aſcertained. Theophanes, a contemporary writer, pretends that it was Irene, who was afraid that ſuch an union might inſpire her ſon with a ſpirit of independence, and a deſire of holding the reins of government. Eginard, Charles's ſecretary, aſſures us, it was Charles himſelf (who, from exceſs of affection, could not bear to part with his daughter) that prevented the connection from taking place. Be that as it may, the emperor after the marriage was broken off, made no ſcruple openly to aſſiſt the Lombards, who in conjunction with the Greeks and Huns, now conſpired to promote the expulſion of the French from Italy. But the king, without leaving Ratiſbon, iſſued his orders, and diſpelled the ſtorm that threatened him.

The Huns were entirely defeated both in Bavaria and Friuli:—A ſecond time they returned to the charge, and again experienced a ſimilar fate. The Greeks were not more fortunate; and the Lombardian prince was compelled to return to Conſtantinople, where he paſſed a life of indolence and eaſe.

A. D. 789, 790.] Charles took advantage of a ſhort interval of repoſe to ſend envoys into Africa, Egypt, and Syria, in order to diſtribute conſiderable ſums to thoſe Chriſtian churches. that were oppreſſed by the tyranny of the Infidels. Theſe envoys were entruſted with magnificent preſents for Aaron, caliph of the Saracens[27], to induce him to treat with humanity the Chriſtians that were eſtabliſhed in his dominions. That prince had conceived ſo high an idea of the French monarch, that he ſought to purchaſe his friendſhip by giving him up the ſovereignty of the Holy Land, reſerving to himſelf the title of his lieutenant. Among other preſents which Charles ſent him, was a pavilion made of fine linen cloth, of various colours[28]; it was ſo lofty that an arrow ſhot from a bow could not attain its ſummit[29], and ſo large, that it contained as many apartments as the moſt ſpacious palace. But what particularly attracted the attention of the curious, was a clock worked by water. The dial was compoſed of twelve ſmall doors[30] which repreſented the diviſion of the hours; each door opened at the hour it was intended to repreſent, and out of it came the ſame number of little balls, which fell one by one, at equal diſtances of time, on a braſs drum. It might be told by the eye, what hour it was by the number of doors that were open; and by the ear, by the number of balls that fell. When it was twelve o'clock, twelve horſemen in miniature iſſued forth at the ſame time, and marching round the dial, ſhut all the doors.

It was about this time that Angibert, ſo well known in the king's academy under the name of Homer, retired from court, and aſſumed the monaſtic habit. He was a young

[27] Egin. in vit. Car. Mag. [28] Idem in Annal. [29] Ann Metens. & Moiſſiac. [30] Poeta Saxon. l. iv.

nobleman of great talents[31]; and Charles's daughter Bertha was ſo ſtricken with his perſonal accompliſhments, that ſhe liſtened to his addreſſes, and had two children by him—Nitard, who wrote the hiſtory of his own times; and Harnide, whoſe fate is unknown. Eginard aſſures us, that the king would never ſuffer his daughters to marry[32], which imprudent reſolution gave riſe to ſome unpleaſant circumſtances, that he was prudent enough to conceal. This adventure, and Hiltrude's intrigue with another nobleman, named Odilon, cauſed him no ſmall uneaſineſs. Rotrude, another of his daughters, alſo maintained an amorous intercourſe with count Roricon, by whom ſhe had a ſon, named Lewis, who was abbot of Saint Denis, and chancellor of France.

A. D. 791.] Charles had now reſolved to chaſtiſe the Huns, who had renewed their incurſions; he accordingly entered their country, forced their entrenchments after an obſtinate engagement, and penetrated as far as Raal, on the Danube; an epidemic diſorder, with the approach of winter, compelled him to retire; and his tranſient exultation was ſoon interrupted by a calamity of a domeſtic nature.

A. D. 792.] His eldeſt ſon Pepin, impatient to taſte the joys of empire, and envious of the eſtabliſhment of his younger brothers, conſpired againſt the life of his father. The unnatural project was revealed by a prieſt, named Fardulfe, who had accidentally fallen aſleep in the church where the conſpirators aſſembled; he was awakened by a number of voices, and found the aſſociates deliberating on their laſt meaſures. Charles was ſummoned from his bed to learn the guilt of his ſon; the parliament was aſſembled, and the criminals were condemned; but the feelings of a father checked the hand of juſtice, and doomed Pepin to expiate his crime by a life of religious penitence. Fardulfe was rewarded with the abbey of Saint Denis.

A. D, 793.] The two monarchs, Charles's other ſons, haſtened to Ratiſbon on the firſt news of the conſpiracy, which was totally ſtopped, however, before their arrival. They were received with all the tenderneſs which their zeal deſerved[33]; and with all the honours that were due to them for the recent defeat of the rebels in the duchy of Benevento. Pepin ſtaid but a ſhort time, as the jealous diſpoſition of the Greeks rendered his preſence neceſſary in Italy. Lewis remained with his father the whole winter, with an intention of accompanying him in his next expedition againſt the Huns. But that project was ſuſpended by the news which Charles received from Saxony and Spain. Count Theuderic had marched with an army of Friſians into Saxony, where he expected to find every thing in a ſtate of perfect tranquility and ſubmiſſion; but he was ſuddenly attacked at Ruſtringen, and ſuſtained a total overthrow.

[31] In vit. poſter. Angilbert. [32] In vit. Carol. Mag. [33] Eginard. in Annal.

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The Saracens, on their ſide, had taken Barcelona by ſurprize, forced the paſſage of the Pyrenees, burned the ſuburbs of Narbonne, defeated the duke of Toulouſe, who had attempted to impede their progreſs, and ravaged the whole province of Languedoc. The revolts of the Saxons, when left to their own exertions, were never conſidered as of much importance[34]; but an excurſion of the Moors, about the ſame time, excited more ſerious apprehenſions.

Charles ſent young Lewis back to Aquitaine, in order to oppoſe the Saracens; while he aſſembled his own army, with a view to terrify, though not immediately to attack, the Saxons. He had a grand project in contemplation: it was to open a communication between the ocean and the Euxine ſea. This would have been an object of great utility, as well for internal commerce, as for his intended expedition againſt the Huns; nor was it very difficult of accompliſhment, as he had only to form a junction between the Rednitz and the Athmul. The firſt of theſe rivers mingles its waters, near Ramberg, with thoſe of the Mein, which empties itſelf into the Rhine, near Mayence, and the Rhine flows on to the ocean: the laſt joins the Danube at Kelheim, and the Danube falls into the Euxine or Black Sea. The canal, by which this junction was to have been effected, was intended to be three hundred feet in width, and about two leagues in length. The whole army was employed in digging it; they completed two thouſand yards of their work, but the ſoftneſs of the ſoil, the continual rains, the falling in of the earth, and the want of a thouſand inventions, which are ſo common in the preſent age, compelled them to deſiſt; and the little hope that remained of ſucceſs, cauſed the ſcheme to be totally abandoned.

A. D. 794.] About this period, Charles received intelligence that Iſſem, king of Cordova, having been defeated in a bloody battle, with Alfonſo, ſurnamed *the Chaſte*, had recalled the Saracens from Languedoc. Releaſed, therefore, from his fears on that ſide, he determined to purſue his hoſtile plans in Saxony. But before he commenced his expedition, he aſſembled the famous council of Francfort[35], one of the moſt celebrated of the weſtern church. It was attended by more than three hundred biſhops, from France, Germany, Lombardy, England, and Spain. The monarch appeared, ſeated on his throne, with all that authority which the Chriſtian emperors had formerly enjoyed in theſe religious aſſemblies. The hereſy of Felix, biſhop of Urgel, had ſuperinduced the convention of this council; it was conſequently the firſt affair that occupied its attention. That prelate, ſupported by Elipand, archbiſhop of Toledo, publicly maintained that Jeſus Chriſt, conſidered in a natural view, was but the adopted Son of God; by which he admitted two ſons, and conſequently two perſons. This doctrine, already condemned at Epheſus, was unanimouſly proſcribed at Francfort.

The next object of diſcuſſion, was the deciſion of the ſecond council of Nice on the worſhip of images. The Abbé Velly, in defending that deciſion, which tended to eſta-

34 Chron. Moiſſiac. 35 Eginard. in Annal.

bliſh

bliſh both the uſe and adoration of images, has been obliged to have recourſe to thoſe frivolous and incomprehenſible diſtinctions, of which the Nicene fathers availed themſelves[36], probably for the purpoſe of obſcuring what they were unwilling to elucidate, and what they foreſaw would prove equally repugnant to religion and common ſenſe. In contradiction to the Abbé's aſſertions, though we have, in moſt caſes, the greateſt reſpect for his opinion, we muſt contend, that a peruſal of the canons of the council of Nice is ſufficient to convince any man, of the plaineſt underſtanding, that they were meant to enforce both the uſe and adoration of images. In this light were they conſidered at the time by the prelates of England, who met for the purpoſe of examining them, by the orders of Offa, king of Mercia, who had received a copy of the canons from Charles, his friend and ally. They condemned them, "as containing many "things contrary to the true catholic faith, eſpecially *the worſhip of images*, which the "catholic church utterly deteſted and abhorred[37]." This ſentence of the Engliſh biſhops had been tranſmitted to Charles, prior to the convocation of the council of Francfort, and the prelates who attended that council were convinced of its juſtice; they adopted the ſame opinion of the canons of the council of Nice, an elaborate confutation of which they drew up, in four books, which were publiſhed in the king's name, and are commonly called "The Carline Books[38]. The Abbé Velly is of opinion that theſe prelates were miſtaken with regard to the interpretation of the condemned canons, and that this miſtake was owing either to their ignorance of the Greek language, or to the introduction of falſe canons, inſtead of thoſe which were enacted by the ſecond council of Nice. The firſt ſuppoſition appears to us to be highly frivolous; Why are we to ſuppoſe that the fathers of Francfort were leſs learned than the Nicene fathers? Independent of their equality in point of rank, the former had a vaſt ſuperiority of numbers—there were three hundred prelates at the council of Francfort, and but one hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, at that of Nice—among the former too was Alcuinus, who is confeſſed by the Abbé himſelf to have been a man of great learning and profound erudition. The ſecond ſuppoſition is ſtill more untenable; for the interval between the two councils is ſo ſhort—that of Nice having met in 787, and that of Francfort in 794—that it is groſsly improbable the fathers of the latter could have been impoſed on by a forgery which muſt imply a total ignorance of the canons enacted at the former, when it is notorious too that a copy of the acts of that council was ſent into France. The members of the council of Frankfort, therefore, were perfectly juſtified, in condemning what really tended to encourage a ſpecies of idolatry.

Taſſilon, the depoſed duke of Bavaria, appeared at this aſſembly in the habit of a monk, to implore the clemency of Charles. He publicly confeſſed his repeated violation of oaths, and formally renounced, as well for himſelf as his ſons, all his pretenſions to

[36] Du Pin. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent. 8. [37] M. Weſtminſter, ad Ann. 793. [38] Du Pin. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent. 8.

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the duchy, which he had forfeited by the treachery of his conduct. The king aſſigned him a penſion, and ordered him to be removed to the monaſtery of Juniéges, where he paſſed the remainder of his days, in company with his two ſons.

Queen Faſtrade died about this time. Charles, who had loved her to exceſs, lamented her loſs with great bitterneſs. But her pride and cruelty had rendered her odious to the nation. Twice had ſhe expoſed the life of her huſband, as a reward for the ſuperabundance of his kindneſs towards her.

As ſoon as the council of Francfort was diſſolved, the king marched againſt the Saxons; but the preſence of a monarch, who had ſo frequently ſignalized his proweſs to their coſt, ſpread ſuch a conſternation among them [39], that, inſtead of flying to arms, they haſtened to proſtrate themſelves at the feet of their maſter. Charles again received their ſubmiſſion, and contented himſelf [40] with taking from them one third of their army, which he diſtributed in different parts of his dominions.

A. D. 795.] But even this diminution of their force proved inadequate to reſtrain them from farther attempts. Charles had advanced, at the head of his troops, to the banks of the Elbe, in order to give audience to the king of the Abodrites, when he learned that that prince, who was a firm friend as well as an ally of the French, had been killed in an ambuſcade prepared for him by the Saxons [41]. He was ſo enraged at the news, that he abandoned the whole country to the fury of his ſoldiery, who extended their depredations from one end of it to the other, and ſlew above thirty thouſand of the inhabitants.

A. D. 796.] Charles, in the courſe of this expedition, gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Theudon, a powerful chief of the Huns, who ſent to aſſure him of the ſubmiſſion of that part of Pannonia over which he preſided. From theſe envoys he learned that the Huns were conſiderably weakened by domeſtic commotions; he therefore judged it a proper opportunity for attacking them. He ſent orders for this purpoſe to Henry, duke of Friuli, who fulfilled his commiſſion with alacrity and ſucceſs. Having forced the capital, he found in it immenſe treaſures, the ſpoils of all the nations of Europe, which theſe barbarians had been accumulating for the ſpace of two centuries. They were all ſent to the king, who out of them diſtributed rewards to his nobles and his ſoldiers, and in ſhort to all that had ſerved him with fidelity. A part of the ſpoils were deſtined for Adrian, but that pontiff died about this time, and his loſs was deeply lamented by Charles [42], who ordered prayers to be read for the repoſe of his ſoul, in all the churches in his dominions [43], and wrote his epitaph in Latin verſe, which is

39 Chron. Moiſſiac. 40 Ann. Fuldens. 41 Ann. Egin. et alii. 42 Egin. in vit. Carol. Magn.
43 Tom. ii. Concil. Gall.

engraven

engraven on his tomb, at the entrance of Saint Peter's church. Leo the Third, Adrian's ſucceſſor, ſent legates to the king, to make known his elevation to the chair of Saint Peter, to carry him the ſtandard of the city of Rome, and to beg he would ſend ſome one to receive from the Romans the oaths of fidelity and allegiance[44]; which ſufficiently proves that when the French kings ceded to the pope the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, they by no means intended to give up the ſovereignty of thoſe territories.

The Huns, in the mean time, ſacrificing private intereſt to public good, had choſen a prince, and, under his conduct, had taken poſſeſſion of one of their principal forts. Charles, on this news, cauſed the king of Italy to collect the united forces of Lombardy and Bavaria, and march againſt the new monarch, before he was in a ſituation to oppoſe him. Pepin[45] accordingly traverſed that part of Pannonia, which is now called Auſtria, and paſſed the Danube, not far from the capital of the country. The prince haſtened to meet him, at the head of an army which was chiefly compoſed of the principal nobility of the kingdom[46]; the battle was long and bloody, but the Huns were, at length, defeated, and their brave commander ſlain; the city of Ringa was next reduced, pillaged, and levelled with the ground; the garriſon were put to the ſword, and the inhabitants driven beyond the Teiſſe. This deſtructive expedition marked with the ſame cruelty which too frequently diſhonoured the French arms, at this period, extinguiſhed the power of the Huns; a republic of warriors, diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and their wealth. All their nobility fell in the courſe of thoſe numerous battles which they fought in defence of their liberty. Such of the people as eſcaped the fury of the conqueror, either ſubmitted to the yoke of France, or retired to the neighbouring ſtates. The few commotions that afterwards occurred, are leſs to be conſidered as the efforts of a powerful nation ſtruggling for its independence, than as the laſt convulſions of expiring liberty.

Pepin, loaded with the ſpoils of Pannonia, directed his march to Aix-la-Chapelle, whither his father, after having ravaged Saxony, had repaired with Lutgarde, whom he had recently eſpouſed. The young prince's march reſembled a triumphal proceſſion; his cloaths, and thoſe of his ſoldiers, ſhone with gold and ſilver; ſuch magnificence had never before been ſeen in France. He paſſed the winter with his father at Aix, where they celebrated the feſtivals of Chriſtmas and Eaſter, in a ſuperb chapel[47] which Charles had juſt raiſed in honour of the bleſſed Virgin. This chapel gave the name of Aix-*la-Chapelle* to the town, which Charles afterwards made the capital of his empire. It was adorned with the fineſt marble that Rome and Ravenna could produce. The dome was embelliſhed with a globe of ſolid gold. The gates and baluſtrades were of

44 Tom. ii. Concil. Gall. 45 Egin. in Ann. 46 Ann. Fuldens. 47 Egin. in vita Carol. Magn.

bronze;

bronze; the vaſes and chandeliers of gold or ſilver, and all the ornaments diſplayed a richneſs and magnificence hitherto unexampled.

The palace which the king conſtructed at the ſame place was equally grand and ſuperb. Some of its porticos, we are told by contemporary writers, were ſo ſpacious, that all the troops and attendants of the king could dine in them [48]. Over theſe porticos were apartments for the nobles who attended the court. This grand edifice was ſo contrived, that the king, without leaving his room, could ſee every perſon that entered the other apartments [49]. The *thermæ*, or warm baths, were ſufficiently large to contain a hundred perſons. In ſhort, from the account of Eginard, the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle appears to have been a work of uncommon extent and magnificence.

A. D. 797.] The ſeaſon was far advanced, and the king was preparing for an expedition to Saxony, when the Emir Zara arrived, who, having taken Barcelona, came to do homage to Charles, and to acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of the French monarchy. The king received him with kindneſs; and in order to quell the commotion which, he learned from Zara, ſtill prevailed in Spain, he ſent orders to the king of Aquitaine to repair thither with an army and lay ſiege to Hueſca. Lewis obeyed, but the ſucceſs of his efforts is not known [50]. Zara's example was followed by Adalla, uncle to the new king of Cordova. That prince, eager to obtain poſſeſſion of his inheritance, had recourſe to the protection of the French monarch, who was then regarded by the generality both of Chriſtians and Infidels as the arbiter of Europe. Charles promiſed to redreſs his grievances, and took him with him into Saxony, where he had determined to paſs the winter [51].

A. D. 798, 799.] Having fixed his camp on the banks of the Weſer, he ſurrounded it with fortifications, and erected ſo many houſes, that a town was ſpeedily formed, to which was given the name of Heriſtal, which it ſtill bears. But all his efforts to ſubdue the ſpirit of the Saxons were fruitleſs: having ſent them ſome commiſſaries to adminiſter juſtice to ſuch as ſhould aſk for it, they were all maſſacred [52].

This act of cruelty was followed by a prompt and deciſive puniſhment—Charles laid waſte the whole country between the Weſer and the Elbe. But, far from being diſpirited, they prepared to retaliate, and entering Mecklenburgh, began to commit the moſt dreadful devaſtations, when they were attacked by the governor of the country, and four thouſand of them put to the ſword. Weakened, though not diſcouraged, by ſuch repeated loſſes, they were compelled to give hoſtages for their

[48] Egin. in vita Carol. Magn. [49] Monach. San. Gal. [50] Egin. in Ann. [51] Ann. Fuld. [52] Egin. in Ann.

future fidelity; and Charles, disdaining to pursue his advantage, returned to his capital.

The cares of government did not prevent the king from attending to the conduct of his children. He had ordered the king of Aquitaine to meet him at Heristal, in order to give an account, not only of his expedition to Spain, but of the administration of his finances [53]. That prince, preyed upon by a set of needy and rapacious courtiers, had been obliged, on his last visit to the court of France, to borrow money for the purchase of those presents which it was customary to make to the king. Charles being informed of it, represented to him, in the most urgent manner, the evil consequences arising from the prodigality of monarchs, which not only led to the ruin of their people, but reduced them to a state of dependence incompatible with the majesty of the throne. He had the satisfaction to find that his remonstrances were not ineffectual, and that Lewis had paid his debts, and lived with dignity, without oppressing his subjects. The king of Aquitaine had four royal mansions—Doué, on the confines of Anjou; Poitiers; Casseneuil, in Agenois; Andiac, in the diocese of Xaintes; and Ebreuil, in Auvergne [54]. He made it a rule to pass a year at each of these successively; (for the ancient kings of France scarcely ever resided in towns) whence they were only burdened with the support of the monarch and his court once in four years. The revenues, being duly administered, afforded a considerable surplus; by which means Lewis, without exacting any thing from his subjects, was enabled not only to defray the expences of his household, but to pay his troops; whom, for that reason, he forbade to exact forage from the country people. Charles was so well pleased with this conduct, that he adopted it himself, and ordered his troops to be paid, in future, out of his own revenue.

It appears to have been at this period, that Lewis obtained his father's permission to give the title of Queen to Ermengarde, daughter to count Ingramne, one of the most powerful noblemen in Aquitaine. He had previously married this lady; but though a prince was allowed to take a wife without the consent of his parents, he could not raise her to the dignity of Queen.

The dissentions of the Mooriſh chiefs invited Charles to the conquest of the islands of Majorca and Minorca; but the satisfaction attending this expedition was more than balanced by the tumults which reigned at Rome. Two nephews of the deceased pontiff, Pascal and Campule, jealous of the elevation of Leo, formed a design to take away his life. The day of a solemn procession was the time fixed upon for the execution of their project [55]: they accordingly made a furious attack on the person of the pope,

53 Vita & Act. Ludovic. Pii. 54 Lib. tert. de Re Diplomat. 55 Ann. Egin.

and

and ſhut him up in a convent, whence he had the good fortune to effect his eſcape during the night; and haſtening to the reſidence of the French ambaſſadors, was by them conducted to Spoleto. From thence he wrote to the king, who invited him to repair to his camp at Paderborn, in Weſtphalia, where he was received with all the honours due to his ſtation. Charles appointed a certain number of prelates to accompany him to Rome, and to examine the different accuſations that had been preferred againſt him: for Paſchal and Campule had already preſented a requeſt to the king, charging Leo with the commiſſion of ſeveral enormous crimes. The commiſſaries, after the moſt careful inveſtigation, aſſured the monarch of the pope's innocence, and his two accuſers were immediately arreſted. But as they had ſtill many friends at Rome, Charles, in order to reſtore perfect tranquillity to that city, reſolved to repair thither in perſon.

A. D. 800.] In a few days after his arrival, he aſſembled the clergy and nobles of both nations in the church of Saint Peter; where, after hearing the accuſers of Leo, he declared them guilty of groſs calumny, and pronounced the juſtification of the ſovereign pontiff. As a teſtimony of his gratitude, Leo reſolved to confer on his benefactor the dignified title of Emperor of the Weſt. It was on the feſtival of Chriſtmas, after Charles had devoutly aſſiſted at the celebration of maſs, in the church of Saint Peter, that the pope ſuddenly placed a crown on his head, and the dome reſounded with the acclammations of—"Long life to Charles the Auguſt, crowned by the hand "of God!—Long life and victory to the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" The pope immediately conſecrated his head and body by the royal unction, and conducting him to a throne, paid him thoſe marks of reſpect which had been only claimed by the ancient Ceſars. In his familiar converſation with his ſecretary Eginard [56], Charles, who indiſſolubly blended in the name of *Charlemagne* the appellation of *Magnus*—Great—proteſted his ignorance of the intentions of Leo; and declared, had he known them, he would have diſappointed them by his abſence on that memorable day. But the preparations for the ceremony muſt have diſcloſed the ſecret; and though the ſon of Pepin affected to deſpiſe a title which was accompanied by no real advantages, yet, in his correſpondence with the emperors of the eaſt, he exacted, with a ſcrupulous jealouſy, their acquieſcence in the dignity which he derived from the gratitude of the ſucceſſors of Saint Peter.

A. D. 802.] The high degree of power now enjoyed by Charlemagne (by which name we ſhall hereafter diſtinguiſh this monarch) might have enabled him to conquer

[56] It has been pretended that Eginard was ſon-in-law to Charles. The fact is, that this ſecretary had an intrigue with his ſovereign's daughter, Emma; but he certainly did not marry her. Had that been the caſe, would he not have been the firſt to have boaſted of the honour of ſuch an alliance? Yet not a ſyllable can be found in his writings to authorize the ſuppoſition.

that part of Italy which was poſſeſſed by the Greeks. Of this the empreſs Irene was aware, and therefore ſpared no pains to avert the misfortune ſhe dreaded. By putting her ſon to death, ſhe had acquired the government of the eaſtern empire; and ſhe now endeavoured to ſecure the protection of Charlemagne—at this time a widower—by a propoſal of marriage. The emperor encouraged the plan, and two of his ambaſſadors had been ſent to Conſtantinople, to ſettle the preliminaries, when that princeſs was depoſed by Nicephorus, who, being crowned Emperor of the Eaſt, baniſhed Irene to the iſland of Leſbos.

The firſt care of the uſurper was to ſend ambaſſadors to the French court for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a friendly intercourſe between the two empires. Charlemagne, on their arrival, was at his palace of Seltz, where, in order to give them an idea of French magnificence, and to humble the arrogance of the Greeks, he reſolved to receive them in ſuch a manner as ſhould equally ſurprize and embarraſs them. They were led to their firſt audience through four ſpacious apartments, ſuperbly decorated, in which the officers of the king's houſhold were diſtributed, all richly cloathed, and ſtanding, in a reſpectful manner, before the chief of their reſpective offices. In the firſt apartment, in which the conſtable was ſeated on a kind of throne, the ambaſſadors were about to proſtrate themſelves before him, but were prevented, by an aſſurance that this was only one of the officers belonging to the crown. The ſame error occurred in the ſecond, which contained the count of the palace, attended by a ſplendid retinue of courtiers. The third, in which was the maſter of the king's table, and the fourth, where the chamberlain preſided, by encreaſing their uncertainty, gave riſe to freſh miſtakes: the farther they advanced, the greater magnificence was diſplayed. At length two noblemen approached, and conducted them to the emperor's apartment. Charlemagne was ſtanding near the window, ſurrounded by his children, and by a great number of dukes and prelates, with whom he was engaged in familiar converſation. He was leaning on the ſhoulder of biſhop Hetton, to whom he appeared to pay a greater degree of attention than to the reſt of his nobles, becauſe he had been treated with greater contempt on his embaſſy at the court of Conſtantinople. The ambaſſadors alarmed, threw themſelves at his feet; but Charlemagne, perceiving their embarraſſment, raiſed them up, and diſpelled their fears, by telling them that Hetton forgave them, and that he himſelf, at the ſolicitation of the biſhop, was willing to forget what had paſſed.

The treaty which they came to negociate was ſpeedily ſigned. It was agreed that Charlemagne and Nicephorus ſhould both retain the appellation of Auguſtus[57]; that the former ſhould take the title of Emperor of the Weſt[58], and the latter that of Emperor of the Eaſt[59]; that all that part of Italy, which extends from the Offanto

57 Theophan. 58 Eginard. 59 Aventin, l. iv.

and



T. Jones fecit.

CHARLEMAGNE.

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and the Voltorno to the Sicilian Sea, ſhould remain ſubject to the eaſtern empire; and that all the reſt ſhould belong to the weſtern empire, together with the two Pannonias, Dacia, Iſtria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia. This treaty was followed by the ſubmiſſion of Grimoald, duke of Benevento, [A. D. 803.] who had revolted at the inſtigation of the Greeks.

A. D. 804.] The Saxons were now the only people who reſiſted the authority of Charlemagne. Though they had ſo often ſuffered for their obſtinacy, they now took up arms again under the conduct of Godfrey, king of Denmark, a prince of great power, both by ſea and land. The emperor immediately marched to attack them, and advancing as far as the Elbe, drove them from their moſt inacceſſible retreats. The Daniſh prince, who was on the frontiers of his dominions with a numerous body of cavalry[60], propoſed an accommodation, and promiſed to meet Charlemagne, but he ſuddenly changed his mind, and retired with precipitation. The rebels, deprived of his ſupport, had recourſe to the clemency of their ſovereign; who, in order to prevent any future inſurrection, ſent one half of them into Switzerland, and the other into Flanders; and gave their country to the Abodrites, who had always preſerved their fidelity. But a change of climate ſeldom produces a change of manners[61]. Theſe emigrants, to the number of ten thouſand families, far from loſing their ferociouſneſs with their country, infected their new allies[62] with that ſpirit of revolt which always reſided in their own boſoms. It became a proverb, during the troubles in Flanders under the reign of Philip of Valois, that Charlemagne, *by mixing the Saxons with the Flemings, of one devil had made two.*

From this time, however, Saxony was free from commotions; and that proud nation, which had hitherto reſiſted the yoke with ſuch perſevering courage, was at length induced, partly by force, and partly from inclination, to ſubmit to the rites of baptiſm, and to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Charlemagne.

A. D. 805, 806.] The emperor, after the total reduction of Saxony, repaired to Rheims to wait for the pope, who had aſked his permiſſion to make a journey to France. The pretended motive for this excurſion, was to diſcourſe with him on the ſubject of a miracle, ſaid to have occurred at Mantua; but its real object was to confer on the affairs of Venice[63]. The reſult of the conference is not mentioned by the hiſtorians of thoſe times; but the return of the ſovereign pontiff by the exarchate of Ravenna; the numerous army raiſed at this period, by Wilhaire—an effort which greatly exceeded the power of an individual; the ſudden irruption of that Tribune into the iſland of Malamauc, which he reduced; the capture of Heraclea from Maurice

[60] Annal. Egin. [61] Jacob. Meyer. Annal. rerum Fland. [62] Joan. Iſaac.—Pontan. Hiſt.
[63] Ann. Egin. Met.—Moiſſiac. & alii.

and

and John, who favoured the party of Nicephorus; the re-eſtabliſhment of the patriarch Fortunatus, who, notwithſtanding the protection of Leo, had been expelled from his church at Grado;—all theſe circumſtances occuring at this conjuncture, ſeem to authorize the opinion, that they were occaſioned by the late interview between Charlemagne and the pope. The ancient annaliſts are ſtrangely confuſed in their accounts of the government of the ſtate of Venice. It appears, however, that that diſtrict which lies on the continent, on the northern coaſt of the Gulph, was holden of the weſtern empire; while the neighbouring iſles were ſubmitted, in appearance, to the domination of the Eaſt, but were in fact independent[64]. There are ſeveral hiſtorical records, which tend to prove that thoſe iſlands, in imitation of ſome of the ſea-port towns in Dalmatia, were inclined to acknowledge the authority of Charlemagne, and that with this view they ſent envoys to him at Thionville. Eginard, in ſpeaking of this deputation[65], formally ſays, *every thing which regarded the dukes and people of Venice and Dalmatia was ſubject to his orders.*—Such a declaration evidently implies a ſovereign authority, and muſt effectually deſtroy the ſyſtem of thoſe who maintain that, at this early period, Venice was a free and independent ſtate.

While a momentary calm allowed him a ſuſpenſion from the labours of the field, Charlemagne ſettled, at an aſſembly holden at Thionville, the final diſtribution of his dominions. Aquitaine and Gaſcony, with the Spaniſh march, he aſſigned to his ſon Lewis[66]; his poſſeſſions in Italy he confirmed to Pepin, and added to them the beſt part of Bavaria, with the country at preſent inhabited by the Griſons; the reſt of his dominions he left to his eldeſt ſon Charles, whom he deſtined for the empire; and after publickly ſubſcribing the royal donation, he rendered it, in a ſuperſtitious age, more authentic by the ſanction of the Roman pontiff.

He did not confine himſelf to merely ſettling the quantum of territory which each was to poſſeſs; but his foreſight extended to every future ground of diſquiet, and ſubject of diſcontent. In order to ſecure a laſting peace and firm union between the brothers, he ſtipulated, that in caſe any difference ſhould ariſe, which the teſtimony of men ſhould prove inadequate to ſettle, recourſe ſhould be had—not to the general mode of deciſion, by duel—but to the judgment of the croſs. This was a cuſtom then in vogue, which, though ridiculous in the extreme, was ſtill regarded as a ſolemn appeal to the Almighty[67]. In the deciſion of doubtful matters, two men were choſen, who being conducted to the church, ſtood erect, with their hands lifted up in the ſhape of a croſs, during the celebration of divine ſervice; and the cauſe was determined in favour of him whoſe champion remained motionleſs for the longeſt ſpace of time.

Soon after the determination of this grand affair, the three princes were ſummoned to defend their new dominions by the force of arms. In Aquitaine and Italy, Lewis

64 Adelmus in Chron. 65 In Annal. 66 Annal. Metens. et alii. 67 Vide Gloſſar. Ducange, verbo Crux.

and

and Pepin triumphed over the Infidels, whom the former expelled from the iſland of Corſica, and the latter defeated in Catalonia. The revolted Sclavonians, who had ravaged Bohemia, were cruſhed by the power of Charles[68]; and the declining age of Charlemagne liſtened with paternal fondneſs to the martial atchievements of his ſons.

A. D. 808.] The king of Aquitaine was recalled from the purſuit of his conqueſts in Spain, by intelligence that a fleet of Normans had entered the channel, and was directing its courſe towards the maritime parts of his dominions.—Theſe *Normans*, or *Men of the North*, were a body of ravagers, compoſed of Norwegians, Swedes, Friſians, Danes, and adventurers of all nations, who, being accuſtomed to a roving unſettled life, took delight in nothing but war and plunder. Charlemagne, foreſeeing the evils they were likely to bring upon France, exclaimed, with a ſigh[69], "If, notwithſtanding "the extent of my power, they dare inſult the coaſts of my empire, what will they "not attempt, when that power ſhall be diſunited?" The event fully juſtified this prediction. The king, however, adopted the moſt prudent meaſures for reſtraining their incurſions: he viſited all the ſea-ports, and cauſed ſuch a prodigious number of veſſels to be conſtructed, that, according to Eginard, no part of the coaſt was unprovided with them, from the mouth of the Tiber to the extremity of his German dominions. All theſe veſſels he ordered to be kept conſtantly armed and equipped; and he obliged the nobles to ſerve on board them in caſe of attack, in the ſame manner as they were bound to ſerve[70] by land. His grand marine arſenal was eſtabliſhed at Bologne, where he erected an ancient pharos, that had been conſtructed by the emperor Caligula, and gave the moſt poſitive orders, that a fire ſhould be kept burning in it during the whole night. It is that which is now called the *Tour d'Ordre*.

Of all the weſtern empire, Godfrey, king of Denmark, was the only prince that ſtill refuſed to acknowledge the authority of Charlemagne. The emperor now prepared to invade his dominions; and the Dane, aware of his hoſtile intentions, and unawed by the extent of his power, threw down the gauntlet of defiance, and made incurſions into the territories of the Abodrites. Having formed a league with ſome of the neighbouring people[71], he extended his depredations into the province of Meckelbourg, whoſe inhabitants, alarmed at his approach, and terrified at the rapidity of his progreſs, threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to the impoſition of an annual tribute. The conqueror then marched forward to the banks of the Elbe, and reduced ſeveral fortified places. One fort, however, withſtood his moſt vigorous efforts; and he was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, after having loſt a great number of men, and many of his principal officers. This check, and the news of Charles's approach, haſtened his return; and, afraid of encountering the ſuperior force of the French, he totally demoliſhed the port

[68] Ann. Egin. Met. & alii. [69] Monach.. San—Gal. l. ii. c. 2. [70] Eginard, in Annal. et in vita Car. Mag.
[71] Annal. Egin. Loiſel.—Metens. & alii.

of

of Rieric, from which he derived a conſiderable revenue. He carried his precautions to a ſtill greater height, and in order to ſecure his dominions from hoſtile irruptions, he erected a high wall, defended by ſtrong towers, which extended from one end to the other of that neck of land which lies between the German ocean and the Baltic Sea. Such was the ſituation of affairs when young Charles reached the banks of the Elbe. He immediately paſſed that river, and advancing far into the country, ſpread terror and devaſtation around him. At length, finding no enemy to encounter, and the ſeaſon being far advanced, he marched back to France, after having erected two forts on the confines of Saxony.

A. D. 809.] While theſe tranſactions were paſſing in the weſtern empire, the truce that had been concluded between the Venetians and the emperor of the Eaſt expired, and both parties prepared for the renewal of hoſtilities. The fleet of Nicephorus appeared in the gulf of Venice, under the command of Paul, who detached a part of it to ſurprize Comachio, a town ſituated in a bay near the mouth of the Po. But the garriſon made a ſally, in which the Greeks were repulſed, and compelled to re-embark with the utmoſt precipitation. They then directed their courſe towards Populoni, now Piombino, which they took and pillaged. Paul, nevertheleſs, cauſed propoſals for an accommodation to be made, to which the king of Italy was inclined to liſten; but it was the intereſt of the Venetians to widen the breach between the two empires. The dukes, Wilhaire and Beot, who had three years before placed themſelves under the protection of the French, took ſuch effectual pains to prevent the concluſion of peace, and to encreaſe the ſubſiſting animoſity, that the commander of the Grecians, thinking his life was in danger, retired without coming to any arrangement. The following year, it appeared, that theſe noblemen were not more faithful to Charlemagne than to Nicephorus; Pepin, enraged at their duplicity, attacked the forces they had collected by land and ſea, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, and compelled them to ſue for pardon. This exploit put an end to the war between the two empires; peace was concluded—Venice reſtored to the Greeks, and Dalmatia to the French[72].

The capture of Piombino was not the only diſgrace which attended the French arms during this campaign. In Spain they were tarniſhed by the loſs of Tortoſa, which the king of Aquitaine in vain endeavoured to retake. At the ſiege of Hueſca, too, that monarch was equally unſucceſsful: but in Germany, the ſituation of affairs was more pleaſing and proſperous[73]. The king of Denmark, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of his entrenchments, was anxious to appeaſe the reſentment of Charlemagne. A conference was appointed for that purpoſe, but it paſſed in mutual complaints; and no plan of accommodation being adopted, duke Traſicon, by the orders of Charlemagne,

[72] Sigon. l. iv. de Regn. Ital. [73] Vit. Ludov. Pii.

renewed

renewed hoſtilities, and in a ſhort time retook all the places which Godfrey had ſubdued. The Daniſh monarch threatened the Abodrites with deſtruction, and talked of invading both Saxony and Frieſland. The emperor, informed of his threats, ſent a body of troops to ſeize the principal paſſages of the Elbe, and to erect a fortreſs at Eſſesfelt[75]. This precaution diſconcerted the projects of the Dane, and obliged him to direct his efforts to another quarter.

A. D. 810.] Godfrey having aſſembled his troops, embarked them on board a fleet of two hundred ſail, and made a deſcent on Frieſland, where he defeated an united body of French and Friſians, took many places of importance, and compelled the inhabitants to pay tribute. The emperor no ſooner received intelligence of his motions, than he paſſed the Rhine, and advanced as far as the Weſer; but he had ſcarcely pitched his tents when he was informed that the enemy was retiring in diſorder, and that the Daniſh prince had been aſſaſſinated by one of his guards. This event put an end to the war. Hemming, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Godfrey, humbly ſued for peace, and obtained it by a renunciation of all his father's conqueſts. Peace was alſo concluded on the ſame conditions, with the Saracens of Spain. The king of Cordova either openly ſurrendered, or ſecretly favoured the re-capture of all the places which had been taken from the French. The river Ebro was fixed on as the limits of the two ſtates. The Gaſcons had recently received a ſevere chaſtiſement; and the Naverreſe began to grow accuſtomed to the French yoke; ſo that a perfect ſubmiſſion prevailed throughout that vaſt extent of country, which was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the *Spaniſh March*.

The ſatisfaction experienced by Charlemagne on the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and tranquillity, was embittered by the death of Pepin, king of Italy: an infant ſon of that prince, named Bernard, was appointed, by the diſconſolate emperor, to ſucceed to the Italian ſceptre.

A. D. 811, 812.] In a few months after this ſevere loſs, he had freſh cauſe for lamentation in the death of his eldeſt ſon, Charles, who died in the thirty-fifth year of his age. All his hopes were now centered in his remaining child, Lewis, king of Aquitaine, a prince who bore the higheſt reputation for prudence, economy, and valour. Indeed, the extraordinary accounts that were given to the emperor of the valuable qualities of this youthful monarch were ſuch, as to ſtagger even paternal credulity. Reſolved, however, to aſcertain what degree of credit was due to them, he diſpatched Archinbaud, a perſon on whoſe veracity he could depend, to the court of Aquitaine, with orders to watch, with the ſtricteſt attention, the conduct of Lewis. The report of this courtier was favourable to the wiſhes of Charlemagne; who finding that his ſon ſupported the dignity of

[75] Idem in vit. Carol. Mag.

a monarch, without oppreſſing his ſubjects, exclaimed—"O! my companions, let us "rejoice that this young man is already wiſer and more ſkilful than ourſelves."

A. D. 813.] The aged emperor, feeling his ſtrength decay, and the weight of public cares becoming too burthenſome for him to bear without aſſiſtance, now determined on the aſſociation of Lewis to the empire. Arrayed in his imperial robes, with a crown of gold upon his head, and ſupported by his ſon[76], he repaired to the magnificent chapel which he had built at Aix-la-Chapelle; and after inculcating in the mind of his youthful colleague the duties of a monarch and a man[77], he commanded him to take the crown, which had been placed on the altar, and put it on his head.

A. D. 814.] The encreaſing infirmities of Charlemagne ſoon warned him to prepare for his end. About the middle of the month of January, which ſucceeded the aſſociation of Lewis, he was attacked by a fever, and, conſcious of his danger, he beheld with firmneſs the approach of death. On the twenty-ſeventh a fainting fit announced his ſpeedy diſſolution; and, on the twenty-eighth, after uttering, in a low and faultering voice, theſe words—"Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my ſpirit"—he immediately expired, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the forty-ſeventh of his reign.

Moſt of the biographers of Charlemagne appear to have conſidered themſelves as panegyriſts, and not as hiſtorians; and even ſuch as have refuſed him indiſcriminate commendation, have injudiciouſly beſtowed their cenſures where they were not deſerved, and with-held them where they ought to have been applied. The ſplendid qualities of this brave emperor are, indeed, well calculated to faſcinate the mind and dazzle the judgment; nor, were they only obſcured by *trivial* defects, ſhould we think it proper to dwell on the partial diminution of their ſplendor, when their general glare would juſtify admiration. But fatal, as a deep flaw to a diamond of the firſt water, is the cruelty of Charlemagne to the general excellence of his character. The ſilent extinction of the ſons of Carloman is a groſs impeachment of his humanity; and, even could he elude the doubtful fate of his nephews, the wanton maſſacre of four thouſand five hundred Saxons, who were beheaded on the ſame ſpot, beſpeak the unfeeling hero of a barbarous age. That ſpirit of ambition, too, which inſpired him with an inordinate thirſt for conqueſt, and led him to invade the rights and deſtroy the independance of his neighbours, is ſurely no theme for praiſe.

On the other hand, we contemplate with pleaſure his numerous virtues. In the infancy of legiſlative ſkill, his regulations for the preſervation of order and public tranquillity throughout his extenſive dominions, together with his ſtrict and impartial

[76] Egin. in vita Carol. Magn. [77] Theogan. c. 6.

adminiſ-

adminiſtration of juſtice, merit the higheſt commendation. Of his valour we ſay little;—it is a gift of nature that forms, perhaps, a juſt theme of gratitude to the poſſeſſor, but is not a fit ſubject for hiſtorical praiſe. Of a different deſcription are his zeal to protect, and his anxiety to cultivate, the arts and ſciences; his ſtudious attention to the duties of religion; his fervent piety; rigid temperance; unbounded charity; and, finally, his extreme earneſtneſs to improve and mollify the manners of his ſubjects, and to promote their welfare and felicity.—His counſels to his ſon and colleague, Lewis, which exhort him to conſider the people as his children; to be gentle in his adminiſtration, but firm in the execution of juſtice; to reward merit; to promote his nobles gradually; to chooſe his miniſters deliberately, but never to remove them capriciouſly;—are maxims that cannot be too ſtrongly recommended, nor too eaſily adopted.

The authority of Charlemagne embraced that part of Spain which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro, and comprehends Rouſſillon and Catalonia, Navarre and Arragon; in Italy his power was acknowledged from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. To the ſceptre of France he united that of Germany; and the ſchools which he eſtabliſhed in the barbarous regions on either ſide of the Weſer, in ſome meaſure atone for the cruelties he perpetrated in the purſuit of dominion.—The empire of the Franks ſtretched between Eaſt and Weſt from the Ebro to the Elbe or Viſtula, and between the North and South from the duchy of Benevento to the river Eyder, which ſtill ſeparates Denmark from Germany.

The body of this monarch was depoſited in a vault, in his Chapel at Aix, where he was ſeated on a throne of gold, arrayed in the Imperial robes, and in the hair-cloth which he commonly wore[78]; with his ſword at his ſide—the crown on his head—the bible on his knees, and his ſhield and ſceptre at his feet—theſe laſt were of gold, and deemed highly valuable in a ſuperſtitious age, leſs from the precious metal of which they were compoſed, than from the benediction which had been beſtowed on them by pope Leo. Beneath the regal mantle was placed the large pilgrim's purſe, which he always carried with him on his journey to Rome. The whole ſepulchre was ſcented with perfumes, and filled with a vaſt quantity of pieces of gold. Over the entrance was erected a ſuperb triumphal arch, on which the following epitaph was inſcribed:—*Here reſts the body of Charles, the great and orthodox emperor, who glorioufly extended the kingdom of the French, and governed it happily, during forty-ſeven years.*

Charlemagne had four wives, who were honoured with the appellation of Queen—Hermengarde, Hildegarde, Faſtrade, and Luitgarde. From the firſt, who was daughter to the laſt king of the Lombards, he was divorced, by the advice of the biſhops. By

[78] Egin. in vita Carol. Mag.

the ſecond, he had four ſons, Charles, Pepin, Lewis, and Lothaire, who died young; and five daughters, Adelaide, Rotrude, Bertha, Giſéle and Hildegarde. Bertha was mother to Theodrade and Hiltrude, both abbeſſes; the firſt of Farmoutier, and the laſt of Argenteuil. The Emperor, before his marriage with Hermengarde, had taken a concubine, named Himiltrude, by whom he had Pepin, ſurnamed *The Hump-backed*, and the princeſs Rothais. After the death of Luitgarde, having three ſons who were capable of ſwaying the ſceptre, he reſolved to have no more wives, who could enjoy the title of Queen or Empreſs; he therefore took, ſucceſſively, four concubines, who gave birth to ſeveral children. By Madelgarde he had Rothilda; by Gerſwinda, Adeltrude; by Regine, Hugh, the abbot, Dragon, biſhop of Metz, and Adalinde; and by Adelaide, or Adelvide, he had Thierri, who took orders. He had alſo another daughter, named Emma, who, it has been pretended, was wife to Eginard.

So great a number of wives and concubines has given occaſion to ſome modern authors to pollute the memory of Charlemagne with the charge of incontinence and immorality. It is needleſs to repeat what we have before urged in favour of concubinage, which was then regarded as a connection equally lawful with the preſent *left-handed marriages* of Germany, and the French *marriages of conſcience*. But a few reflections, on the ſubject of this unjuſt accuſation, we muſt not with-hold. Is it probable that a prince who was frank, open, and ſincere in all his actions, ſhould deſcend to the little arts of hypocriſy—that offspring of a mean and contracted mind; and prove faithleſs to thoſe laws which he openly profeſſed to ſupport and protect? Would he, in that caſe, have dared to promulgate that famous ordinance, in which he places fornication and adultery in the liſt of thoſe heinous ſins[79] which draw down the vengeance of Heaven on ſuch as practiſe them? Had he himſelf been guilty of a crime which in others he puniſhed with impriſonment and confiſcation, inſtead of exciting eſteem, and conciliating affection, he muſt inevitably have become an object of contempt and indignation to his ſubjects. Eginard, though his ſecretary, is not ſparing of his reproaches where he thinks they are due; he accuſes Charlemagne of a culpable want of firmneſs, in forbearing to repreſs the cruelties of Faſtrade, and the licentious conduct of his daughters, who, it ſeems, were moſt of them endued with very amorous diſpoſitions. He would not therefore have failed to notice the moral incontinence of his ſovereign, had it really exiſted. The hiſtorian of Lewis the Gentle, ſpeaking of the emperor's death, ſays—*Mortuus eſt vir juſtus*[80]. The councils of Verneuil and Rome rank him in the number of thoſe great monarchs whom they dignify with the appellation of great ſaints: and all contemporary writers mention him in the ſame terms. It was not till many centuries after his death that any doubts aroſe as to the purity of his manners; as if it were impoſſible that a man, who had attained the age

79 Incall. Stephan. Baluz. Col. 412, 528. 80 In vita Ludovici Pii.

of

of ſeventy-two, ſhould have married nine wives, ſucceſſively. From theſe conſiderations we muſt pronounce the accuſation of immorality, with regard to his intercourſe with the fair ſex, to be wholly unfounded; though we can by no means aſſent to the indiſcriminate commendation of the eloquent Boſſuet, who ſays, that *he was a moſt Chriſtian Prince in* ALL *his actions*[81].

The firſt ſumptuary laws known in France were enacted during this reign[82]. They regulated the price of ſtuffs, and the ſorts that were to be worn by each claſs of citizens. The emperor himſelf was extremely plain in his dreſs, and, except on particular occaſions, was ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed, in that reſpect, from the meaneſt of his French ſubjects[83];—ſtill, however, he was fond of novelty. At firſt, he wore a long cloak that reached to his feet; but having ſeen ſome of the ſhort cloaks of various colours, that were worn by the Gauls, he preferred them to the others, which he then began to think were too troubleſome. The conqueſt of Italy gave him a taſte for ſilk cloaths, adorned with rich furs, which the Venetians imported from the Eaſt. The emperor, ſays the monk of Saint Gal, at firſt ſuffered his ſubjects to follow their own inclinations in point of dreſs, from a perſuaſion that the example he ſet them would ſoon bring them back to the primitive ſimplicity of their anceſtors; but finding that his courtiers paid no attention to him, he at length determined to exert his authority, and accordingly enacted thoſe laws above-mentioned.

The tumult of war is ever unfavourable to commercial intercourſe. Commerce had flouriſhed in Gaul while under the dominion of the Romans: but the firſt monarch of the Merovingian race found it almoſt totally neglected; and the continual hoſtilities in which they were engaged, did not permit them to re-eſtabliſh it in its ancient ſplendour. The depreſſions, however, which it experienced at the commencement of the monarchy, did not effect its annihilation, it even appears to have acquired a degree of vigour under the reign of Gontran[84], who, being diſpleaſed with the conduct of his nephew Childebert, forbade all communication between Burgundy and Auſtraſia[85]. Under Clotaire the Second, there was a company of merchants, who went from the territory of Sens, under the conduct of Samon, to trade with the Sclavonians[86]. During the reign of Dagobert the Firſt, there was a number of markets eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of facilitating commercial intercourſe. From a capitulary of the ninth century, we learn, that the French, in the time of Charlemagne, went in troops to traffic with the Sclavonians, the Avars or Huns of Pannonia, and the Saxons; on theſe trading excurſions they were forbidden the uſe of arms. From the Chronicle of Fontenelles, it appears, that even at the commencement of that emperor's reign, a regular commerce was eſtabliſhed between the French and Engliſh.

[81] See his ſermon on the opening the general aſſembly of the clergy of France, in 1681.
[82] Capitul. Triplex, ann. 808, Art. v. t. i. p. 468. [83] Memoires de L'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 729. [84] Greg. Tur. hiſt. l. ix. c. 32. [85] Fred. Chron. c. 48. [86] Apud Dublet. in hiſt. Abbat. Sancti. Dion. p. 655.

All

All trade was conducted, at this period, in markets or fairs; there only could be procured the chief neceſſaries of life: artiſts and merchants, diſperſed about the country, had not yet fixed their reſidence in towns, which were principally inhabited by prieſts and a few workmen. Neither monks nor nuns were to be ſeen in them; the generality of convents being built in the open country, or elſe in the vicinity of cities. The nobility either reſided on their own eſtates, or followed the court. In order to remedy the inconveniences naturally ariſing from this ſeparation of the members of the community, numerous fairs were eſtabliſhed[87], at which they attended for the purpoſe of buying and ſelling ſuch articles as could not otherwiſe be procured or diſpoſed of. That of Saint Denis was one of the moſt celebrated[88].—It was frequented by people, not only from the moſt diſtant parts of the French empire, but from Frieſland, Saxony, England, Spain, and Italy;—as appears from the charter of Dagobert the Firſt, by whom it was eſtabliſhed[89], and by an ordinance of Pepin the Short, which confirms the right of exacting toll for the paſſage of goods through the diſtrict of Paris, to the monks of the abbey of Saint Denis.

But though all commercial buſineſs was, generally ſpeaking, confined to theſe fairs, yet were there ſome few towns that were famous for their trade and manufactories. The city of Arles was celebrated, at a very early period, for its embroidery, and for its works of gold and ſilver inlaid[90]; all the veſſels from the Eaſt came to this port, to Narbonne, and Marſeilles. From Arles, a part of the riches imported in foreign bottoms, was ſent to Treves; they were conveyed by the Rhone to Lyons; from thence they were forwarded by the Soane and the Doux, and then landed and carried in carts to the banks of the Moſelle. The proſperity of theſe commercial towns was interrupted by continual wars, which deterred the Aſiatics and Africans from frequenting their ports, But under the Carlovingian monarchs, they again began to flouriſh; they then kept a certain number of veſſels that were employed in trading to Conſtantinople, Genoa, and Piſa. The inhabitants of Lyons, in conjunction with thoſe of Marſeilles and Avignon, were accuſtomed to go, twice a year, to Alexandria, to purchaſe perfumes and other objects of merchandize, which they ſold in Provence and in different parts of the kingdom. But commerce never flouriſhed ſo much as under the reign of Lewis the Gentle, the ſon and ſucceſſor to Charlemagne[91]—who eſtabliſhed a company of merchants, with particular privileges, and adopted ſuch regulations, as enſured protection to their perſons, and ſucceſs to their operations.

Hence it appears, that under the two firſt races of the French monarchy, the commerce of France was of little importance. It was chiefly abandoned to foreigners, who imported but few objects of value into the kingdom. Spain ſupplied the French with

[87] Capit. Carol. Calv. tit. xxxvi. c. 19. [88] Apud Dublet. ante cit. [89] Apud Felibian in prob. hiſt. ejuſd. p. 24.
[90] Huet, Traité du Com. desAn. c. 39, n. 8. [91] Vales Not. Gal. v. Maſſilia.

horſes

horſes and mules[92]; Frieſland, with various articles of dreſs; England, with corn, iron, tin, lead, leather, and ſporting-dogs; Africa and the Eaſt, with wine, gauzes, *papyra* or Egyptian paper, the only paper that was known in France, till the eleventh century[93], and ſweet-oil, which was then ſo ſcarce, that permiſſion was given to the monks, at a council holden at Aix-la-Chapelle, to make uſe of oil extracted from bacon. —The exports from France were not of much greater value than the imports; they generally conſiſted of earthen-ware, copper-veſſels, wine, honey, madder and ſalt.

The collection of capitularies contained many regulations, as well with regard to trade in general, as to the particular commerce of ſlaves, ſilver coin, rich vaſes, and precious ſtones[94], which were then very common objects of traffic in France. Some of the capitularies forbid the eſtabliſhment of markets without the king's permiſſion[95], and prohibit the holding them on Sundays. By others, rigorous puniſhments are decreed to thoſe who ſhall ſell ſlaves in a clandeſtine manner, or deliver a Chriſtian into the hands of Jews or Pagans[96]. Some forbid all ſales by night; others enjoin the uſe of equal weights throughout the empire[97]: by one, it is ordained, that a Jew merchant ſhall pay the tenth part of his profit, and a Chriſtian the eleventh part[98]. Theſe impoſts, with the tolls exacted on paſſing through particular diſtricts, over bridges, and on entering or leaving the kingdom, formed a conſiderable part of the revenue of the crown.

[92] Monach. San. Gal. l. ii. de reb. bell. Car. Mag. c. 24. [93] Greg. Tur. c. 6. l. v. c. 5. l. iv. c. 44. [94] Tit. 36. c. 39. Capitul. an. 819. [95] Capit. l. vi. c. 424. [96] Capit. an. 803, c. 2. [97] Baluz. in c. 279, l. vi. cap. [98] Capit. Carol. Calv. Tit. 53, c. 3.

LEWIS

LEWIS THE FIRST,

SURNAMED THE GENTLE.

A. D. 814.] LEWIS was in Aquitaine when he received the news of his father's death, but he inſtantly repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was proclaimed king and emperor. At firſt he acquired a great reputation for piety, by his ſcrupulous attention to enforce the laſt will of his deceaſed parent;—though, at the ſame time, he created many enemies by attempting to reform ſeveral abuſes, which had either eſcaped notice, or met with toleration during the preceding reign. He had ſeven ſiſters, not one of whom was married. They were all ſupported in regal ſplendour; and many of them being endued with exquiſite ſenſibility, and with thoſe impetuous paſſions, that reaſon in vain attempts to ſubdue, yielded, with fewer ſtruggles, perhaps, than virtue required, to the pleaſing impulſe of nature. The effects of theſe amorous indulgencies had given no ſmall uneaſineſs to Charlemagne; and his ſon Lewis, more rigid in his diſpoſition, refuſed to connive at frailties of which he had never been guilty himſelf. His firſt care[1] was to repreſs the familiarity of his ſiſters' favourites; ſome of which were baniſhed, and others—to the diſgrace of this *pious* prince be it ſpoken—had their eyes put out. One of the moſt powerful, named Hedoin, ſlew count Garnier, who was ſent to arreſt him, and was himſelf maſſacred[2]. The princeſſes immediately received orders to retire to the different houſes which their father had left them. The five daughters of Pepin, king of Italy, were involved in the ſame diſgrace. Lewis only

[1] Eginard in vita Car. Mag. [2] Vit. Lud. Pii.

ſuffered

ſuffered Drogon, Hugh, and Thierri to remain in his palace, and them he brought up with great care, placing them always at his own table.

While Lewis was employed in theſe domeſtic regulations, the duke of Benevento ſent to demand a confirmation of the treaty which he had concluded with Charlemagne, by which he had agreed to pay a tribute of twenty-five thouſand ſols of gold; but Lewis reduced it to ſeven thouſand: Grimoald did homage to the new monarch, and received from his hands a new inveſtiture[3]. Bernard, king of Italy, was alſo ſummoned to pay the ſame mark of ſubjection; he obeyed, but his obedience wore ſo ſtrong an appearance of conſtraint, that it was evident he only waited for an opportunity to aſſert his independence. Lewis took from him Adelard and Vala, two grandſons of Charles-Martel, who were the friends of his heart, and the leaders of his council. The firſt of theſe was transferred from his abbey of Corbie to the monaſtery of Noirmoutier; and the laſt, being baniſhed from court, aſſumed the monaſtic habit, and ſucceeded his brother, as abbot of Corbie. The degradation of two men, who had enjoyed all the confidence and eſteem of Charlemagne, greatly injured the reputation of his ſucceſſor[4]. That part of his character which had hitherto been conſidered as meekneſs of diſpoſition and goodneſs of heart, was now regarded as weakneſs and timidity. His conduct was ſuch as rather marked the monk, than beſpoke the monarch[5]; he paſſed whole days in reading the ſcriptures and ſinging pſalms. He ſent to Aquitaine for an abbot named Benedict, who, though a man of piety, was wholly unfit to be entruſted with matters of ſtate. To him was allotted the office of receiving petitions and requeſts, and the manner in which he diſcharged his truſt proved the rectitude of his intentions, but the unlimitted and almoſt excluſive confidence repoſed in him by the emperor, excited murmurs and complaints.

Lewis had three ſons by the empreſs Ermengarde—Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis. The firſt he ſent to Bavaria and the ſecond to Aquitaine, but gave them no titles; ſo that in fact, they could only be conſidered as governors of thoſe territories. This was a prudent policy, which it would have been happy for him had he always obſerved. But he was afterwards induced, either from a deſire to procure more time for reforming the clergy[6], or for his own private devotions—or, perhaps, merely from a love of repoſe, to conſent to an imprudent participation of that authority of which he now appeared ſo jealous. A council of prelates and nobles was holden at Aix-la-Chapelle, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne; and ſome inſtances of oppreſſion in the provinces being diſcovered, Lewis ſent ſeveral of his courtiers, in capacity of envoys from the prince, *miſſi dominici*, to inveſtigate and redreſs them. That name (which is as old as the monarchy) was given to the commiſſioners who were ſent by the French kings

3 Vit. Lud. Pii.—Chron. Moiſſ. 4 Annal. Bertin. 5 Libellus Ardonii de vita S. Bened. vide Secul. iii. part. 1. p. 215. 6 Thegan. c. 26.

into the provinces, to ſuperintend the publication and enforce the execution of their ordinances[7]. The people were obliged not only to find them lodgings, but to ſupply them with a certain quantity of proviſions. They were authoriſed to receive complaints, and to redreſs ſuch as admitted of an immediate deciſion, and to report thoſe which required a more minute inveſtigation to the king: they were alſo empowered to inflict puniſhments on any counts or prelates who had been guilty of prevarication; and to repeal any unjuſt ſentence which they had pronounced—in ſhort, it was their duty to enforce a ſtrict obſervance of the laws. They made their tour four times a year—in the months of January, April, July, and October. Their aſſizes were always holden in an open place, which every body had a right to enter; the judges were ſummoned thither, and their conduct underwent a cloſe examination. An eſtabliſhment of this nature, when rigidly obſerved, muſt have been attended with the moſt beneficial effects.

A. D. 814, 815.] Immediately after the ſeparation of the aſſembly of Aix-la-Chapelle, Heriold, who governed a part of the kingdom of Denmark, came to claim the protection of Lewis, as his liege lord, againſt the children of Godfrey, who had deſpoiled him of his dominions. The emperor, convinced of the juſtice of his petition, ordered the Saxons to arm in his favour, and that brave people, having recently been reſtored by Lewis to certain rights, of which his predeceſſor had deprived them, evinced their gratitude by the alacrity with which they obeyed his commands. Having traverſed the Elbe and the Eyder, they entered Denmark, laid the whole country waſte, and reſtored the exiled monarch to his loſt inheritance.

A. D. 816.] Some commotions of the Gaſcons and Sclavonians threatened to interrupt the tranquillity of the empire; but the latter were ſpeedily reduced to ſubmiſſion by the Saxons; and the former, after loſing two pitched battles, were compelled to acknowledge the authority of the duke whom Lewis had appointed to govern them. In the mean time, pope Leo died[8], and was ſucceeeded by Stephen, who aſſumed the pontificate, without waiting for the emperor's confirmation of his election[9]. He made the Romans, however, take an oath of fidelity to that monarch, to whom he paid a viſit at Rheims; and Lewis deſiring to be conſecrated by the hands of the ſovereign pontiff, that ceremony was performed in the church belonging to the abbey of Saint Remi, when Stephen placed a rich crown on his head, which he had brought with him from Rome, and another of inferior value on that of the empreſs Ermengarde, on whom he alſo beſtowed the appellation of *Auguſt*.

A. D, 817.] Pope Stephen died ſoon after his return to Italy, and Paſchal the Firſt, without deigning to ſolicit the conſent of the emperor, in imitation of his predeceſſor,

7 Chron. Moiſſ. 8 Walf. Strab. de Reb. Eccleſ. c. 21. 9 Anaſt. Thegan. de Geſt. Ludov. c. 16, et alii.

ſeated

ſeated himſelf in the apoſtolic chair. Lewis expreſſed great reſentment at this preſumptuous invaſion of his rights, and all Rome was alarmed at his threats; but the humble excuſes of the artful prieſt ſoon appeaſed his indignation; and he was induced to confirm his election; proteſting, however, at the ſame time, that any ſimilar infringement on his juſt prerogatives ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed[10]. This ſame year Lewis aſſembled a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which ſeveral regulations were adopted, with regard to canons—*canoneſſes*, and monks. The laſt, in the ninth century, inherited from their parents and had property of their own, which at their death, belonged to their convent[11]. The canoneſſes were in fact nuns, bound by a vow of chaſtity, cloiſtered, veiled, and cloathed in black; they kept their patrimony, and were permitted to have ſervants. All prelates were forbidden to wear any dreſs that ſavoured of worldly pomp[12]—a prohibition that appears to have been neceſſary, ſince moſt of them wore gaudy veſtments, very unbecoming their ſtation; they had rich girdles, from whence hung a ſmall knife decorated with ſtones, a croſs-belt and ſpurs—the martial embelliſhments of the early ages. Many of the prelates were highly offended at being obliged to renounce theſe appendages of vanity, and their reſentment was, in the ſequel, attended with fatal conſequences to their ſovereign. It was at this aſſembly, that Lewis aſſociated Lothaire with him in the empire, declaring him his ſole heir, and ſubjecting Pepin and Lewis to his authority, though they were both proclaimed kings—the firſt of Aquitaine, the laſt of Bavaria.—This partition of the empire proved a ſource of domeſtic diviſion, and gave riſe to the commiſſion of a thouſand crimes.

A. D. 818.] Bernard, king of Italy, ſon to the emperor's eldeſt brother, conceived himſelf to be treated with injuſtice; he was a young man of nineteen—handſome, well-made, brave, liberal, and beloved by his ſubjects[13]. All the malcontents, who were very numerous, and ſome of the biſhops, enraged at a reform that was contrary to their inclinations, promiſed, if he would oppoſe the meaſures of the king, that they and all their vaſſals would openly eſpouſe his cauſe. Lewis, apprized of the conſpiracy, immediately prepared to repel it, and marched, without delay, to Châlons-upon-Saone, at the head of a powerful army. This diſpatch ſurprized the rebels, who fled on all ſides; while Bernard, forſaken by his troops, threw himſelf at the emperor's feet, and with the principal conſpirators ſubmitted to his mercy. They were all tried, and their guilt being confirmed by their own confeſſions, Bernard and the nobles were condemned to die, and the biſhops were degraded and confined in a monaſtery[14]. But, as a great mark of *indulgence*, the ſentence of the former was mitigated, and they were permitted to purchaſe their lives with the loſs of their eyes; this cruel operation proved fatal to the king of Italy; and when we reflect, that the puniſhment was inflicted by an uncle, and on a youth of the greateſt accompliſhments and moſt

[10] Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 4, p. 173.—l. v. c. 3, p. 441. [11] Pref. pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire eccleſiaſtique & civile de Bretagne. [12] Vit. Lud. Pii. [13] Thegan. c. 21. [14] Eginard. Vit. Lud. Pii.—Annal.

amiable mind[15], we cannot but think that it was greatly disproportioned to the offence, and betrayed a want of feeling and humanity in Lewis, that accorded but ill with his avowed respect for the doctrine and precepts of Christianity. Though the three princes, Drogon, Hugh, and Thierri, the youngest sons of Charlemagne, took no part in this revolt, yet Lewis, afraid that they might one day be tempted to follow so pernicious an example, ordered them to be shaved and confined in different convents.

A. D. 819.] Bernard's revolt was succeeded by several other insurrections, which, though they indicated a radical weakness in the government, were attended with no bad consequences. Brittany, reduced to submission in less than six weeks, received a duke from the hands of the emperor. The king of the Abodrites was taken in the first campaign, and deprived of his crown. The duke of the Gascons experienced a similar fate; and the governor of Lower Pannonia, though more determined, was not more successful. But the most disastrous events which distinguished the year, were the death of Ermengarde, and the marriage of Lewis with Judith, descended from the nobles of Bavaria, and the dukes of Saxony, but whose beauteous form and splendid accomplishments concealed an ambitious mind, the source of equal calamities to her consort and the empire. His son, Lothaire, soon after married Ermengarde, daughter to count Hugh; and Pepin, king of Aquitaine, espoused the daughter of Theodebert, count of Madrie—a district which comprehended that extent of country which is now bounded by Evreux, Vernon and the Seine.

A. D. 822.] The rejoicings which attended the celebration of these nuptials were inadequate to stifle, in the mind of Lewis, the rising dictates of remorse. The cruelty and injustice of his conduct to his nephew, his brothers, and to Adelard and Vala, the friends of his father, preyed upon his spirits, and proved a continual interruption to his repose. A national assembly was convened at his palace of Attigny[16], and there, in presence of his prelates and nobles[17], he became his own accuser; asked forgiveness of his brothers, who were all present; granted a general amnesty to all who had borne arms against him; recalled those whom he had banished, and restored them to their estates and possessions; and finally entreated the bishops to suffer him to atone, by public penance, for the crimes he had committed. By a misplaced condescension of this nature, Vamba, king of Spain, had lost his throne; but Lewis was more fortunate—he regained the affection of his subjects, which his late severity had tended to estrange. About this time Judith gave birth to Charles, surnamed the Bald, whose fatal pretensions afterwards shook the throne of his father, and involved the empire in the calamities of civil war.

[15] Nithard. l. i. [16] Egin. in Ann. [17] Vit. Lud. Pii.—Thegan.

A. D.

A. D. 823, to 829.] Already that empire was aſſailed by the fury of its foreign enemies; the Britons once more reſumed their arms, and violated their recent oaths of allegiance; the Normans renewed their incurſions; a torrent of Moors deluged the face of Catalonia; the revolt of Navarre may be conſidered as the foundation of its future independence; and the dark ſcene of domeſtic diſcord cloſed the gloomy proſpect.

Charles, the ſon of Judith, having, as yet, no allotment of empire, Lewis propoſed to diſmember the poſſeſſions of his other children, in order to form a ſeparate kingdom for him. The three princes, at firſt, refuſed to conſent to their father's propoſals; but Lothaire, being gained over by the careſſes of the empreſs, withdrew his oppoſition, and as he had holden the young prince on the baptiſmal font, he promiſed to become his protector, and ſwore to defend him againſt all his enemies. Lewis, being thus aſſured of the ſupport of his eldeſt ſon, convoked a general aſſembly at Worms[18], where he gave to Charles, with the title of King, that part of Germany which is bounded by the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar, and the Rhine; the country of the Griſons, and the diſtrict of Burgundy, which comprehends Geneva and the Swiſs Cantons[19].

A. D. 830.] This partition operated as a ſignal of revolt. Lothaire, at firſt, adhered to the promiſe he had recently made, but being unable to conceal his diſcontent, he ſpeedily forſook the court, and retired to Italy. The kings of Bavaria and Aquitaine alſo retired to their reſpective dominions. The prelates and nobles murmured at being obliged to violate the oaths they had taken to admit of no change in the firſt partition of the empire, without the conſent of the parties concerned; an oath which the emperor himſelf had authorized by his example. Their complaints were loud, and their declamations violent, againſt the empreſs, and her miniſter, Bernard, count of Barcelona, a nobleman highly diſtinguiſhed by the luſtre of his rank, and by his brave and enterpriſing ſpirit; though, if contemporary writers may be credited, his birth was ſuperior to his virtue, and his courage better than his principles. His attachment to the intereſt of prince Charles, and his cloſe attention to the duties of his office, as chamberlain to the empreſs, gave birth to ſuſpicions inimical to the virtue of Judith[20]. The empreſs was, at this time, entruſted not only with the care of the wardrobe, but of the money deſtined for the pay and ſupport of the troops; and it was the chamberlain's buſineſs to receive and execute her orders[21]. The frequent interviews which he had with his royal miſtreſs, for this purpoſe, were, by the calumnious and diſaffected, repreſented as amorous aſſignations; and a report was induſtriouſly propagated, that a criminal intercourſe ſubſiſted between them. They went ſtill farther—and maintained

[18] Egin. Ann.—Bertin. G. Fuld.—Vita et acta Lud. Pii. [19] Thegan c. 5. [20] Paſcaſe Rathbert in vita Valæ Abbatis. [21] Hincmar. de ordine Palatii.

that

that Bernard had formed a project for putting the emperor and his three children to death, that he might marry the object of his guilty paſſion.

The abbot Vala was one of the firſt dupes to this injurious calumny; impreſſed with a conviction of Bernard's guilt, which exiſted but in the brain of Paſcaſe Rathbert, his friend, his biographer and ſucceſſor: he did not give himſelf the trouble to inveſtigate the odious charge, but openly declared againſt the miniſter, in favour of a prince whoſe honour he affected to revere, and whoſe ſafety he pretended to conſult, by exciting his ſubjects to revolt. He was joined by the abbot of Saint Denis, with the biſhops of Lyons, Vienne, and Amiens—three prelates whoſe merit gave a degree of credit to the faction—by a great number of the nobles, and in ſhort by all the malcontents in the kingdom. The king of Aquitaine was the firſt who hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion; having advanced as far as Verberie, at the head of a powerful army, he ſeized the perſon of the empreſs, who had taken refuge in the church of Notre-Dame, condemned her to perpetual exile, and forced her to take the veil in the convent of Radegonda, at Poitiers.

At this critical conjuncture, the emperor deſired a diet might be convened at his palace at Compiégne. Thither this timid prince repaired; and, inſtead of aſcending the throne that was prepared for him, he meanly deſcended to acknowledge his faults, and to commend the zeal of thoſe who had obliged him to reform his conduct[22]. An acknowledgment of this kind was little expected; and from the temper of the times, it might naturally have been ſuppoſed, that it would rather tend to encreaſe than to allay the ſpirit of diſcontent: it had, however, a contrary effect, and produced ſome tranſient gleams of returning loyalty; but the arrival of Lothaire gave a new aſpect to affairs; and Lewis, with his ſon Charles, was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion to the rebels, who affected to treat him with profound reſpect, but were particularly careful to ſecure his perſon. He was ſurrounded by people who had ſecret orders to perſuade him to aſſume the monaſtic habit; though averſe to the plan, yet he pretended to favour it, and aſked but for a ſhort delay to give the matter a more mature conſideration.

During this interval a monk, named Gombaud, who poſſeſſed a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, undertook to releaſe his ſovereign from that ſtate of captivity in which he was kept by his ſons. With this view he talked to the biſhops, and reminded them of the different privileges that had been ſecured to them by the emperor. To the nobles he employed the ſame arguments; and they proved equally ſucceſsful with both. He then waited on the kings of Bavaria and Aquitaine, and expatiated with ſuch energy and effect, on the goodneſs of their father, on their own ingratitude, and on the extreme

[22] Vita et acta Ludov. Pii.

pride

pride and arrogance of their brother, that thoſe monarchs conſented to do whatever he required. To Lothaire, whoſe confidence he enjoyed, he artfully intimated the neceſſity of holding a parliament, (in imitation of his predeceſſors) by whom his authority might be fully and formally acknowledged; and Lewis declared incapable of ſwaying the ſceptre. The young prince liſtened to him with attention; and it was, accordingly, decided that the diet ſhould be holden at Nimeguen, and that every one ſhould repair to it unarmed. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, the abbot of Saint Denis went accompanied by a number of armed men; but he was immediately ordered to leave both the palace and the town; and the ſeverity he experienced alarmed the factious, whoſe ſchemes were entirely fruſtrated by the ſteady zeal of the Germans. Theſe declared themſelves ſo openly in favour of their old maſter, and their numbers were ſo great, that Lothaire began to think his perſon was in danger; ſtimulated by his fears, he threw himſelf at the feet of his father, and invoked the protection of him whom he had ſo recently oppreſſed[23]. In the breaſt of Lewis, the reſentment of the ſovereign gave way to the tenderneſs of the parent, and, overcome by the ſubmiſſion of his ſon, he publicly pronounced his pardon. The principal conſpirators were tried by the aſſembly, and received ſentence of death; but the emperor contented himſelf with confining them in different monaſteries. Jeſſé, biſhop of Amiens, one of the moſt factious, was depoſed by an eccleſiaſtical council, and Vala, who refuſed to accept a pardon, on condition of acknowledging that he had acted in oppoſition to his duty, was impriſoned in a caſtle, ſituated on the ſummit of a rock which hung over the lake of Geneva.

A. D. 831.] Lewis was no ſooner eſtabliſhed on his throne, than he recalled his empreſs from her religious retirement; and the monaſtic vows of Judith, having been extorted by force, were abſolved by the indulgence of pope Gregory the Fourth. She appeared before an aſſembly of nobles at Aix-la Chapelle, where ſhe ſwore to her innocence of the crimes that were laid to her charge; and the accuſations preferred againſt her were declared to be falſe and calumnious.

A. D. 832, 833.] Tranquillity now appeared to be reſtored; but the eſtabliſhment of Charles, the rebellious diſpoſition of the emperor's ſons by his firſt wife, with the implacable enmity of Judith, again involved the empire in trouble and confuſion.—Pepin again hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt, and engaged his brothers to join him; but the vigorous reſiſtance of Lewis ſoon diſconcerted their projects, and compelled them to ſue for mercy. The kings of Italy and Bavaria received an unconditional pardon; and Pepin, who was the moſt guilty, was ordered to repair to Treves, and there wait till he ſhould have permiſſion from the emperor to return to his dominions.

[23] Thegan. c. 57.

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But he eſcaped from the guards who were appointed to eſcort him, and once more excited a war as impious in its object, as deteſtable in its effects. Lewis thought to ſtop its progreſs by revoking his grant of Aquitaine to his rebellious ſon, and transferring that kingdom to Charles; but this only encreaſed the general diſcontent, and doubled the number of his enemies. The apprehenſion of a ſimilar chaſtiſement induced the kings of Italy and Bavaria to take up arms in defence of their brother—troops were levied on all ſides—and the forces of the confederate princes effected a junction near Rotsfeld, between Baſle and Straſbourg, in a plain ſince called—"The Field of "Falſhood."

Pope Gregory the Fourth, delighted with an opportunity of becoming arbiter in a diſpute the object of which was a crown, was baſe enough to eſpouſe the cauſe of children who were fighting againſt their parent. Repairing to the camp of the rebels, he menaced with the thunders of the church, all thoſe who, preſerving their loyalty, ſhould refuſe to take up arms againſt the emperor. Several prelates, men of known piety, either ſeduced by the intrigues, or intimidated by the threats of the ſovereign pontiff, inſiſted that Lewis ſhould ſubmit to his deciſions[24]. Others, however, remained faithful to their ſovereign, and, with becoming ſpirit, wrote to the officious prieſt[25], expreſſing their concern that a man of his character and profeſſion ſhould appear at the head of a party, who had violated the laws of nature, of honour, and religion. They reminded him of the oath which he had taken to the emperor, after his exaltation to the chair of Saint Peter; an oath which he could not break without incurring the guilt of ſacrilege. They aſſured him that ſhould he dare to pronounce a ſentence of excommunication againſt them, he ſhould return to Rome branded by the anathema of the French and German churches[26]. Finally they warned him, that affairs might take ſuch a turn as to produce his depoſition from the papal throne, of which he had proved himſelf unworthy by a conduct ſo repugnant to the ſacred canons, and to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. This firmneſs aſtoniſhed Gregory, and made him repent his haſty engagement in an enterprize that might be attended with ſuch fatal conſequences to himſelf; but the abbot Vala, Paſcaſe Rathbert, and ſome other monks, who frequented his court, diſſipated his fears, by giving him to underſtand that the holy ſee was ſuperior to any earthly juriſdiction. Thus encouraged, Gregory anſwered the French prelates in terms of arrogance and ſeverity[27]; he dared to aſſert that the imperial was inferior to the papal power; openly declaring againſt the emperor, cenſuring his conduct, and diſclaiming all obligation, except that of reprehending him whenever he ſhould forget his duty.

24 Vit. Lud. Pii. 25 Thegan. c. 42.—Vita Valæ Abbot.—Nithard. Ibid.—Annal. Fuld. et Bertin.

26 Si excommunicaturus adveniret, excommunicatus abiret, cúm aliter ſe haberet antiquorum canonum autoritas. Vita Ludov. Pii ad Ann. 824.

27 In Agobard. t. ii. p. 53. Edit. Baluz.

Lewis,

Lewis, in the mean time, aſſembled his troops, and marched to meet his ſons, in the hope either of reducing them to ſubmiſſion, or of bringing them to an engagement. The two armies were in ſight of each other, when the three brothers, by a ſtroke of policy conſiſtent with their perfidious projects, engaged the ſovereign pontiff to negociate an accommodation with their father. The pope accordingly repaired to the emperor's camp, where no honours of any kind were paid him; but where Lewis reproached him with the irregularity of his conduct, and particularly with his preſumption, in daring to enter the French dominions without his permiſſion. He kept him, however, ſome days in his camp, which were employed by the inſidious pontiff in debauching his troops:—The whole army went over to the rebels; and the unhappy monarch was haſtily depoſed by an obſequious aſſembly of the dependants of the confederates; and Lothaire, by the ſame authority, was raiſed to the vacant throne. The empreſs was diſmiſſed to a nunnery at Tortona, Charles was ſtrictly guarded in the monaſtery of Saint Medard, at Soiſſons, and his ſon Charles in the abbey of Prum, in the foreſt of Ardennes. The victorious princes, after ſolemn profeſſions of mutual attachment, ſeparated, and each retired to his reſpective dominions; the pope to Rome, and Pepin and Lewis to Aquitaine and Bavaria.

A. D. 834.] It had been formerly ſettled by pope Leo, and confirmed by a ſolemn decree of the twelfth council of Toledo, that no man who wore the habit of a penitent could diſcharge any civil or military functions. For this reaſon, Ebbon, archbiſhop of Rheims, a prelate of the moſt profligate manners, condemned his ſovereign to ſubmit to the degradation of a public penance in the church of Saint Medard; after which ceremony, they ſtripped him of his imperial veſtments, and clothed him in a dreſs ſtigmatized by the church, and incapacitating him from exerciſing the duties and prerogatives of royalty. But his ſubmiſſive reſignation to the inſults of an unnatural ſon, obliterated all his paſt errors and imprudence: the misfortunes of their lawful ſovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever diſcontented with the ruling powers—and the active diligence of his adherents ſoon opened the road for his reſtoration. Drogon, biſhop of Metz, awakened Lewis of Bavaria to a ſenſe of his intereſt and duty; he armed in the cauſe of a ſovereign and a parent;—the nobility of France followed his example. The king of Aquitaine, through the perſuaſions of the abbot Hugh, joined him with his forces—the Saxons eſpouſed their cauſe. The aged emperor was at length reſtored at Saint Denis; his ſon Charles was releaſed from confinement; and Lothaire, after a fruitleſs reſiſtance, was compelled to acknowledge his crime, and throw himſelf on the mercy of his father.

A. D. 835, 836, 837, 838.] Lewis was now advanced in years, and the natural infirmities of age were greatly encreaſed by the calamities he had experienced. The empreſs, aware that his death at this period, would leave her ſon unprovided for, offered to cede to the king of Italy one-half of the empire, on condition that he

ſhould ſecure the other half to prince Charles. To this Lothaire conſented, but as he was on his road to the French court, he was attacked by an infectious diſorder, that proved fatal to his principal counſellors; and being deprived of their ſupport, Judith conceived him to be an object of inſignificance no longer to be dreaded, and conſequently no longer to be courted. She therefore caſt her eyes upon the king of Aquitaine, and by promiſing to render the crown hereditary in his family, induced him to eſpouſe the intereſts of her ſon[28]. An aſſembly was accordingly convoked at Chierſi-upon-Oiſe, in which the emperor declared Charles king of that part of Germany which is bounded by Saxony and Switzerland, and of all Neuſtria—that is, of the whole country between the Seine, the Loire and the Sea, together with the territories of Toul, Bar, Auxerre, and Sens. This partition met with the approbation of the nobles, and was highly acceptable to Pepin; but the death of that monarch, ſoon after his return to Bourdeaux, rendered it neceſſary to adopt ſome new arrangements.

The emperor, when he aſſigned different kingdoms to his ſons, reſerved to himſelf the right, in caſe they ſhould die before him, of diſpoſing of them at his pleaſure. At the ſolicitation of the empreſs, he now conſented to deſpoil the two ſons of Pepin of their inheritance, in order to augment the appanage of Charles. Lewis of Bavaria, diſpleaſed with the late deciſions of the aſſembly at Chierſi, had taken up arms; and though this revolt had been ſtifled in its birth, it nevertheleſs excited a degree of reſentment in the emperor, that induced him to curtail his dominions by confining him ſolely to the poſſeſſion of Bavaria. Lothaire was now re-called from Italy, and a new diviſion of the empire took place. All the ſouthern and weſtern provinces of France, which formed nearly the preſent kingdom, were aſſigned to the ſon of Judith; and the reſt, with the exception of Bavaria, was ſecured to the king of Italy, who took an oath to become the guardian and protector of Charles.

A. D. 839, 840.] An inſurrection in Aquitaine, for the purpoſe of placing the eldeſt ſon of Pepin on the throne of his father, induced the emperor to march thither with a numerous army: but he had no ſooner reduced the inſurgents to ſubmiſſion, than he received information, that Lewis of Bavaria had embraced that opportunity to make an irruption into Germany. Thither he accordingly repaired, and by his preſence diſpelled the gathering clouds of rebellion. Having reſtored tranquillity to his dominions, he aſſembled a parliament at Worms, in the hope of eſtabliſhing a perfect harmony between his children; but he did not live to accompliſh this deſirable object. Finding his ſtrength fail him, he was conveyed to an iſland in the Rhine, near Mayence, where he languiſhed for ſix weeks, and then expired, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-ſeventh of his reign. A few days before his death, he

[28] Nithard. lib. i. Annal. Bertin.

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ſent a crown, a ſword, and a ſceptre of gold, enriched with precious ſtones, to Lothaire, as a proof that he meant him to govern the empire; at the ſame time, he exhorted that prince to remember the ſolemn promiſe he had given to the empreſs and her ſon Charles.—Being preſſed by the biſhop of Metz to pardon Lewis of Bavaria, he replied,—"I pardon him with all my heart; but tell him from me, that he ought to "think ſeriouſly of obtaining pardon from God, for bringing my grey hairs with ſor-"row to the grave."

The mind of Lewis exhibited a ſtrange mixture of virtue and weakneſs; intrepid in the field, but irreſolute in the cabinet;—humane from inclination, from timidity cruel; he had ſenſe enough to promulgate good and wholeſome laws, but not ſufficient ſpirit to enforce their obſervance;—injudicious in the choice of his miniſters, he conferred favours on the unworthy, and was involved in calamities from vices not his own. Superſtitiouſly devout, his cloſe attention to the *minutiæ* of a religion, in which ſubſtance is but too frequently ſacrificed to forms, led him to neglect the moſt eſſential duties of government, and entruſt to favourites what he ſhould have executed himſelf. Hence the factious and turbulent derived encouragement; and, profiting by the meekneſs of the executive power, ſpread anarchy and deſolation throughout the empire.—In ſhort, the virtues of Lewis might have procured him diſtinction in a cloiſter, but were by no means calculated to embelliſh a throne.

This monarch was interred in the church of Saint Arnoul, at Metz. By Ermengarde he had three ſons—Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis; and four daughters—Adelaide married to Conrad, count of Paris; Giſele, mother to Berenger, king of Italy; Alpaide, wife to count Begon; and Hildegarde, who was married to count Thierri. By Judith of Bavaria, he had Charles, ſurnamed *the Bald*. Some of the capitularies of this prince regulate the quantum of contribution to be paid by certain convents towards the ſupport of the ſtate. The monks had become ſo rich, that the celebrated Alcuinus is ſaid to have had upwards of twenty thouſand ſlaves; and ſo powerful, that ſome of them had the audacity to ſtand forward as the leaders of a party, and in that capacity to aſſemble troops. The abbots, a title that was confined to the heads of monaſteries, from that time aſſumed the paſtoral ſtaff, which was the ſymbol of pontifical dignity with the ancient Romans.

CHARLES THE SECOND,

SURNAMED THE BALD.

A. D. 840.] THE ambition of Lothaire, which had frequently ſilenced the dictates of nature, ſcorned to be confined by the feeble barrier of an oath. On the firſt news of the emperor's death, he reſolved to effect the depoſition of his two brothers, and with that view levied a powerful army, and directed his march towards the frontiers of Germany. He hoped to take Lewis of Bavaria by ſurprize, but was greatly aſtoniſhed to find him prepared with a formidable body of troops, to diſpute the paſſage into his dominions[1]. A reception ſo unexpected diſconcerted his plan; and not daring to advance[2], he propoſed an interview, in which a ſuſpenſion of arms, till the following year, was mutually agreed on. Each party had his views in conſenting to a truce; Lewis was anxious to ſecure the Saxons, and the reſt of his German ſubjects; while Lothaire was intent upon an invaſion of France, whither he had been invited by ſome of the principal nobility. He accordingly paſſed the Meuſe, and laid waſte the poſſeſſions of all who refuſed to eſpouſe his cauſe. Charles, having aſſembled a ſmall army to oppoſe the progreſs of his perfidious brother, fixed his camp at Orleans; and the diſpute was on the point of being decided by a battle, when Lothaire, who had vainly endeavoured to ſeduce from their duty the troops of his opponent, ſuddenly propoſed an accommodation. Though he inſiſted on the ceſſion of a part of Neuſtria, Charles thought it more prudent to purchaſe a peace, even on theſe hard terms, than to riſque

[1] Nithard. l. i. [2] Annal. Bertin.

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an action with an enemy whoſe forces were ſo greatly ſuperior to his own. Lothaire, however, promiſed to abide by the deciſion of a general aſſembly, which was immediately ſummoned to meet at the palace of Attigny upon the Aiſne, in the month of May, in the following year; till which time no hoſtilities were to be attempted againſt Charles. This revived the hopes of the young monarch, who placed a firm reliance on the affection of his ſubjects, and the equity of the nation, which began to evince a ſtrong attachment to his intereſts.

A. D. 841.] The diet aſſembled at the appointed time; but Lothaire neglected to attend it, though it was convened by his orders. This violation of his word, together with a ſecond irruption into Germany, and ſome new efforts to gain over the nobles of Neuſtria, at length convinced the two kings that it was neceſſary they ſhould unite their utmoſt endeavours to reſtrain the ambition of their eldeſt brother. A junction of their forces was accordingly effected, on the confines of Lorraine, where, though greatly ſuperior in number to Lothaire, they made the moſt equitable propoſals of accommodation. To theſe the Italian monarch pretended to liſten; but he only waited till the ſon of Pepin had joined him with a ſtrong reinforcement, from Aquitaine, when he ſuddenly put a ſtop to the negociation, and advanced to the plains of Fontenay, a village in the Auxerrois; where a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement took place[3]. The cauſe of juſtice prevailed, and Lewis and Charles were left maſters of the field. It has been pretended, by ſome modern writers, that one hundred thouſand men fell in the battle; but this muſt be a groſs exaggeration, as Nithard, a contemporary author, who was preſent at the action, takes no notice of a circumſtance that, if true, could not have eſcaped his attention.

Lothaire, compelled to fly, took refuge at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he exerted his utmoſt efforts to give new ſtrength to his declining party. As the Saxons had been partly compelled to embrace Chriſtianity, he ſought to ſecure their aſſiſtance by permitting them to renew their ancient laws and cuſtoms[4]. When, by his intrigues he had collected a ſufficient force, he made an unſucceſsful attempt on the borders of Bavaria; then directing his march towards Paris, he laid the whole country waſte; till, being ſtopped by an inundation of the Seine, he was compelled to return, without accompliſhing the object of his expedition.

A. D. 842, 843.] Lothaire's deſign was to effect a diviſion between the two kings, but all his efforts for this purpoſe proved fruitleſs. Charles and Lewis, convinced that their common ſafety depended on their union, ſolemnly confirmed the league that ſubſiſted between them, and renewed their alliance, by an oath drawn

3 Annal. Bertin et Fuld. 4 Annal. Bertin.

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up in their reſpective languages: Lewis ſwore in the *Roman* language, that he might be underſtood by the French, to whom his oath was addreſſed; and Charles in the *Tudeſcan*, or, as it was indiſcriminately called, the *Frank-Teutch*, *Theotiſte*, *Theotique*, or *Thiois*, to render himſelf intelligible to his brother's ſubjects[5]. The Roman language was ſpoken in Neuſtria, and was a corrupt mixture of the Latin with the Celtic; the latter was a kind of German nearly reſembling the preſent dialect of the Friſians.

The two princes, though of ſuperior force, again ſought to bring the emperor to an accommodation; but he proudly refuſed to admit their ambaſſadors to an audience, and even diſmiſſed them with ignominy. An inſult ſo groſs, excited univerſal indignation; the troops of Lewis and Charles loudly demanded to be led againſt the man whom they juſtly conſidered as the author of thoſe troubles, to which the empire was expoſed. Their leaders chearfully complied with their requeſt; the army was put in motion, and, on its approach, the biſhop of Mayence, who had been appointed to guard the banks of the Moſelle, deſerted his poſt, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Lothaire, unable to reſiſt the torrent, left his palace at Sinſik, and took refuge at Aix-la-Chapelle; but hearing that his brothers were advancing, he ſtripped his father's magnificent palace of all its moſt valuable effects, and retired towards the Rhone, with the intention, if purſued, to paſs on to Italy.

A doubt now aroſe in the minds of the conquerors, from the uncertainty whether they ought to take poſſeſſion of a country which there was nobody to diſpute with them, or to reſtore it to a brother who had left it only from his inability to defend it. This knotty point was referred to the deciſion of the biſhops; the epiſcopal character, according to the prevailing ſuperſtition of the times, being gifted with ſuperior know-

5 The oath of Lewis being conſidered as a curious monument of the ancient Roman language, from which the preſent language of France is derived, we have, for the gratification of our readers, extracted it from Nithard, a contemporary writer.—" Pro don amur et pro Chriſtian poblo et noſtro commun ſalvament, diſt di en avant, in " quant Deus ſavir et potir me dunat, ſi ſalvarai eo ceſt meon fradra Karlo, et in adjudha et in cadhuna coſa, ſi cum " hom per dreit ſon fradra ſalvar diſt, ino quid il imi altre ſi faret; et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui " meon vol ciſt meon fradne Karle in damno ſit." The following is a literal tranſlation of it: " For the " love of God and of the Chriſtian people, and for our common ſafety, from this day forward, ſo long as God " ſhall give me knowledge and power, I will ſave (DEFEND) my brother Charles, and will aſſiſt him in every " thing, as a man by right ought to ſave his brother, becauſe he would do as much for me; and I will enter into no " treaty with Lothaire, that by my inclination ſhall prove prejudicial to my brother Charles."—When the Romans firſt invaded Gaul, the Celtic was the prevailing language of the country; but the conquerors wiſhing, agreeable to their uſual policy, to accuſtom the people they had ſubdued to their own laws, manners, and cuſtoms, were ſtudious to promote the uſe of the Latin language, as the beſt mode of facilitating the accompliſhment of that deſirable object: and the Gauls themſelves, deſpairing of ever recovering their native independance, conſidered Rome as their native country, and aſpiring to the attainment of honours, were anxious to pleaſe their conquerors by learning their language. Hence, the Celtic became corrupted, and by degrees was totally loſt in that mixed jargon denominated the ROMAN.

See Origine et Revolutions des Langues Celtique et Françoiſe.

ledge,

ledge, as well on political and martial affairs, as on eccleſiaſtical matters. From this abſurd idea was derived that enormous extent of authority poſſeſſed by the prelates, who being empowered to decide on all queſtions, of whatever nature, found the means of turning every thing to their own advantage. Princes themſelves encreaſed, by their conduct, the ambition of the hierarchy, and by accepting crowns from the hands of the biſhops, gave them the power to diſpoſe of them. Such prelates as followed the court aſſembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to decide on the fate of Lothaire; and they all declared, with one voice, that he had forfeited his right to the crown, and that his ſubjects were conſequently abſolved from their oaths of allegiance. They next aſked Lewis and Charles, if they would promiſe to govern with greater juſtice than Lothaire; to this the monarchs, of courſe, replied in the affirmative; and the biſhop, who preſided, then ſaid—"We permit you, by divine authority, to reign in the place "of your brother, to govern his kingdom according to the will of God—We exhort "you, we command you ſo to do."—In virtue of this arbitrary deciſion, which eſtabliſhed a moſt dangerous precedent, and ſhewed, in the monarchs who ſubmitted to it, an aſtoniſhing degree of imbecility, the provinces which Lothaire had abandoned were equally divided between the brothers. But this partition was ſpeedily changed; for the emperor, conſcious of his own inability to maintain a war againſt forces ſo ſuperior to his own, made his pride ſubſervient to his intereſt, and now humbly ſolicited that accommodation which he had ſo recently rejected with diſdain. His brothers, ſincerely wiſhing for the reſtoration of tranquillity, liſtened to his propoſals with joy; and the three monarchs meeting at Verdun, a new diviſion of the empire took place. Charles the Bald was ſecured in the poſſeſſion of Neuſtria, Aquitaine, and Septimania; to Lothaire was confirmed, with the title of emperor, all Italy, Provence, Franche-Comté, the Lyonnois, and all that country which lies within the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Saone; the Meuſe and the Scheld: and Bavaria, with the reſt of Germany, was aſſigned to Lewis—whence he acquired the appellation of "Lewis the German"—by which he will hereafter be diſtinguiſhed. To this territory were annexed the city of Mayence, Worms, and Spires, with their dioceſes, merely for the purpoſe of ſupplying him with wine, no vineyards having been yet planted in any part of his German dominions[6]. Adelard, a nobleman of Aquitaine, whoſe grand-daughter Ermentrude Charles had recently married, acted as mediator between the contending parties, and promoted the concluſion of the preſent treaty, by which the flames of civil war were, for the preſent, extinguiſhed.

The attention of Charles and his brother was now directed to ſome commotions of inferior conſequence, which prevailed in different parts of their dominions. A revolt of the Abodrites was ſpeedily quelled by Lewis the German; and count Bernard, who

[6] Regino in Chronogr.—Marſan Scot. Chron.—Sigebert Gemblacenſis Chron.

maintained

maintained a correſpondence with the enemies of Charles, paid for his diſloyalty with his life. But William, the count's ſon, ſeized the city of Thouloufe, and raiſed up the whole country that borders on the Pyrenees, in favour of young Pepin. In vain did the king lay ſiege to his new conqueſt; a conſiderable detachment of his troops were attacked by the rebels, and totally defeated. In this action fell the abbots Hugh and Rikbole, two noblemen equally diſtinguiſhed for the dignity of their birth, and the excellence of their character—they were both deſcended from the blood royal—the firſt being uncle, and the ſecond couſin-german to the king. From this circumſtance it appears that the prohibition to bear arms was not much attended to by the dignified clergy. Charles was now compelled to leave William in poſſeſſion of Thouloufe, in order to quell an inſurrection in Brittany, of which count Lambert was the principal inſtigator and conductor. That nobleman having been expelled from Nantes by duke Nomenoe, had called in the Normans to his aſſiſtance, who diffuſed terror and diſmay through the whole country.

Theſe ſavage hordes had made their firſt incurſions on the French territories, about the commencement of the ninth century; when all the power of Charlemagne had proved inadequate to prevent them from ravaging the countries of Frieſeland and Saxony. During the reign of his ſucceſſor, Lewis the Gentle, they returned, and landing at Antwerp, reduced that city to aſhes. The troubles which prevailed in the empire after the death of Lewis, revived their avidity, and induced them to renew their depredations. They entered France by the Seine, [A. D. 842.] and ſacked the city of Rouen [7], which they had taken by ſurprize. Another fleet of the Barbarians, under the conduct of Lambert, ſailed up the Loire as far as Nantes, which experienced a ſimilar fate [8]. From hence they made irruptions into Anjou and Touraine, and laid waſte the whole province of Guienne. The monaſteries and churches were all plundered, and ſuch as refuſed to pay an exorbitant ranſom were burnt. All the nuns were firſt raviſhed, and then divided among the ſavage plunderers; the prieſts, the monks, and all ſuch as were enfeebled by age, were maſſacred; but the young men and children were either condemned to perpetual ſlavery, or deſtined to become the companions and accomplices of theſe lawleſs Barbarians. When they had collected as much booty as they could carry off, they either returned to their own country, or elſe repaired to ſome other coaſt, where they converted it into money.

Encouraged by the ſucceſs of their firſt incurſions, they were ſpeedily induced to renew them. In 844, the ocean was covered with their ſhips. It was no longer a band of thieves ſailing without order or regularity in purſuit of plunder, but a formidable fleet of ſix hundred veſſels, commanded by a king, and containing a nu-

7 Annal. Bertin. 8 Regino in Chron.

merous

merous army. This prince, whoſe name was Eric [9], took Hamburg by ſurprize, then advanced into the interior parts of Germany, committed the moſt horrid devaſtations, defeated the natives in two pitched battles, and returning to his dominions laden with plunder, diſpatched Regnier, one of his captains, into France. Entering the Seine with a hundred and twenty veſſels, he attacked Rouen, which was again taken and pillaged; he then continued his courſe up the river, till he came to Paris [10], which being unprovided with the means of defence, became a prey to the Barbarians. Charles the Bald had retired to Saint Denis, where he had thrown up entrenchments for the purpoſe of defending the ſacred relics that were there depoſited. Not daring to riſk a battle, he was compelled to liſten to the degrading propoſals of the Norman, who exacted, as the price of his abſence, ſeven thouſand pounds weight of ſilver.

This contemptible policy defeated the end it was meant to anſwer; ſince the money thus given to purchaſe a peace ſupplied the invaders with the means of renewing the war. Nor did they fail to profit by the advantage they had acquired. Every year of Charles's reign was ſignalized by ſome new irruption; Bordeaux, Ghent, Rouen, Nantes, Touraine, Angers, Blois, Saint-Valery, Amiens, Noyon and Beauvais, were ſucceſſively and repeatedly attacked, reduced, and plundered. To ſee a deſcendant of Charlemagne in league with theſe lawleſs depredators, was the only occurrence that could encreaſe the horror of the ſcene. Young Pepin, abandoned by the people of Aquitaine, [A. D. 857.] did not bluſh to ſolicit their friendſhip, and to forward their ſchemes [11]. Encouraged by this acceſſion of force, they ſpeedily over-ran the whole kingdom of France; though attracted, at firſt, by the mere proſpect of plunder, they now began to conceive more important deſigns, and to ſeek for a place of ſettlement. They ſeized the iſland of Oiſel upon the Seine, and making that their head quarters, ſent out detachments to ravage the ſurrounding country; nor could the king diſlodge them from their important poſt, [A. D. 861.] which opened them a paſſage into the very heart of Neuſtria, till he had procured the aſſiſtance of their own countrymen; —though ſometimes conquered, they ſpeedily returned with freſh forces.

It was not long before they re-appeared on the beautiful banks of the Loire, where they committed the moſt horrid exceſſes. In 864, Orleans and Poitiers, being taken by eſcalade, were pillaged and burnt. Another band of adventurers forced the paſſages of Piſte on the Seine [12], and defeated a body of French that were ſent to defend them. Charles, apprehenſive that they meant again to eſtabliſh themſelves on that river, made propoſals for an accommodation, and was mean enough to ſubmit to terms ſtill more hard and degrading than thoſe which were impoſed on him by the treaty of Saint Denis. He gave them four thouſand weight of ſilver; engaged to pay a ſtipulated ſum

[9] Ann. Met. [10] Ann. Bertin. [11] Id. ib. [12] Ibid.

for every Norman that had been killed by the peaſants in their own defence, and conſented to ranſom even ſuch of the French priſoners as had effected their eſcape. On theſe conditions the Barbarians retired to Jumieges, where they remained till the year 865; that is, till every article of the treaty was literally fulfilled. Some time after, another detachment, in conjunction with the Bretons, ſurprized and ſacked the town of Mans. Theſe were purſued by Robert the Strong, who was unfortunately killed by an arrow, when on the point of forcing their entrenchments. This nobleman, with regard to whoſe origin ſo many different opinions have prevailed [13], had been honoured with the government and ducal title of what was then called the duchy of Paris; he was the great-grandfather of Hugh Capet, from whom all the monarchs who have reigned over France for theſe laſt eight hundred years were deſcended. His loſs was univerſally lamented, and he received the appellation of the Macabeus of the age.

A new incurſion of the Normans into Anjou, at length awakened the king from his lethargy, and determined him to exert every effort, to expel the formidable ravagers from his dominions. Solomon, duke of Brittany [14], was perſuaded to join his forces to thoſe of Charles. The principal leaders of theſe daring adventurers were beſieged in Angiers, [A. D. 873.] and, after being reduced to the laſt extremity, ſubmitted to purchaſe their retreat, and ranſom their ſhips, by ſurrendering the ſpoil they had acquired. They were permitted to retire to an iſland on the Loire, on condition that they would leave it in the month of February in the following year. But when the time came for their departure, they refuſed to comply with the terms of capitulation; and as Charles had not ſhips ſufficient for the purpoſe of diſlodging them, they remained there ſome time longer; during which they continued their uſual depredations.

Such were the calamities to which the kingdom was expoſed, under the reign of Charles, by the dreadful incurſions of the Normans. We judged it expedient to relate them together, that the attention of the reader might not be divided; and that, by bringing them, as it were, to a point, he might be the better enabled to appreciate the weakneſs of the government, which was incapable of adopting the neceſſary means of defence; and the ignorance of the age, which neither poſſeſſed the art of fortifying towns, nor the precaution of providing reſources againſt the time of misfortune.

A. D. 844.] Lothaire's firſt care, after the accommodation with his brothers, was to regulate the affairs of Italy. Pope Gregory the Fourth was dead; and Sergius the Second being elected to ſucceed him, had been conſecrated without waiting for the emperor's confirmation. That prince, in order to prevent any future infringement on his authority, ſent his ſon Lewis into Italy, accompanied by his uncle Drogon,

[13] Geſta Norman. [14] Annal. Fuld. et Bertin.

biſhop

biſhop of Metz. The prelate was enjoined to aſſemble at Rome as many biſhops as he could collect, and to inveſtigate the circumſtances attending the election of Sergius. The new pontiff thought to avert the impending ſtorm [15] by loading the young prince with careſſes, and by paying him extraordinary honours and reſpect. When Lewis went to the church of Saint Peter, he waited for him at the top of the ſteps [16], and after embracing him with great tenderneſs, placed him at his right hand, and conducted him to the ſanctuary. Some days after his arrival, the Italian biſhops aſſembled to try Sergius; Drogon preſided, as uncle to the prince. The ſovereign pontiff appeared before them, and anſwered all the accuſations preferred againſt him. The verdict of the prelates cleared him from the imputation of miſconduct; his election was confirmed, and he took the oath of fidelity to Lothaire. It was ſettled that, in future, the popes, according to antient cuſtom, ſhould never be ordained without the conſent of the emperor, and always in preſence of his envoys. This affair being terminated, Sergius crowned Lewis king of Lombardy, and made Drogon his vicar-general in Gaul and Germany. The French clergy, aſſembled at the palace of Verneuil, found themſelves greatly embarraſſed, with regard to the creation of this extraordinary office: they were loth to refuſe any thing to a prelate who was reſpectable from his age, his piety, and his birth; but, on the other hand, they were afraid to ſuffer the court of Rome to aſſume an authority that might be attended with dangerous conſequences [17]. It was determined, therefore, to refer the matter to the deciſion of a national council. The intentions of Drogon were good; he modeſtly regarded this determination as a delicate refuſal, and forbore to make uſe of the power entruſted to him.

A. D. 845.] The French empire had never been expoſed to ſo many calamities as it now experienced; Germany was laid waſte by the Normans: an inſurrection had taken place in Provence, at the inſtigation of duke Fulcrade, which was not quelled till the rebels had ſuſtained a total defeat. Young Pepin had collected a freſh army, and compelled Charles to grant him peace, and to cede to him all the kingdom of Aquitaine, except Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois [18], to be holden as a fief of the crown. A revolt of Nomenoe, duke of the Bretons, induced the king to march an army againſt him; but falling into an ambuſcade, his troops were defeated, and he himſelf obliged to fly; returning, however, with a ſtrong reinforcement, the duke ſolicited a pardon, and returned to his duty.

A. D. 846.] The king of Lombardy, having attacked the Saracens, who had pillaged the church of Saint Peter, was defeated, and with difficulty eſcaped to Rome. The biſhops, at this period, as depoſitaries of the faith, thought that no limits ſhould be aſſigned to their prerogatives; and the nobles, as defenders of the country, imagined

[15] Severinus Binius. [16] Annal. Bertin. [17] Canon 12. [18] Annal. Crim.

that their will ſhould be law. Charles, preſſed by the eccleſiaſtics, was conſtrained to ſwear that their perſons and their order he would ever hold ſacred; that he would levy no undue impoſt, nor exact from the church any other tributes than thoſe which had been paid during the reigns of his father and grandfather [19]. The prelates, emboldened by ſucceſs, dared to preſent certain canons, or ſtatutes, to the aſſembly at Epernay, which were calculated to render them ſole arbiters of the ſtate. But they were ſtrongly oppoſed by the nobles [20]; and the diſpute growing warm, the biſhops diſplayed ſuch inſolence and pride, that the king expelled them from the aſſembly. Things were in this ſituation, when a nobleman, named Gilbert, had the preſumption to carry off the emperor's daughter, and to marry her in public. Charles, who was his ſovereign, either did not dare, or had not the power, to puniſh him; the three princes met at Merſen upon the Meuſe, where an aſſembly of the nobles was convened, but they had not ſufficient credit to procure the condemnation of the culprit; they were fain to content themſelves with ordaining that, in future, the crime of ſéduction ſhould be puniſhed according to law.

A. D. 847.] At a ſubſequent aſſembly, holden at the ſame place, divers regulations were adopted, all of which tended to ſtrengthen the friendſhip that ſubſiſted between the brothers, who were, by this time, convinced that the preſervation of the empire depended on their union. It was decreed, that the children of him who ſhould die firſt ſhould ſucceed to the dominions of his father, without any hindrance or moleſtation from his uncles; provided, however, they treated them with all becoming reſpect and ſubmiſſion [21]. By this deciſion, *that* became a law which had hitherto been a matter of doubt. When France was divided into different kingdoms, if one of the ſovereigns died, the nation thought itſelf entitled to diſpoſe of the vacant throne, with the ſole reſtriction of confining their choice to the princes of the blood. We have ſeen Pepin ſucceed his brother, to the excluſion of his nephews, whom he confined in a monaſtery. The Auſtraſian nobles, on the death of Carloman, excluded his children, to give the throne to Charlemagne. That prince himſelf, in the diviſion of his empire, ſeems to have acknowledged this elective power. "If any one of my children," ſays he [22], "ſhould die, and leave a ſon whom the people wiſh to appoint as his ſucceſſor, his "uncles muſt give their conſent." The recent example of young Pepin, whom Lewis the Gentle deſpoiled of his father's dominions, in order to give them to prince Charles, affords another proof that, hitherto, there had been no fixed rule of ſucceſſion to the throne. This queſtion, then, was firſt decided by the aſſembly of Merſen; and had the rule there laid down been ſtrictly adhered to, many commotions and much bloodſhed would have been prevented; but it did not long preſerve the force of a law. The ſame noblemen who had adopted it will preſently be ſeen to reject or recall, to en-

19. Annal. Crim. 20. Ibid. 21. Aubert Miræus, Codice Donat. piar. c. 15. 22. Charta Diviſionis Imperii Carol. Mag.

throne

throne or depoſe their king, according to the dictates of caprice; under the influence of this principle—*that the people have a right to chuſe their own ſovereigns*—a principle which, though it be true in the abſtract, if generally received without thoſe reſtrictions and modifications that are indiſpenſably requiſite to render it applicable to civilized governments, will ever be found pregnant with deſtruction to the welfare and good order of ſociety. Were a monarch ſubject to depoſition, whenever the caprice of his people might urge them to wiſh for a change, who would be found willing to take upon himſelf the burden of royalty?—Certainly no one, who was competent to bear it either with honour to himſelf, or advantage to the nation.

Without entering the labyrinth of *legal* diſquiſition, or raking up the embers of political fires, the end and object of *government* may be eaſily diſcerned. Its object is evidently to protect the weak from the violence of the ſtrong; the ſimple, from the ſnares of the crafty; and, in ſhort, to render all thoſe *diſtinctions*, which are inherent in the *nature* of man, and are given him for the wiſeſt purpoſes, ſubſervient to the general good, by placing a ſalutary check on thoſe paſſions, the perverſion of which diſturbs and empoiſons the very ſtream they are intended to ſweeten and purify. Its end is, conſequently, to promote the happineſs of mankind. But, will it be contended that when the ſtrong and the crafty become the moſt numerous and powerful, they have a right to overturn the fabric, erected for ſo glorious a purpoſe?—It would be a libel on human nature to admit the ſuppoſition.

The throne is not holden *durante bene placito*.—In every *monarchy* there is a compact, either expreſs or implied, between the ſovereign and his ſubjects. So long as the former complies with the terms impoſed on him, whatever they be, he is as much entitled to the poſſeſſion of his throne, as a landholder is to a copyhold eſtate, on obſervance of the conditions annexed to his tenure. If the monarchy be hereditary, the ſame *right*, of courſe, extends to the heirs of the reigning ſovereign; and unleſs ſome violation of the original compact be proved, no diſinheritance can take place without the moſt flagrant injuſtice. A deviation from theſe plain rules, which are founded in truth and juſtice, ever have been, and ever will be, found productive of anarchy, confuſion, and general infelicity.

A. D. 848.] Of this the French empire now exhibited a ſtriking example; incurſions, revolts, and depredations prevailed throughout the kingdom. The nobles of Aquitaine, diſcontented with Pepin, ſubmitted to Charles; but a ſecond guſt of caprice ſoon induced them to forſake their new maſter, and to recall their lawful ſovereign. The territories of Lewis the German were laid waſte by an irruption of the Sclavonians, who defeated the troops that were ſent to oppoſe their paſſage[23]. Marſeilles was pillaged

[23] Chron. Fonten.

by

by a band of Greek pirates[24]. The Saracens took Benevento by ſurprize; and becoming maſters of Sicily, and the town of Berri, they kept the whole coaſt in perpetual alarm, and made even Rome herſelf tremble for her ſafety.

A. D. 849, 850, 851.] Nomenoe, who had been created duke of Brittany by Lewis the Gentle, taking advantage of the general confuſion, ſeized the towns of Rennes and Nantes[25], together with the provinces of Maine and Anjou, and ſhaking off the yoke of France, openly aſſumed the title of king. The troubles that prevailed in Aquitaine, prevented the French monarch from chaſtiſing this rebellious vaſſal; and while he was engaged in the reduction of Thouloufe, which had revolted, and in the capture of Charles, the brother of Pepin, whom he compelled to aſſume the monaſtic habit, the duke of Brittany died, and bequeathed his principality to his ſon Heriſpoé, who with the crown inherited the ambition of his father. Charles imagined that the death of the duke would facilitate the conqueſt of the Bretons, but the event proved the fallacy of his expectations. The French were defeated with great ſlaughter, and Charles flying to Angers was there met by Heriſpoé, when a peace was concluded greatly to the advantage and glory of the latter, who obtained a confirmation of the title his father had aſſumed, on the ſimple condition of paying homage to the crown of France[26].

A. D. 852, 853, 854.] Theſe misfortunes ſeemed to be overbalanced by the capture of Pepin, who being taken about this time, was ſhaved, and diſmiſſed to the abbey of Saint Medard, at Soiſſons. But the ſatisfaction experienced by Charles on this fortunate event, was ſpeedily allayed by a freſh revolt in Aquitaine, where the inhabitants, inſtigated by the relations of a culprit who had been recently executed, depoſed their ſovereign, and called the ſon of Lewis the German to the throne. As Charles was advancing to oppoſe the uſurper[27], he learned that Pepin, having effected his eſcape from the monaſtery, had made his appearance in Aquitaine, where a ſtrong party had declared in his favour. The French monarch, however, purſued his plan of hoſtilities, and was ſo fortunate as to overcome both his adverſaries. The ſon of Lewis was compelled to abandon his enterprize; and Pepin, being again taken, was ſent into confinement at Senlis, and his children were conſtrained to become monks.

A. D. 855.] When things were in this ſituation, Lothaire was ſeized with a dangerous diſorder. Alarmed at the proſpect of death, he reſigned the imperial ſceptre, and aſſumed the monaſtic habit, in the abbey of Prum, where he expired, before the concluſion of the week, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Before his death, he had divided his dominions between his three ſons. Lewis ſucceeded

[24] Annal. Fuld. [25] Chron. Nannetens. [26] Chron. Fontanel. Regino. [27] Annal. Fuld. et Bertin.

him

him in the empire; to Lothaire he bequeathed the kingdom of Auſtraſia, which from him took the name of Lorraine; and to Charles, Burgundy and Provence. Their uncles, faithful to the engagements they had contracted at Merſen, ſuffered them to take poſſeſſion of their reſpective dominions, without oppoſition.

A. D. 856, 857.] The death of Lothaire, by multiplying the number of French monarchs, gave birth to new ſyſtems of policy. The young emperor concluded a treaty of alliance with Lewis the German; and the king of Lorraine entered into a league with Charles the Bald, who had recently diſpatched his ſon Charles into Aquitaine, where he was proclaimed King by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people. But this unanimity was of ſhort duration; depoſed one month, and reſtored the next [28], the new ſovereign became a victim to the caprice and ambition of his nobles. His father's ſeverity gave additional ſtrength to the ſpirit of revolt, which was preſently communicated to the Neuſtrians, and in a ſhort time the inſurrection became general. Lewis the German was invited to depoſe his brother, and having entered the French territories with a powerful body of troops, a great number of Neuſtrian noblemen paid him homage at the palace of Saint Yon. From thence he advanced to Sens, into which town he was introduced by Venilon, a prelate, ſtigmatized for his ingratitude and treachery to a monarch, who, from a ſimple clerk, had raiſed him to the archiepiſcopal dignity. An aſſembly of biſhops was now convened at the palace of Attigny, where Charles the Bald was formally depoſed, his ſubjects being abſolved from their oath of allegiance, and the crown declared to be devolved to Lewis the German [29]. The inſolent temerity of theſe rebellious prelates, could only be exceeded by the puſillanimous weakneſs of their ſovereign, who, in anſwer to their deciſion, publiſhed a manifeſto unworthy the majeſty of the throne. "They ſhould not," ſaid the ſpiritleſs monarch, "have depoſed me without hearing what I had to ſay in my defence; or, at leaſt, "without a regular ſentence of the biſhops who conſecrated me, who are—*the thrones* "*on which God repoſes*—whom he employs to promulgate his eternal decrees; to their "paternal correction I have ever evinced a readineſs to ſubmit, and I am ſtill endued "with the ſame diſpoſition." To render this humiliation complete, the culprits remained unpuniſhed; and their perfidious preſident, Venilon, was ſuffered to retain poſſeſſion of his dignity, which he enjoyed in peace till his death.

A. D. 858.] When the news of his brother's invaſion was firſt brought to Charles, he was engaged in the ſiege of Oiſel, which he immediately raiſed, and ſailing up the Seine and the Marne, haſtened to Chalons, and from thence to Brienne, where he fixed his camp, and was joined by ſome of the Burgundian nobles. But his brother found means to ſeduce his troops from their duty; and had he known how to purſue his ad-

[28] Annal. Bertin. [29] Libellus Proclamationis, adverſus Venilonem, t. ii.—Concil. Gall.

vantage,

vantage, the ruin of Charles had been inevitable. But Lewis, inſtead of marching forward to ſecure the moſt important places, amuſed himſelf by diſtributing money to the leaders of the faction, and by iſſuing orders to convene an aſſembly of all the prelates in France. He was even prevailed upon to diſmiſs a part of his army, under a pretence that the diſorders committed by his troops might render him an object of averſion to the people. Charles, apprized of his conduct, did not fail to profit by a circumſtance ſo favourable to his cauſe.

A. D. 859.] Collecting his ſcattered troops with the utmoſt expedition, he contrived, by forced marches, to reach his brother's camp, before Lewis had any intelligence of his approach. The conſequence was a complete defeat of the rebels, and a reſtoration to that authority which Charles had ſo recently loſt. This event was followed by an attempt which ſhews to what a pitch of degradation the weakneſs of the government had reduced the majeſty of the throne. The prelates of France, aſſembled at Metz[30], deputed three of their body to Lewis the German, with orders to inform him that he had incurred the penalty of excommunication, by the calamities which he had brought on the kingdom, from the introduction of his army. They exhorted him, therefore, to beg pardon of God, to confeſs his ſins, to repair the damages he had committed, to reject all bad counſel, to ſend back ſuch of the king's vaſſals as had taken refuge in Germany, and, finally, to reſtore to the clergy their privileges and authority. If he would faithfully fulfil theſe conditions, they promiſed him abſolution; but ſhould he perſiſt in his errors, he was threatened with all the anathemas of the church. This attempt appeared the more extraordinary, as theſe prelates had no kind of juriſdiction, either temporal or ſpiritual, over Lewis—it afforded a freſh proof that the clergy arrogated to themſelves the right of deciding the fate of kings and kingdoms. But the puſillanimity of monarchs ſeems to have kept pace with eccleſiaſtical arrogance. To theſe audacious propoſals Lewis replied, that, if he had given them offence, he aſked their pardon; and with regard to the conceſſions required of him, he would conſent to refer the deciſion of the matter to the prelates of Germany. A ſtate muſt be verging apace towards its deſtruction, when the monarch who rules it is forced to hold ſuch language as this. The proud pretenſions of the prelates were fortified by the mildneſs of the anſwer; and, at the council of Savonieres[31], they vowed to preſerve a ſtrict union between themſelves—"In order to correct the kings, the nobles, and the "people of France." Such are the terms of the decree.

A. D. 860, 861, 862.] The extenſive authority eſtabliſhed by Charlemagne was now nearly extinguiſhed. Nobles, prelates, and princes, all treated the royal authority

[30] Concil. Gall. tom. iii. [31] Ibid.—Ann. Bertin.

with

with contempt. Baldwin, grand-foreſter of Flanders, had the preſumption to carry off Judith, the daughter of Charles, who had been already twice married, firſt to Ethelwolf, and then his ſon Ethelbald, both monarchs of England. The king was extremely enraged, and had his daughter, as well as Baldwin, brought to trial; when a ſentence of excommunication was paſſed upon them; but they found means, after ſome time, to obtain forgiveneſs, and being formally married, Baldwin was created count of Flanders[32]. Prince Lewis, Judith's brother, having aſſiſted the count in carrying her off, was deprived of the abbey of Saint Martin at Tours, which had been aſſigned him as a fortune. Incenſed at this puniſhment, he fled to Brittany, and, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition, married Anſgarde, the daughter of count Hardouin. The loſs of a battle, however, induced him to ſolicit forgiveneſs, which he obtained on condition of future amendment.

Charles, king of Aquitaine, had followed the example of his brother, in marrying the widow of count Humbert without his father's knowledge, and in imitation of him he now ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and on his renewal of homage was received into favour. Lewis the German was equally tormented with his eldeſt ſon, Carloman, who retired to Carinthia, where he excited a revolt, that required both time and trouble to quell. Thus were theſe princes, who had ſet an example of diſobedience to their children, ſeverely puniſhed for the uneaſineſs they had occaſioned their father. They too had firſt taught the prelates to arrogate to themſelves a power ſuperior to that of their ſovereigns; and they were now convinced of their miſtaken policy, by becoming the victims of that inordinate authority to which they had given birth.

The king of Lorraine had repudiated his wife Theutberga, the daughter of a Burgundian noble, under pretence that ſhe had committed inceſt with her brother duke Hubert, a crime of which ſhe had been formally acquitted; but being afterwards induced to confeſs it, either from weakneſs or fear, the prelates, aſſembled at Metz, pronounced it unlawful for the king to hold any farther commerce with her. Another aſſembly of the clergy, ſeduced by Gonthier, archbiſhop of Cologne, whom the king had flattered with the hopes of raiſing his niece to the throne[33], declared, at Aix-la-Chapelle, that in caſe of infidelity on the part of the wife, the huſband might not only procure a divorce, *a menſâ et thoro*, but *a vinculo matrimonii*[34]. After this declaration, the ambitious prelate immediately ſent his niece to the court of Lothaire, who ſeduced her, and then ſent her back to her uncle.—Such is frequently the reward of vice.—The prince, profiting by the prevarication of the pontiff, diſhonoured his family, and to complete the downfall of his pride, publicly married Valdrade, the firſt object of his love, from whom he had formerly been compelled to part.

[32] Ann. Bert. et Fuld. [33] Ann. Bert. [34] Hincmar. de divortio Loth. et Theuth.

A. D. 863.] Nicholas the Firſt, who, from the boldneſs of his enterprizes, had acquired the appellation of *Great*, then filled the papal throne. He wrote to Lothaire, informing him that the Chriſtian religion would neither permit him to repudiate his wife, nor to marry his concubine; and he threatened him with the thunders of the church, if he did not quit Valdrade. The monarch, who had every thing to fear from the united powers of his uncles, humbly anſwered, that he had done nothing without the advice of the biſhops; that even during his father's life he had married Valdrade, whom he had been compelled to leave in order to eſpouſe Theutberga[35]; but that he left the matter entirely to the deciſion of the ſovereign pontiff. The pope, eager to profit by the weak condeſcenſion of the prince, ſent two legates, with orders to aſſemble a council at Metz, where the affair was examined according to the rules preſcribed by the canons. But, whether from fear, ignorance, or ſeduction[36], the pope's envoys, in concert with the biſhops of Lorraine, condemned the marriage with Theutberga, and confirmed that with Valdrade[37]. Nicholas, being informed of their prevarication, convened an aſſembly of prelates himſelf, annulled the ſentence pronounced at Metz[38], depoſed the two archbiſhops of Treves and Cologne, and diſpatched a legate to the court of Lorraine, with letters replete with menaces[39], conveyed in a tone of arrogance very different to that ſtyle in which the popes had been accuſtomed to addreſs the monarchs of France.

A. D. 864, 865, 866, 867.] The papal envoy, whoſe name was Arſene, proved himſelf worthy of his ambitious maſter. He had the inſolence to tell the king, that unleſs he took Theutberga again, he ſhould expel him from the boſom of the church. Though his threats had but little effect on the mind of Lothaire, yet the peculiar ſituation of that monarch, ſurrounded by kinſmen who were ready to profit by any commotions that might take place in his kingdom, induced him to comply with the imperious mandate, and again to part from his beloved Valdrade. But the indignation of his ſubjects at the daring interpoſition of an inſolent prieſt, ſpeedily enabled him once more to purſue the dictates of his inclination: Theutberga was accordingly diſmiſſed, and Valdrade recalled. The inflexible pontiff, enraged at this open contempt of his authority, excommunicated the two lovers[40]: but his turbulent ſpirit was fortunately checked in its dangerous career, by the hand of death. His ſucceſſor, Adrian the Second, conſented to annul the ſentence of excommunication, on condition that Lothaire, who had repaired to Rome to aſk him for abſolution, ſhould, jointly with the noblemen of his retinue, make oath that he had holden no commerce with Valdrade ſince the pope's laſt prohibition[41]. This was an infamous requeſt on the part of the pontiff, who muſt know that a compliance with it would involve Lothaire and his followers in the

[35] Ann. Bert. [36] Epiſt. lviii. Nicol. Pap. [37] Concil. Gal. tom. iii. [38] Concil. Roman. c. iii. p. 217.
[39] Epiſt. Nicol. Pap. xii. Append. et Epiſt. ly. [41] Concil. Gal. tom. ii.

guilt

guilt of perjury—the king, however, was weak enough to ſacrifice his conſcience to the love of tranquillity, and his nobles followed the example of their maſter. Lothaire and all who ſwore dying within the year, the contemporary hiſtorians aſcribe their death to the violation of their oath.

A. D. 868, 869.] During theſe tranſactions Solomon, king of Brittany, waited on Charles the Bald, whom he acknowledged for his lawful ſovereign, and taking the oath of allegiance, engaged to pay him tribute, *according to ancient cuſtom*[42]. Charles profited by this interval of peace to have his wife Ermentrude crowned; the ceremony was performed in the church of Saint Medard at Soiſſons[43], where the king had aſſembled a council; and at the ſame time his eldeſt ſon Lewis received conſecration as king of Aquitaine, in the place of his brother Charles, who had recently died.

During the tranquillity that now prevailed, ſome uſeful regulations of police were adopted. The edict of Piſtes[44] is the moſt curious record that remains of the ancient coins of France. It points out the only places that enjoyed the privilege of coining. Theſe were the Palace; Quentovic-upon Cange in Ponthieu; Rouen; Rheims; Sens; Paris; Orleans; Chalons-upon-Saone; Mellè in Poitou; and Narbonne. On the firſt of July, all the counts or governors of thoſe towns were ordered by the above edict to ſend their viſcounts or deputies to Senlis, each accompanied by the maſters of the mint, and ſome man of reſponſibility, to receive *five livres* from the treaſury, in order to begin to coin good money.

The ſmallneſs of this ſum is apt at firſt to excite aſtoniſhment, but a few reflections will ſuffice to remove the cauſe of ſurprize—all payments were not made in money, in the early ages of the monarchy; the gold and ſilver received from the people was, after being refined, depoſited in lumps, in the royal treaſury, from whence it was diſtributed by weight. This cuſtom, which was taken from the Romans, was followed by the people even ſo late as the reign of Philip the Fair. Nothing is more common in the acts of thoſe times, than payments and fines made and levied by the pound or by the mark of gold or ſilver. A thouſand examples of this may be found in the works of the learned father Mabillon[45]. Money, then, was only wanted for the more trifling articles of commerce; whence it was that ſo little was coined. Thus the fourteenth article of the ordonnance of Piſtes is by no means calculated to convey an unfavourable idea of the power of Charles the Bald. It appears indeed from ſeveral records that there was nearly as much money in France then as now. The miſtake ariſes from confounding the value of money at different periods. It is thought ſtrange that the council of

[42] Annal. Bertin. [43] Concil. Sueſſ. Apud Hincmar. tom. i. [44] Edictum Piſtenſe, Carol. Calv.
[45] M. Le Blanc, Traité Hiſt. des Mon. de France, p. 49.

Thoulouſe ſhould fix the price of three buſhels of wheat, as much barley, a meaſure of wine, and a lamb, (the contribution paid by every curate to his biſhop) at two ſols; and that twenty-four pounds of bread, under the reign of Charlemagne, ſhould be only worth one denier of ſilver. But the ſou then was very different from what it is now; and the denier would be worth thirty French ſols, according to the uſual mode of computation; ſo that the pound of bread would come to nearly a ſou and a quarter, which is not much leſs than the uſual price of that article, in France, in plentiful ſeaſons.

The moſt common gold coins, under the firſt race of kings, was the ſou, the half ſou, and the third of a ſou of gold. This ſou, equal to forty deniers of ſilver, was compoſed of fine gold, and weighed about eighty-five grains and one third; it would now be worth about fifteen French livres.[46] It is pretended by ſome, that the ſou of ſilver was an imaginary coin—but others maintain the contrary. If there really was ſuch a coin, it ought to have weighed, towards the end of the reign of Charlemagne, three hundred and forty-five grains, ſomething more than a modern half crown. Be that as it may, no traces of it are to be found in the cabinets of the curious; though they contain a great number of the ſilver denier, and even of the *obolum*, marked with the heads of the kings who were deſcended from Pepin. Theſe deniers, under the Merovingian monarchs, weighed about twenty-one grains; under the Carlovingians, twenty-eight and ſometimes thirty-two; and under the firſt monarchs of the Capetian race, from twenty-three to twenty-four. Their intrinſic value may be appreciated by that of the ſilver ſou, of which they formed the twelfth part.

Beſides theſe real coins there was the *livre*, an imaginary one, invented for the purpoſe of facilitating calculation. Under the two firſt races it was worth a *livre*, or pound of twelve ounces, the only pound then in uſe for weighing gold and ſilver. Under Pepin, the livre, or pound weight of ſilver, was divided into twenty-two ſous. Charlemagne, whoſe conqueſts had rendered this metal more plentiful, ordered that only twenty ſhould be made out of a pound—that is to ſay, the ſilver ſou was then preciſely the twentieth part of twelve ounces. Such is the true origin of the word *livre*, which is ſtill made uſe of in France, though now only as the repreſentative ſign of twenty copper ſols, or half-pence.

In order to give a juſt idea of the comparative value of money at different periods, it will be neceſſary juſt to notice the various changes that have taken place. The mark of ſilver, of eight ounces, has long been worth forty-nine livres. The livre, then, which in the time of Charlemagne was the repreſentative ſign of twelve ounces, would

[46] This computation, it is neceſſary to obſerve, was made by the Abbè Velly in 1754. By comparing the price of gold in France at that time with the preſent price, a correct eſtimation of the ancient gold ſou may be obtained.

now

now be worth ſeventy-three livres, ten ſols [47]; the ſou, which was the twentieth part of the livre, would be worth three livres, thirteen ſols, ſix deniers; the denier, which was the twelfth part of the ſol, would be worth ſix ſols, one denier, and one obolum; and laſtly, the obolum, which was half a denier, would be worth three ſols one obolum, and one *pitte*. Thus, ſuppoſing a town had borrowed one hundred and fifty livres under the reign of that emperor, the loan would be equal to near four hundred and ſixty louis of the preſent money. A monaſtery which received from the treaſury of that prince an annual penſion of four hundred livres, would now enjoy an income of twenty-nine thouſand four hundred livres a year. From this calculation it appears that the Engliſh pound ſterling (reckoning it at twenty-two French livres) is leſs removed from the ancient ſtandard than any European coin whatever.

A. D. 869.] On the death of Lothaire, had the deciſions of the aſſembly of Merſen been reſpected, his dominions would have devolved to the emperor Lewis; but ambition is neither to be reſtrained by the force of laws, nor the faith of treaties. The lawful heir being employed in guarding againſt a projected invaſion of Italy by the Saracens, Charles the Bald and Lewis the German divided his inheritance between them: to the latter was allotted Cologne, Trèves, Utrecht, Morbel, Straſbourg, Baſle, Metz, Luxeu, Aix-la-Chapelle, a variety of places of inferior note, and two thirds of Friezeland or Holland. Charles acquired Lyons, Beſançon, Vienne in Dauphiné, Tongres, Tulles, Verdun, Cambray, a portion of the Ardennes, and the remaining third of Holland, with ſeveral abbeys and monaſteries [48].

A. D. 870, 875.] The death of the emperor, Lewis the Second, not only confirmed them in the acceſſion of their new dominions, but induced Charles, under the ſanction of the Pope, to attempt a farther extenſion of his power. With this view he marched, with a numerous and well-appointed army into Italy. His activity anticipated the deſigns of his brother Lewis the German; he was received at Rome with the applauſe of the inhabitants; and the Roman Pontiff placed the Imperial crown on his head, and ſaluted him emperor of the Romans. It is worthy of remark that, in the beſtowal of this dignity, the pope, profiting by the preſent ſituation of affairs, acted as a ſovereign, and Charles received it as a vaſſal. "*We have judged him worthy of the imperial ſceptre*, ſaid the pope [49], *we have raiſed him to the imperial dignity and power, and we have honoured him with the title of Auguſt.*"—From this period may be dated that authority in the election of emperors, which the Roman pontiffs afterwards claimed.

47 To make ourſelves more intelligible to our readers, we muſt obſerve, that the Engliſh pound ſterling was, at the time of this calculation, eſtimated at twenty-two modern French livres; hence it appears that the livre or ſilver pound of Charlemagne was worth about three pounds, ſix ſhillings and ten-pence halfpenny.

48 Capitul. Car. Cal. Tit. de diviſione regni Lothar. 49 Apud Labbeum, tom. ix. p. 295.

A. D.

A. D. 876.] It was with indignation that Lewis beheld himſelf the dupe of his brother; he reſented in arms what he deemed a ſhameleſs breach of faith, entered Champagne, and diſcharged his fury on the defenceleſs country: though he retired on the approach of Charles, he only ſuſpended his hoſtile meaſures; his preparations were continued with inceſſant diligence, and the new emperor had reaſon to rejoice at the death of the king of Germany, who united in his character the qualities of a ſtateſman and a general, and who, of all the deſcendants of Charlemagne, moſt reſembled him. His dominions were divided between his three ſons. To Carloman he aſſigned Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Sclavonia, Auſtria, and a part of Hungary. Lewis had Franconia, Saxony, Holland, Thuringia, the lower Lorraine, Cologne, and ſome other cities on the Rhine. To Charles, ſurnamed *the Fat*, was allotted all that country which extends from the Maine to the Alps. The news of his brother's deceaſe no ſooner reached the emperor Charles, than his reſtleſs ambition tempted him to deſpoil his nephew Lewis; at the head of fifty thouſand men he advanced to ſeize what he had ceded at the laſt diviſion of the kingdom of Lorraine. At Meghen he was encountered by his nephew with inferior numbers, but ſuperior courage and ſkill; the French army was broken by the charge of the German cavalry, and Charles himſelf with difficulty eſcaped from the dreadful carnage of his devoted ſubjects. He had ſcarcely united his ſcattered forces before he was confounded with the intelligence that the Normans had entered the Seine, laid waſte the adjacent country, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Rouen.

To complete the diſtreſs of Charles, he was ſummoned by the Roman pontiff to the protection of Italy. That country was ſtill expoſed to the deſultory attacks of the infidels, whoſe continual deſcents were encouraged by the intrigues of the duke of Benevento, and the emperor of the Greeks; and the banners of Mahomet daily inſulted the holy ſeat of the ſucceſſors of Saint Peter. Charles, after holding an aſſembly of the nobles, at Chierſi-upon-Oiſe, for the regulation of his domeſtic affairs, and the ſecurity of his kingdom, during his abſence, determined to obey the citation of the pope; he accordingly paſſed the Alps, with a ſmall train of followers, but he had ſcarce entered Pavia, to which city the Roman pontiff had advanced, in order to confer with him, when he was informed that Carloman, king of Bavaria, was already in Italy with a numerous army, and claimed, by the will of his father, the Imperial title. The forces of Charles were ſtill in France; the general to whoſe fidelity he had entruſted them, conſpired againſt him, and the ſoldiers, in tumultuary exclamations, declared their reſolution not to leave the kingdom. The indignant emperor, aſtoniſhed and deſerted, retired to France, at the ſame moment that his competitor, Carloman, alarmed at the rumour of his approach, had precipitately re-entered his German dominions.

Oppreſſed with ſhame, anxiety and fatigue, the emperor was ſeized on his retreat from Italy, with a violent fever; and Sedicias, his phyſician, by birth a Jew, betraying the

the confidence of his maſter, adminiſtered as a febrifuge, a doſe of poiſon, of which he died in the cottage of a peaſant, at the ſmall village of Brios, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, as king of France, in the ſecond as emperor, and in the fifty-fourth of his age.

Charles had ſix ſons by his queen, Ermentrude, of whom only Lewis, his ſucceſſor, ſurvived him; and three daughters: Judith, firſt married to two kings of England, and laſtly to Baldwin count of Flanders; and Rothilda and Ermentrude, both abbeſſes, the firſt of Chelles and of Notre Dame at Soiſſons; the ſecond of Aſnon on the Scarpe. By his ſecond wife, Richilde, he had two ſons, Lewis and Charles, who died in their infancy.

Charles, ſays Paſquier, had few virtues, and many defects. He was ambitious and enterpriſing, but weak, timid, and irreſolute; capable of conceiving great projects, but deſtitute of ſpirit and ability to put them in execution. From his reign may be dated the dangerous augmentation of eccleſiaſtical arrogance, and the rapid decline of the Carlovingian race.

LEWIS

LEWIS THE SECOND,

SURNAMED THE STAMMERER.

A. D. 877.] AS ſoon as Lewis was apprized of his father's death, he repaired to Compiégne, where he aſſembled the nobles and prelates of the realm, in order to proceed to the ceremony of proclamation. Though his right to the throne was inconteſtible, he thought it neceſſary to ſecure the attachment of the nobles, by profuſely laviſhing the honours and eſtates of the crown. The empreſs, in the mean time, having received from her huſband the crown, the ſceptre, and the royal mantle, haſtened from Italy, with the deed by which Lewis was declared ſucceſſor to the throne. She was accompanied by a number of nobles, who were eager to partake of the bounty and munificence of their new ſovereign; and as the young prince did not dare to reject their applications, he was proclaimed, conſecrated, and crowned, with the unanimous approbation of all parties.

Every circumſtance attending this accommodation tended to give birth to ſuſpicions of a dark and ſanguinary nature. The great men of the kingdom had refuſed to march to the aſſiſtance of their ſovereign—at that very time the emperor was poiſoned; and immediately after his death the empreſs returned to France. Then thoſe ſame noblemen, who had conſpired againſt the huſband, flew to meet the wife, who obtained for them every thing they required, but betrayed not the ſmalleſt deſire to revenge the death of her lord; nor was any enquiry ſet on foot into the crime of the regicide, Sedecias. All this combination of circumſtances beſpeaks a dreadful myſtery; and all proves that the vaſſals of Lewis, too powerful to harbour the ſmalleſt apprehenſion, had

had left him but the ſhadow of authority. Boſon, brother to the empreſs Richilde, duke or viceroy of Italy, and governor of Provence, was the moſt powerful nobleman of the realm; he had been entruſted with poſts of great importance under the preceding reign. When Charles was crowned king of Lombardy, he was appointed governor of that kingdom, with the power of chuſing all the counts. Abuſing the authority he enjoyed, he had the preſumption to carry off Ermengarde, the daughter of the emperor Lewis; and that proud princeſs, who was deſtined to wear a crown, did not diſdain to marry him. An alliance thus ſplendid, ſtrengthened by immenſe riches, inſpired him with the moſt ambitious hopes. Beſides theſe fortuitous advantages, he poſſeſſed a perſon the moſt engaging, and manners the moſt inſinuating. Hence he became an object of univerſal eſteem; and even the pope, thinking he might be of ſervice to him, appeared diſpoſed to grant him the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours. Thus favoured, courted, and careſſed, his ambition daily encreaſed, till at length it led him to aſpire to the throne itſelf.

A. D. 878.] Italy, during this time, remained without a ſovereign; pope John the Eighth, who had impatiently expected the aid of Charles to repreſs the inſolence of the Saracens, endeavoured in vain to raiſe his ſon to the Imperial dignity; his meaſures were ſucceſsfully traverſed by Lambert, duke of Spoleto; and Adelbert, marquis of Tuſcany: the former, compelled to reſign his own pretenſions, ſupported thoſe of Carloman of Bavaria; and the pontiff, incapable of reſiſting the arms of the duke of Spoleto, abandoned Rome, and embarked for France.

The reception of John was ſuch as he might naturally expect from a monarch whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed with ardour. In a council aſſembled at Troyes, the Roman pontiff preſided, and the authority and influence of the church were not neglected by its holy father: among the various canons framed to ſupport the epiſcopal dignity, it was ordained, that all ſecular powers, under the penalty of excommunication, ſhould obſerve the reſpect due to biſhops; and all perſons, however high their rank, were precluded from ſitting down in their preſence, without obtaining their permiſſion[1]. But although the pope repeated, at the deſire of Lewis, the ceremony of his coronation, and placed with his own hands the crown on his head, yet his fervour ſoon cooled towards a prince whom he diſcovered to be deſtitute of power and capacity; and his intereſts induced him to ſeek a more effectual ſupport in the friendſhip of the factious and independent nobles of his court. The thunders of the Vatican, which he brandiſhed againſt the rebellious peers of France, were rather intended to deceive the ſovereign, than diſmay the conſpirators; and John, after having in vain exhorted the nation to reſpect the diſtreſs of Rome, and to unſheath the ſword againſt the preſumptuous Saracens, proceeded on his return to Italy.

[1] Canon 1.

During the pope's ſtay in France, the marriage of Carloman, the ſon of Lewis by his firſt wife, Anſgarde, daughter of Count Hardouin, with a daughter of Boſon, was celebrated at Troyes with great magnificence.

After the council was diſſolved, Lewis repaired to Compiégne to receive the report of the ambaſſadors whom he had ſent into Germany to negociate a peace. The anſwer they brought was favourable to his wiſhes; and the two monarchs meeting at Merſen, a treaty was concluded, which they ſigned at Foron, a royal manſion ſituated between Maeſtricht and Aix-la-Chapelle. With regard to the kingdom of Lorraine, it was agreed that the partition which had been made between Charles the Bald and Lewis the German ſhould be ſtrictly adhered to: in Provence each party was to keep poſſeſſion of what he then enjoyed; and it was determined that in Italy matters ſhould remain as they were, till the month of February following, when a council ſhould be convened, which the four ſovereigns of the houſe of Charlemagne were to be invited to attend. But the revolt of Bernard, marquis of Septimania, attracted the attention of Lewis to a different quarter.

A. D. 879.] That nobleman, notwithſtanding the anathema that had been pronounced againſt him at the council of Troyes, notwithſtanding the ſentence by which Lewis had deprived him of his governments and eſtates, ſtill kept an army on foot, and ſet the power of the king at defiance. As Lewis advanced at the head of his troops, to chaſtiſe the inſolence and audacity of this rebellious ſubject, he was ſeized at Troyes with a diſorder that ſpeedily proclaimed his approaching diſſolution. He ſent his eldeſt ſon Lewis into Burgundy, under the conduct of duke Boſon, and of Bernard, count of Auvergne, the abbot Hugh, Thierri his grand chamberlain, and ſome other noblemen; then ordering his attendants to convey him to Compiégne, he there died—not without ſuſpicions of being poiſoned—on Good Friday, the tenth of April, in the ſecond year of his reign, and the thirty-firſt of his age. He was interred in the abbey of Saint Corneille.

Lewis had by Anſegarde two ſons, Lewis and Carloman; and he left his ſecond wife, Adelaide, pregnant of a ſon, who was ſoon after baptized by the name of Charles, and was diſtinguiſhed by the opprobrious epithet of *Simple*.

LEWIS

LEWIS THE THIRD,

AND

CARLOMAN.

A. D. 879.] THE king, on his death-bed, had commiſſioned Odo, biſhop of Beauvais, and count Albruin, to carry the crown and ſceptre, with the other emblems of royalty, to his eldeſt ſon Lewis, whoſe coronation he ordered them to forward with the utmoſt expedition. To the accompliſhment of theſe orders no poſſible oppoſition could have occurred, had not the kingdom been divided by two powerful factions; one of which was headed by duke Boſon, Hugh the abbot, Thierri the grand chamberlain, and Bernard, count of Auvergne: the leaders of the other, were Gauzelin, abbot of Saint Denis, and Conrad, count of Paris[1], Theſe laſt, having met at Creil, invited Lewis of Germany into the kingdom, who accordingly advanced as far as Metz, where he experienced the moſt flattering reception. Their apology for thus inviting an uſurper to fill the throne of their lawful ſovereign, was founded on the incapacity and inexperience of the children of Lewis, the defect in their birth, (being ſprung from a repudiated wife;) and, laſtly, on the known prudence, valour, and moderation of the German prince. Such was their pretext—but the real motives of their treacherous conduct were intereſt, and a deſire of revenge. Boſon, however, and the other nobles of his party, being determined to fulfil the laſt injunctions of the deceaſed monarch,

[1] Ann. Bertin et Fuld.

repaired to Meaux, in order to deliberate on the dangers which threatened the ſtate. The news of the invaſion by Lewis filled them with alarm; and having no army to impede his progreſs, they reſolved to purchaſe his forbearance by ceding to him that part of the kingdom of Lorraine which had been allotted to Charles the Bald. This propoſal was accepted, and the king immediately returned to Germany, where his preſence was required.

Carloman, king of Bavaria, having been attacked by a ſtroke of the palſey, Arnoul, his ſon by a concubine, profited by his father's illneſs to ſeize a part of his dominions. But the preſence of Lewis compelled him to reſign his conqueſts, and to content himſelf with the acquiſition of a few biſhopricks and abbies. The kingdom was confirmed by the dying parent to the monarch who had reſcued it from the hands of his rebellious ſon. Gauzelin and Conrad, in the mean time, not daring to remain in France, repaired to the court of Germany, and complained to the queen of her huſband's neglect in refuſing to profit by ſo glorious an opportunity of encreaſing his power, and extending his dominions. The ambitious princeſs, whoſe name was Luitgarde, entered into all their ſchemes, and had ſufficient influence over the mind of her huſband, to perſuade him to a violation of the late treaty. He had made every neceſſary preparation for a ſecond invaſion of France, when he was informed that a new enemy had appeared in Lorraine, and committed great devaſtations. This was Hugh, the hapleſs progeny of Lothaire and his beloved Valdrade. As he had reduced ſeveral towns, the re-taking of which would neceſſarily require much time, Lewis was prevented from entering Neuſtria; but ſtill he ſent Gauzelin and Conrad thither with a body of troops, and promiſed to follow them as ſoon as poſſible.

The report of this ſecond irruption, ſpread a general alarm throughout the kingdom. The nobles, who had preſerved their fidelity to the family of the deceaſed monarch, ſaw no other remedy for the calamities which threatened them, than the ſpeedy coronation of the young princes. The king, on his death-bed, had appointed his eldeſt ſon Lewis his ſole ſucceſſor; but the dread of diſpleaſing Boſon, by the excluſion of his ſon-in-law Carloman, induced them to adopt the reſolution of placing them both on the throne, and of dividing the kingdom between them, according to the ancient cuſtom of the realm. It was this diviſion, ſo difficult to make, that had urged them to delay their inauguration ſo long; and even now they were under the neceſſity of deferring it to a future time. The princes, therefore, were ſent to the abbey of Ferrieres, where they were annointed and crowned by Anſegiſe, archbiſhop of Sens. At this time they had attained their fifteenth or ſixteenth year. The courts of their reſpective dominions were not fixed till the following year. Aquitaine and Burgundy were allotted to Carloman; and France and Neuſtria to Lewis. An attempt was made by a few of the nobility to aſſert the rights of Charles the Simple; but his mother Adelaide had not ſufficient influence to ſupport his claims.

Such

Such was the ſtate of affairs in France when Boſon, taking advantage of the minority of the young princes, at length revealed his perfidious deſigns. Promiſes, preſents, entreaties, and threats, were ſo opportunely and ſucceſsfully exerted, that—*by the ſacred council of Mante, in the diſtrict of Vienne, aſſembled in the name of our Lord, and by inſpiration of his Divine Majeſty*[2], he was elected and crowned king of Provence. This election was made and confirmed by the archbiſhops of Vienne, Lyons, Tarentaiſe, Aix, Arles, and Beſançon; and by the biſhops of Valence, Grenoble, Vaiſon, Die, Marienne, Gap, Toulon, Châlons-upon-Saone, Lauzanne, Agde, Mâçon, Viviers, Marſeilles, Orange, Avignon, Uſés, and Rheims: by which the extent of the new monarchy may be known: it is ſometimes denominated in hiſtory the kingdom of Arles, from the name of its capital; and at others the kingdom of Provence, as it was called when poſſeſſed by one of the ſons of the emperor Lothaire. Thus the ſons of Lewis beheld themſelves with indignation deſpoiled of the faireſt part of their inheritance by the ſword of a powerful neighbour, and the intrigues of a faithleſs kinſman.

A. D. 880.] Their throne indeed was ſhaken on every ſide, and its very foundation might poſſibly have been ſubverted, had it not been ſupported by the fidelity and abilities of Hugh the abbot. Lewis of Germany, urged on by his wife, prepared to fulfil his promiſe to the abbot of Saint Denis, and the count of Paris; but the malcontents were over-awed by the prudent diſpoſitions of Hugh; the Germans in vain penetrated into the heart of France; and the hopes of Lewis were chilled by the languid operations of his partizans. He conſented to an interview with his youthful rivals at Orbe, near the lake of Geneva; and a ſubſequent congreſs at Gondreville on the Meuſe, at which all the deſcendants of Charlemagne were preſent, ratified the ſucceſſion of Lewis and Carloman, and confirmed the poſſeſſion of Lorraine to the king of Germany.

The royal brothers, delivered from the terror of foreign invaſion, prepared to chaſtiſe the inſolence of domeſtic rebellion; ſtrengthened by their new alliances, they marched with a numerous army through Burgundy, and entered the revolted territories of their preſumptuous vaſſal. The confederate forces, aſſiſted by thoſe of Charles, king of Italy, formed the ſiege of Vienne, defended with maſculine valour by Hermengarde, the conſort of Boſon. But the princes were ſoon compelled to ſeparate, and while the continuance of the ſiege devolved on Carloman, Charles returned to Rome to receive the Imperial crown, and Lewis, with a conſiderable detachment, directed his march againſt the Normans.

A. D. 881.] Theſe hardy adventurers, diſdaining the ſeverity of winter, had, in the month of December, taken Ghent, where they eſtabliſhed their head quarters; ſur-

[2] Concil. Mantenenſe, Labbe, tom. ix. p. 391.

prized

prized the city of Tournay; made themſelves maſters of Courtray, which they fortified; and ſtormed Saint Omer, which they reduced to aſhes. From thence they ſpread their devaſtations along the banks of the Scheld, and the Somme. Cambray, Saint Riquier, Saint Valery, Amiens, Corbie, and Arras were taken and pillaged, and moſt of the inhabitants put to the ſword. At Saucour, in Ponthieu, the rovers of the north were encountered by the maiden valour of Lewis: after a deſperate engagement victory declared for the French; nine thouſand Normans, with their leader Guaramond, were left on the field; the remainder repaſſed the Somme, and ſought their ſafety in flight. The victory of Saucour had diſplayed the courage, and the death of Lewis of Germany proclaimed the moderation, of the youthful king of France: he rejected with firmneſs the crown proffered by the inhabitants of Lorraine; and yielded to the ſuperior pretenſions of the emperor, Charles the Fat.

A. D. 882.] But the promiſing virtues of this youthful monarch were cut off by a premature death. As he was haſtening to aſſiſt the duke of Brittany, in the expulſion of the Normans from the banks of the Loire, he was ſeized at Tours with a fatal diſeaſe, that compelled him to return to Neuſtria. Being conveyed to Saint Denis in a litter, he there expired, in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and the third of his reign.

The loſs of this prince was deeply deplored by his ſubjects, who admired his virtue, his valour, and moderation.

CARLOMAN.

CARLOMAN.

A. D. 882.] LEWIS the Third dying without children, no oppoſition was made to the acceſſion of Carloman. That prince was ſtill before Vienne, when a deputation from the nobles brought him the news of his brother's death, and aſſurances of their fidelity. Leaving the blockade of Vienne to his principal officers, he immediately proceeded to Chierſi, where, after having ſworn to obſerve the capitulary of Charles the Bald, he was proclaimed king of Neuſtria. This ceremony was no ſooner performed than he received intelligence of the reduction of Vienne, and the capture of Hermengarde and her daughters, who were conducted to Autun. He now prepared to execute the plan of his predeceſſor for the expulſion of the Normans, but their leader, Haſting, ſuing for peace, his requeſt was complied with, on condition that he and his followers ſhould immediately quit the country.

Another band, however, of theſe northern plunderers laid waſte the fertile plains of Germany, and returning to the banks of the Meuſe, erected a fortified camp in the environs of Haſlou. The emperor haſtening his return from Italy, repaired to Worms, and having collected a numerous army, compoſed of Germans, Bavarians, Lombards, Thuringians, Saxons, Friſians, and French, advanced to attack the Norman intrenchments[1]. The attempts to diſlodge them, though conducted with equal ſpirit and ſkill, were vigorouſly repelled; and after a long and bloody conteſt, during which victory occaſionally ſhifted from one ſide to the other, both parties became eager for an accommodation. Sigefroy, one of the Norman leaders, repaired to the emperor's camp, and after a negociation that laſted two days, a treaty was concluded that reflects infinite diſgrace on the memory of Charles the Fat. That monarch agreed to cede to the

[1] Chron. de Geſt Norman.

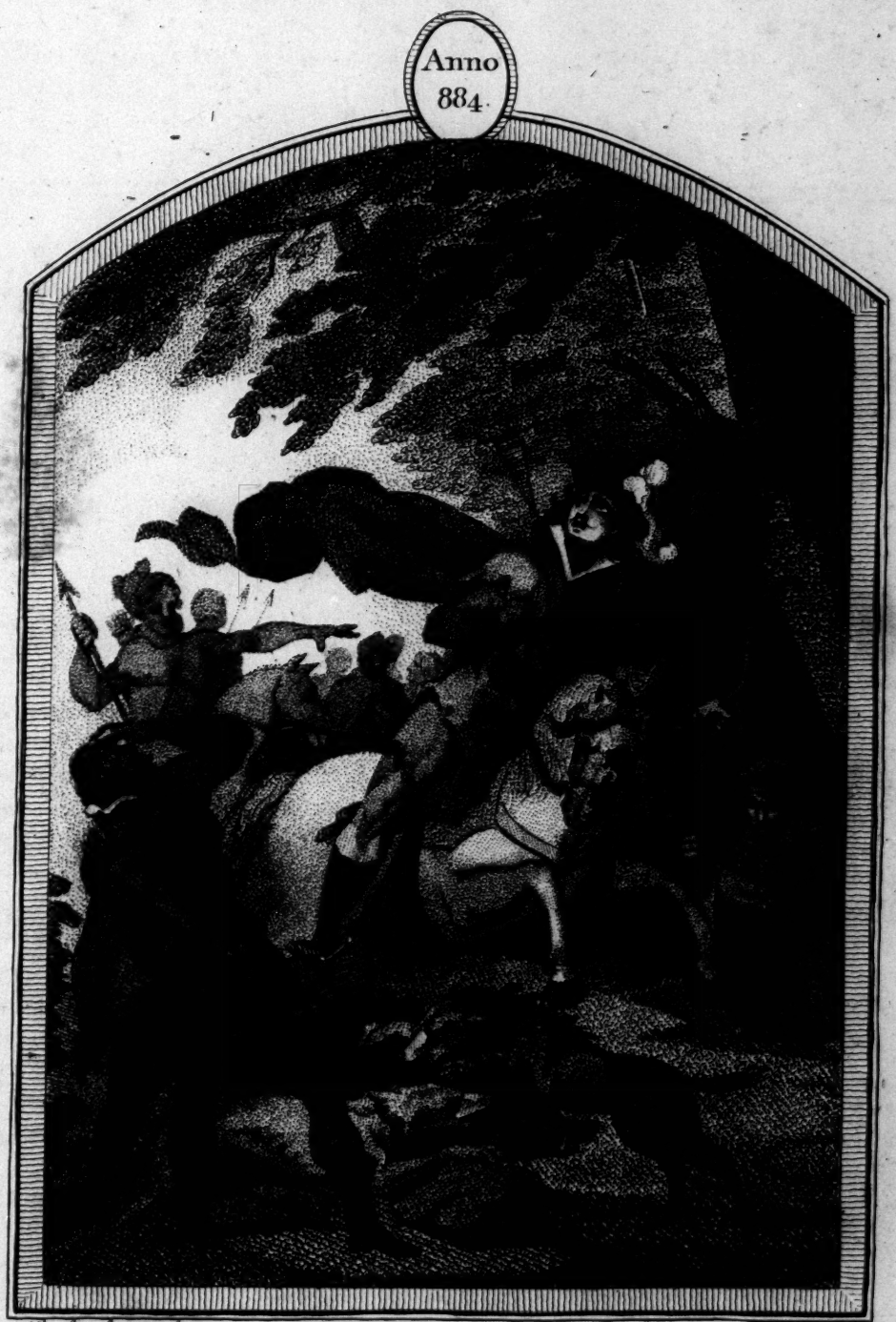
Normans

Normans all the country of which they were then in poſſeſſion; and to pay them without delay a ſufficient ſum to defray the expences they had incurred, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the war; it was farther ſettled, that Godfrey, the chief of the Normans, ſhould, by his converſion to Chriſtianity, obtain the hand of Giſele, the daughter of Lothaire and Valdrade; and that in conſideration of this marriage, all that part of Holland which Roric had poſſeſſed ſhould be ceded to him by Charles; and finally it was ſtipulated, that prince Hugh, brother to Giſele, ſhould enjoy the revenue ariſing from the biſhoprick of Metz, on condition of his renouncing his pretenſions to the kingdom of Lorraine.

By this ignominious peace, which nothing but a continued ſucceſſion of defeats could poſſibly have juſtified, a dangerous enemy was eſtabliſhed by Charles in the heart of his dominions. The churches were plundered in order to raiſe the ſtipulated ſum; Sigefroy was left in poſſeſſion of Haſlou; Godfrey, after having received baptiſm, married Giſele, and conveyed his bride to his newly-acquired territory; while the emperor retired to Coblentz, where he received an embaſſy from the French monarch, who demanded the reſtoration of that part of Lorraine which had formerly belonged to his predeceſſors. This demand, which indignation had prompted, was received with contempt; and Charles, in order to vex Carloman, releaſed, at the pope's requeſt, the empreſs Ingelberga, mother-in-law to Boſon. The Normans, taking advantage of this miſunderſtanding, advanced from the banks of the Meuſe, ſpread themſelves over Picardy, where they committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations, and marched towards Rheims, with the intention of making that city experience the ſame fate with thoſe they had already reduced. But their progreſs was impeded by the approach of Carloman, who, having haſtily collected a ſmall army, attacked them, and forced them to retire in great diſorder. They ſoon, however, returned with ſuch an addition of force, as reduced the haraſſed monarch to the degrading neceſſity of reſcuing his provinces from pillage, by the payment of twelve thouſand livres; which, in thoſe days, was an enormous ſum.

A. D. 884.] Carloman did not long ſurvive this diſgrace: as he was enjoying the amuſement of the chace, an erring javelin, aimed at the boar by one of his attendants, pierced his thigh, and in ſix days brought him to the grave. The memory of this prince is endeared to us by the pious deceit which he practiſed on his death-bed; endeavouring to ſcreen from the miſtaken reſentment of the public his unfortunate domeſtic, by imputing his wound to the rage of the animal he purſued.

CHARLES



H. Singleton del.t J. Jones fec.

The Death of Carloman.

Publish'd as the Act directs. by C. Lowndes. Aug.st 20th 1791.

BRITISH
4 DE65
MUSEUM

CHARLES THE THIRD,

SURNAMED THE FAT.

A. D. 884.] HAD a proper reſpect been paid to the rules of ſucceſſion, Charles the Simple, the poſthumous ſon of Lewis the Stammerer, by his Queen Adelaide, would, on the deceaſe of his brother without children, have aſcended the throne of France. But the kingdom being inceſſantly expoſed to the depredations of the Normans, it was deemed imprudent to fix the diadem on the brows of an infant, and the emperor therefore, Charles the Fat, whoſe age was mature, and whoſe power extenſive, was called upon to ſucceed the generous Carloman. Prompt to obey the pleaſing citation, he haſtened to Gondreville[1], where he received the homage of the nobles, together with their oaths of allegiance. The ſon of Adelaide remained under the care of Hugh, the abbot; who was confirmed by the emperor in his government of that part of Neuſtria which lies between the Seine and the Loire, and which was then called the duchy of France; Paris being its capital. Charles, by this conſiderable addition of territory, was now become one of the moſt powerful princes in the world; but his capacity was greatly unequal to the extent of his empire; and that good fortune which ought to have encreaſed his authority only tended to expoſe his weakneſs.

A. D. 885, 886.] The ſon of Valdrade had not yet announced his pretenſions to the kingdom of Lorraine, and his brother-in-law Godfrey, Duke of Holland, only waited for a favourable pretext to break with the emperor. But Charles by a baſe and trea-

[1] Annul. Fuld.

cherous exertion of cruelty, contrived to rid himself of two formidable enemies, whose machinations he dreaded. Godfrey was assassinated by Evrard, an emissary of the emperor's at Lisle de Betau; and Hugh the Bastard, being arrested at Gondreville, a few days after the murder of his brother, his eyes were put out, and he was dismissed to the monastery of Saint Gal; he was afterwards removed to the abbey of Prum, in the forest of Ardennes, where he was compelled to assume the monastic habit.

To revenge the death of Godfrey, Sigefroy entered the Seine, with a fleet of seven hundred sail, and spread his devastations as far as Paris; and after having taken and burned the town of Pontoise he laid siege to that city. The capital of Neustria was then but a small island, comprehending that part of the present metropolis which is distinguished by the appellation of *the city*. It was approached by two wooden bridges, the present *Pont au Change* and the *Petit Pont*, each of which was defended by a strong and lofty tower. The siege was pressed by the barbarians with uncommon vigour; by a skilful exertion of their battering machines a breach was made in the walls[2]; but three furious attempts to enter it were rendered abortive, by the persevering valour of the Parisians, who were headed by Eudes, count of Paris, son of Robert the Strong, and bishop Goslin, who not only animated the people by his exhortations, but roused them by his example. This martial prelate was frequently seen on the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his girdle, driving back the enemy from a cross which he had planted on the ramparts. He was seconded by many a valiant knight, who signalized their courage on this trying occasion; but his nephew, the abbè Eble, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner, and by the prodigies of valour he performed excited the astonishment of his friends, and spread terror and dismay through the enemy's ranks. Never was greater fury displayed in attack, nor greater constancy and firmness in defence, than at this memorable siege, which lasted a year and a half, and during which the Parisians experienced all the horrors of pestilence and famine.

The emperor, in the mean time, remained in the vicinity of Francfort, from whence he contented himself with sending such supplies as the capital required. Twice was count Henry dispatched with provision and troops for the relief of the garrison; the first time he succeeded, but in his second attempt he was surprized, and with his whole army cut in pieces. The news of his death at length determined the king to march in person; and the hopes of the Parisians were revived by his appearance on the Mount of Mars, which is now called *Montmartre*. Yet Sigefroy beheld the hostile standards with an undaunted countenance, and stedfastly maintained his station before the gates of the city. The emperor, awed by the firmness of an enemy whom he might have

[2] Abbo Monach. de Bellis Paris. Urbit. Carmen.

over-

overwhelmed, baſely conſented to purchaſe a peace which he might have commanded. On condition of receiving ſeven thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, the Normans gladly conſented to raiſe the ſiege; and as the money could not be immediately paid, Charles allowed them to paſs the winter in Burgundy, where they committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations. After the concluſion of this ſhameful treaty, the emperor returned to Germany, loaded with the contempt and hatred of the French. His German ſubjects were ſoon impreſſed with ſimilar ſentiments; and they began to look on him as a man wholly unfit for the ſtation he enjoyed. A timid diſpoſition and an ill ſtate of health confined him conſtantly to his palace; inceſſantly tormented with the fear of the devil, whom he fancied he had ſeen in his youth[3], and conſcious of his own inability to ſupport the burden of a vaſt empire, he gave up the reins of government to Ludard, Biſhop of Verceil. That miniſter exerted a deſpotic ſway in the emperor's name, and thoſe who were anxious to dethrone the prince began by attacking his favourite. The biſhop was accordingly accuſed of holding a criminal intercourſe with the empreſs [A. D. 887.]; and as Charles was particularly delicate in that point, he was eaſily induced to believe what he dreaded, and, indeed, what he deſerved. The prelate was baniſhed from court, and the princeſs repudiated, at a general aſſembly, at which the emperor ſwore he had never touched her, although they had lived together more than ten years. In vain did Richarda offer to prove, either by ſingle combat or by any other mode of proof then in uſe, not only her innocence, but her virginity; her offers were rejected by her prejudiced huſband, and ſhe was diſmiſſed to the abbey of Andlaw, in Alſace, which ſhe had richly endowed, and where ſhe died, highly reſpected for her prudence and virtue.

A. D. 887.] Now that Charles was deprived of the advice and aſſiſtance of his miniſter, the native imbecility of his mind became viſible to every one. He even became conſcious of it himſelf, and this idea inſpired him with the moſt melancholy reflections. Having convoked a parliament at Tribur, between Mayence and Oppenheim, the nobles and prelates who were preſent remarked the uneaſineſs that appeared in his countenance, and the defect in his underſtanding[4], and pronouncing him unfit for royalty, began to deliberate without delay on the choice of a ſucceſſor to the throne. Charles the Simple was indiſputably the lawful heir, but his youth being ſtill regarded as a bar to his ſucceſſion, all the efforts of his friends proved inadequate to procure him the crown of France. The ſole deſcendant (in a direct line) from Charlemagne was thus

3 The biſhops, in order to inſpire him with a greater degree of horror at the crime he had committed, in revolting againſt his father, had given him to underſtand that he was poſſeſſed by the devil. This idea made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on him, that he begged to be publicly exorciſed, in the preſence of the prelates and nobles of the realm; his requeſt was complied with, and the recollection of this formidable ceremony was never wholly effaced from his imagination; but had a viſible effect on his mind during the remainder of his life. Ann. Bertin. ad. Ann. 873.

4 Chron. Hildenſheimenſe.

excluded from the dominions of his anceſtors, which were now offered to the baſtard ſon of Carloman, in direct violation of the rules eſtabliſhed under the ſecond race of kings, which deprived natural children of all rank in ſociety, and conſequently placed an effectual impediment in their way to the throne. Arnoul accepted with joy that ſceptre which he was actually preparing to wreſt from its lawful poſſeſſor; and the revolt was ſo general that, in leſs than three days, his authority was acknowledged through the whole extent of Germany.

Charles in the mean time was reduced to the moſt dreadful ſituation; driven from his palace without a ſervant to attend him in his illneſs [5], he was deprived of the mere neceſſaries of life, and yet was afraid to aſk for aſſiſtance; nor did any one dare to afford him relief, through fear of incurring ſuſpicions of diſaffection to the uſurper. Lutbert, biſhop of Mayence, was the only perſon in the kingdom endowed with ſufficient humanity to receive the hapleſs prince, and conſole him in the midſt of his misfortunes [6]. An application to Arnoul at length procured him the aſſignment of a few petty fiefs in Germany, whoſe revenues ſcarcely afforded him a miſerable ſubſiſtence. This ſtate of wretchedneſs, however, was but of ſhort duration—grief, or (as ſome writers have aſſerted) *poiſon* brought him to the grave [A. D. 888.] in three months from the time of his depoſal. He was interred in the monaſtery of Richenoue, ſituated in an iſland on the lake of Conſtance.

Charles is repreſented by hiſtorians, as a juſt and pious prince, whoſe ſole defect was weakneſs of mind—but his treacherous cruelty to Godfrey and Hugh, inconteſtibly prove that he was not exempt from vices, that are incompatible with juſtice and piety. In the other events of his life and reign, we muſt indeed confeſs that he was rather an object of pity than of indignation; but indiſcriminate praiſe is ſeldom warranted, and the pen of the hiſtorian ſhould never be diſgraced by conferring it, where cenſure is due.

On the death of this prince the kingdom became a prey to the ambitious machinations of contending nobles. Though the ſovereign authority had been almoſt unanimouſly voted to Arnoul, yet numerous rivals now ſtarted up to diſpute his power, and lay claim to the vacant throne. This confuſion was the effect of that property which the weakneſs of the French kings had ſuffered their aſpiring nobles gradually to acquire, in fiefs, which at firſt were granted but for life, or during pleaſure. Theſe had been imprudently allowed to paſs from father to ſon—the poſſeſſors inſenſibly accuſtomed themſelves to regard as their own, what in fact belonged to their ſovereign, and at length attempted to erect each petty government into an independant monarchy. The moſt plauſive and powerful pretenders to the vacant throne were Berenger, Duke

[5] Ann. Metens. [6] Regino. Sigebert. Otto Friſing. l. vi c. 7.

of

of Frioul, grandſon, by his mother, to Lewis the Gentle; Guy, duke of Spoleto, great-grandſon to Charlemagne, by a daughter of Pepin, king of Italy: Lewis, the ſon of Boſon, grandſon, by his mother Hermengarde, to the emperor Lewis the Second; Rodolph, ſon of Conrad, count of Paris, nephew to the empreſs Judith, wife to Charles the Bald; and Eudes, ſon of Robert, count of Anjou, and deſcended, according to ſome genealogiſts, from Childebrand, brother to Charles-Martel, and uncle to Charlemagne.

The duke of Frioul was the firſt to aſſert his pretenſions, and to procure an acknowledgment of his ſovereignty by a conſiderable part of Italy. Guy, duke of Spoleto, next entered the liſts, and marching to Rome, was there inveſted with the Imperial dignity, and proclaimed king of France. He then haſtened to Metz, and from thence to Langres, where the biſhop, whoſe name was Geilon, performed the ceremony of conſecration, and declared him king of all Neuſtria. But finding the people indiſpoſed to receive him, he quickly repaſſed the Alps, defeated Berenger in two bloody battles, tore the diadem from his brows, and compelled him to take refuge in Germany. Rodolph, in the mean time, attentive to the motions of his formidable rival, had taken poſſeſſion of the whole country between Mount Jura and the Pennine Alps[7], and was actually proclaimed king by the inhabitants. But Eudes, who enjoyed the eſteem and affection of the people, bore away the palm from his numerous competitors.

7 Hiſt. Aquit. frag. v. Ducheſne, tom. ii. p. 632.

EUDES.

EUDES.

A. D. 888.] IT was in a parliament, aſſembled at Compiégne, that the nobles and prelates of the realm proceeded to the election of a new monarch; and Eudes, count of Paris and Orleans, and duke of Burgundy, was declared to be the object of their choice. To the remembrance of his father, Robert the Strong, who had died in defending the ſtate from the depredations of the Normans, and to the glorious feats which he himſelf had atchieved, in the defence of the capital, was this nobleman indebted for the crown. The ceremony of his conſecration was performed at Sens, by Vautier, archbiſhop of that dioceſe. The prudent precautions adopted by Eudes, on his acceſſion to the throne, were well calculated to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it. He publicly proteſted that having been appointed guardian to young Charles by Lewis the Stammerer, he only accepted the diadem with the view of reſtoring it to the lawful heir, ſo ſoon as he ſhould be ſufficiently old to govern the kingdom. Threatened with a deſtructive war by the Germans, he ſent to Arnoul, and aſſured him that if his nomination to the throne was likely to diſturb the tranquillity of France, he was ready to reſign the ſceptre. He even went to Worms, where he had an interview with Arnoul, into whoſe hands he ſurrendered the crown, ſolemnly ſwearing that he would never wear it but with his free conſent. The king of Germany, flattered by this mark of deference and condeſcenſion, reſtored the diadem, and promiſed to forbear from all kind of oppoſition to the government of Eudes.

A. D. 888, 889, 890, 891.] This prince began his reign by an earneſt endeavour to repreſs the inſolence of the nobility, and to humble the foreign and domeſtic enemies of the ſtate. At the head of one thouſand horſe he defeated an army of twenty thouſand Normans, in the foreſt of Mont-faucon [1]; and this glorious victory might have

[1] Chron. de Geſt. Norman.

been

been attended with extenſive advantages, had not Eudes been haſtily recalled from the purſuit by a revolt in Aquitaine. His preſence reſtored the allegiance of that province; but the Normans had taken advantage of his abſence, and erected their victorious banners on the walls of Meaux, Toul, and Verdun; even Paris itſelf was again inſulted by the licentious arms of theſe northern adventurers. Their deſtructive incurſions into Lorrainewere ſucceſsfully repelled by the king of Germany; but in France a ſcene of anarchy and diſcord preſented itſelf on every ſide; the nobles of each province diſobeyed their ſovereign, oppreſſed their vaſſals, and exerciſed perpetual hoſtilities againſt their equals and neighbours.

The princeſs Hermengarde, in the mean time, having ſecured the votes of Arnoul and the pope, that is, of two perſons who had not the ſmalleſt right to diſpoſe of the throne, endeavoured to procure the coronation of her ſon Lewis; and this ſtrange attempt was at length crowned with ſucceſs. In a council of prelates and nobles, aſſembled at Valence, that prince was unanimouſly proclaimed king. "We have examined," ſaid the members, "whether we could, in prudence and juſtice, elect "Lewis, the ſon of Boſon; and we have unanimouſly agreed that the ſceptre could not "paſs into better hands[2]." Such were the attempts—and ſuch the pretenſions of an ambitious and ignorant clergy—pretenſions, founded on a dangerous aſſumption of power, which they inſidiouſly extended from ſpiritual to temporal matters; pretenſions authorized by the aſſembly of Compiégne, and long regarded as juſt and proper; though at length they are univerſally acknowledged to be errors, exploded by the divine Author of our religion, who declared in expreſs terms, that *his kingdom was not of this world.*

A. D. 892.] The inſurrection in Provence was followed by violent commotions, excited by the nobles of Neuſtria. Count Walgaire, though related to Eudes, was the firſt to take up arms in favour of the infant Charles; but having ſeized the important city of Laon, it was beſieged by Eudes, who ſpeedily compelled the garriſon to ſurrender, and ſentenced Walgaire to loſe his head. Aquitaine once more erected the ſtandard of revolt; thither the monarch repaired at the head of his victorious army, and had reduced all the rebels to fly before him, and take ſhelter in a ſingle town, when he was ſummoned back to Neuſtria, where the malcontents, more irritated than terrified at the fate of Walgaire, had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of Adelaide and her youthful ſon. The chiefs of this party were the queen-mother, Foulques, archbiſhop of Rheims, Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Pepin, count of Senlis. Charles, though only thirteen, was conducted to Rheims, and crowned by the archbiſhop, who publiſhed a long apology for his conduct, and exhorted all the ſovereigns of the earth to undertake the defence of his pupil againſt the uſurper.

[2] Concil. Valentin. apud Lab. tom. ix. p. 42.

CHARLES

CHARLES THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE SIMPLE.

A. D. 893.] THE king of Germany was highly diſpleaſed with the remonſtrance of Foulques, and he accordingly wrote to that prelate, threatening to make him feel the effects of his reſentment. The archbiſhop replied—that ſeeing the kingdom expoſed to the depredations of the Normans, he had thought it is duty to conſent to the coronation of Eudes, who was alone capable of defending the ſtate; but that the ſon of Lewis the Stammerer having now attained an age at which, with the aſſiſtance of his miniſters, he might ſafely be entruſted with the reins of government, he could not refuſe to comply with the unanimous requeſt of the nobles who called him to the throne of his anceſtors; and that, at a time when ſo many ſubjects aſpired to the crown, he deemed it dangerous and improper for him to ſet an example of infidelity to the lawful heir. Theſe arguments, however, were inſufficient to convince the ambitious monarch; but the commotions in Italy, and the revolt of ſome tributary ſtates, induced him to diſſemble. He ſaw the army of Eudes on the point of attacking the royaliſts, and he reſolved to wait the event of the action before he declared himſelf. Victory decided in favour of Eudes, and the youthful king was compelled to take refuge at the court of Germany.

A. D. 894, 895, 896, 897, 898.] Charles, after remaining ſome time in exile, returned to France, and took poſſeſſion of the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy; and Eudes himſelf, through the perſuaſions of the archbiſhop of Rheims, ſoon after extinguiſhed the torch of diſcord by acknowledging the ſovereignty of that prince, and only

only retaining, under an oath of homage and fidelity, the country from the Seine to the Pyrenees. Eudes ſurvived to enjoy but a ſhort time the tranquillity eſtabliſhed by his own moderation; in the month of January, ſubſequent to his abdication, he expired at La Fere, in Picardy, in the fortieth year of his age; eſteemed by the Normans whom he had vanquiſhed, beloved by the people whom he had protected, and hated, yet dreaded, by the nobility, whoſe oppreſſions he had firmly oppoſed. His infant ſon, Arnold, ſucceeded to his principality, with the title of King; but his death, in a few days after, united France under the ſole authority of Charles the Simple.

A. D. 899 to 912.] This re-union of the kingdom might have been productive of the greateſt advantages, had the power of the monarch been ſufficient to reſtrain the daring attempts of his ambitious nobles; but the weakneſs of the government tended to encreaſe their arrogance, and their audacity was carried to ſuch a heighth, that in a ſhort time the kingdom was divided into a number of petty ſovereignties, each of which aſſerted its independence on the crown. Hence all was anarchy and confuſion, the authority of the king was reduced to a ſhadow, and the ſtrength of the nation nearly annihilated. Such was the ſtate of France, when attacked by an enemy, who to the moſt intrepid courage united the moſt extenſive views.

Rollo was a powerful chieftain, who had been originally poſſeſſed of an independant principality in Denmark, of which the cruelty and perfidy of the reigning monarch had unjuſtly deprived him. Compelled to take refuge in a remote corner of Scandinavia, he reſolved to repair the loſs he had ſuſtained by following the example of his countrymen in committing depredations on the more ſouthern coaſts of Europe. For this purpoſe he collected a formidable band of adventurers, compoſed of Norwegians, Swedes, Friſians, and Danes, who, allured by the proſpect of plunder, flocked to him from all quarters; and having equipped a numerous fleet, he bade adieu to his native country.

His firſt attempt was made on England, in the latter end of the reign of Alfred; but finding the iſland in a proper poſture of defence, and governed by a wiſe and courageous prince, he prudently deſiſted from his enterprize, and repaired to France, where he was ſuffered to ſpread his deſtructive ravages over the greateſt part of the kingdom with impunity. He continued his devaſtations for ſome years with uninterrupted ſucceſs, which ſo harraſſed the French, that they at length compelled their ſovereign, in the year 912, to ſue for peace.

As Rollo was victorious he impoſed ſuch terms on Charles as beſt ſuited his convenience. A ceſſion of territory was an object he inſiſted on; and the king was reduced to purchaſe a peace by the ſacrifice of one of his moſt fertile provinces. A

great part of the extenſive country of Neuſtria was yielded to the Dane, which was thenceforward denominated Normandy, from its new inhabitants, and conſiſted of all the province which now bears that name, excepting the ſmall diſtrict of Bayeux, which did not fall under the dominion of the Norman dukes till many years after. For this he was required to do homage to the crown; and he repaired to Clair upon Epte (where this diſgraceful treaty was ſigned) for that purpoſe, but he obſtinately refuſed to comply with the ceremony of kneeling to the king—a mark of ſubjection impoſed on vaſſals by the rites of the feudal law, and which appeared to him an indignity that his fierce ſpirit could not brook; and it was with ſome difficulty that he could be perſuaded even to put his hand within the king's while he took the oath of fidelity. Beſides Neuſtria, Charles likewiſe gave him the turbulent province of Brittany, to hold as a fief of the crown: but the Britons, not leſs fierce and untractable than the Danes themſelves, refuſed to pay homage to Rollo, which occaſioned frequent wars between the two provinces.

In order to attach Rollo more firmly to his intereſt, Charles gave him his daughter Giſele in marriage; but required his converſion to Chriſtianity, as a previous condition. This was cheerfully complied with by the Norman, who accordingly received baptiſm from the hands of Francis, archbiſhop of Rouen, and was named Robert, from Robert count of Paris, who anſwered for him at the baptiſmal font. "The "grace of this holy ſacrament," ſays Mezeray, "operated ſo powerful a regeneration in "Rollo, that he became one of the beſt princes of the age." Certain it is that he governed his new acquired territories with great equity and moderation. He treated the French who ſubmitted to his ſway with juſtice and lenity; and reclaiming his followers from thoſe inveterate habits of plunder to which they had been accuſtomed from their cradle, effected the eſtabliſhment of good order and ſalutary laws throughout his dominions. The only flaw in the character of Rollo, was his barbarity to his wife, who died of a broken heart in conſequence of his ill treatment; and when Charles ſent two of his officers to remonſtrate with him on the impropriety of his conduct, he had them both put to death.

Charles, in the ſame year, received ſome compenſation for the dominions he had diveſted himſelf of, by the death of Lewis, king of Germany. With that prince expired the male line of Charlemagne in Germany; and the vacant throne was, by the free voice of the nobility, filled with Conrad, duke of Franconia; but Lorraine refuſed to acquieſce in the injurious election, and in Charles ſought the protection, and acknowledged the authority, of the laſt prince of the Carlovingian race.

From 912 to 921.] The ſubjects of the French monarch ſoon diſcovered, that the weakneſs of Charles, under the name of a favourite, required a maſter; and the obſequious

ſequious arts of Haganan, a private gentleman, without birth, and without fortune, gained the confidence of the king. The cares of empire were devolved on, and the hours of the prince were devoted to, this new minion of fortune; and it was obſerved by Henry duke of Saxony, one of the ableſt princes of the age, and whoſe requeſt of an audience had been continually evaded by the anſwer that the king was engaged with Haganon, "Either Haganon will ſeat himſelf on the ſame throne with Charles, or Charles "will become a private gentleman like Haganon." Yet the favourite, however unpopular, cannot be denied the praiſe of wiſdom, penetration, vigour and fidelity; but the times were adverſe to the adminiſtration he had aſſumed; and the two Roberts dukes of Normandy and France, overſhadowed with united influence the power of the crown. Their formidable confederacy at length compelled the king to diſmiſs his miniſter; and their ambition, nouriſhed by ſucceſs, ſoon revealed the pretenſions of Robert to a throne, which had been occupied by his brother Eudes. The recall of Haganon was the ſignal of war; Robert was ſolemnly crowned at Rheims, and with the forces of the conſpirators encamped under the walls of Soiſſons. While in oſtentatious ſecurity he enjoyed the pleaſures of the table, he was ſurprized by the appearance of Charles at the head of a few faithful followers; with undaunted courage he mounted his horſe, and endeavoured to reſtore order to his troops; but in the tumult of the conflict, he received a mortal wound from the ſpear of his rival, and was diſpatched by his ſurrounding enemies. Yet his ſon Hugh, and Herbert, count of Vermandois[1], maintained the battle with more ſucceſsful valour; and Charles, after having enjoyed the triumph of revenge, was in his turn compelled to retreat before ſuperior numbers, with the loſs of his baggage, and the braveſt of his companions.

After this victory, Hugh could have found no difficulty in placing the crown upon his own head; nor can his forbearance to do ſo be eaſily accounted for. An author, who wrote ſoon after the preſent period, obſerves, that he ſent to his ſiſter Emma, who was married to Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, to aſk her whether ſhe would rather ſee himſelf or Rodolph on the throne; and that ſhe replied, ſhe would rather kiſs the knees of her huſband, than of her brother[2]. On the receipt of this anſwer, Rodolph was proclaimed king of France, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed in the church of Saint Medard, at Soiſſons, by Gautier, archbiſhop of Sens.

Charles might ſtill have maintained a ſucceſsful ſtruggle with his enemies, but for the treachery of Herbert count of Vermandois. This nobleman being reſolved to ſeize the perſon of his ſovereign, ſent the count of Senlis to aſſure him of his loyalty,

[1] Chron. Magdeburg.—Chron. S. Medardi. [2] Glaber, l. i. c. 2.

and of his readineſs to declare in his favour, together with his numerous vaſſals. Surprized at the news, the fugitive prince at firſt heſitated[3]; but as the count was his relation, being deſcended like himſelf in a right line from Charlemagne, he was at length prevailed on to diſmiſs his fears, and to give him the meeting at Saint Quentin. There the reception he experienced from the perfidious Herbert tended to confirm his hopes, and diminiſh his ſcruples. But he had no ſooner diſmiſſed his followers, than his perſon was ſeized, during the night, and ſecretly conveyed to Chateau Thierri. Herbert, after this act of baſeneſs, repaired to the court of Burgundy, to congratulate the new monarch on the capture of his rival.

[3] Flodoard.

RODOLPH.

A. D. 924.] RODOLPH was continually employed either in the repreſſion of domeſtic feuds, or the repulſion of foreign invaſions. Having repelled an attempt of the Normans to extend their domains, he repaired to Lorraine, whither he was invited by the nobles; and having reduced a great part of that kingdom, he compelled the king of Germany to demand a ceſſation of hoſtilities. He next turned his arms againſt William duke of Aquitaine, who, unable to oppoſe his ſuperior ſtrength, averted his reſentment by a feigned ſubmiſſion, and extorted homage.

A. D. 925.] He had no ſooner returned from his expedition to Aquitaine, than his attention was called to the rovers of the north, who had renewed their depredations, and were laying waſte the fertile plains of Burgundy. The Normans of Rouen too broke forth into open hoſtilities, and having ſpread themſelves over Picardy and Artois, attacked Noyon, from whence they were repulſed with loſs. Hugh, duke of France, whoſe authority extended from the Loire to the Seine, aſſembled the militia of Paris, and entering Normandy, deſtroyed the whole country with fire and ſword. He was ſoon joined by the king, who detached, from his camp in the Beauvaiſis, the count of Vermandois with a part of his army to form the ſiege of Eu, which was taken by aſſault, and all the male inhabitants maſſacred, without mercy or diſtinction. Herbert, as a reward for his courage and conduct, obtained the archbiſhoprick of Rheims for his ſon, an infant of five years[1]; this was the firſt inſtance of the appointment of a child to the poſſeſſion of eccleſiaſtical dignities; it eſtabliſhed a dangerous precedent, and gave riſe to numerous abuſes.

A. D. 926.] Theſe advantages were counterbalanced by the loſs of Lorraine, which ſubmitted to the king of Germany[2]. Aquitaine alſo revolted; Champagne was

[1] Hiſt. Rem. l. iv. c. 19, 20. [2] Flodoard.

threatened

threatened with an incurſion of the Hungarians; and the whole empire appeared in a ſtate of convulſion, a prey to the fury of its enemies, and the feuds of its citizens. It was at this period a crude and indigeſted government, where force, alone, was acknowledged as law; an heterogeneous mixture of monarchy and oligarchy, where every one proportioned the extent of his power to his ability in acquiring it. Such is the frequent conſequence of uſurpation, and of a deviation from eſtabliſhed rules, and lawful authority. The moſt formidable of theſe turbulent vaſſals was the treacherous count of Vermandois.

A. D. 927.] Hubert, whoſe ambition was equal to his perfidy, claimed as the reward of his ſervices, the county[3] of Laon, recently become vacant by the death of Rotgaire. But he received a refuſal from the king, who beſtowed it on the ſon of the late count. Herbert, enraged at the failure of his application, reſolved on revenge; and he engaged Henry, king of Germany; Hugh, duke of France, who had lately married Ethelinda, the daughter of Edward, king of England, and the ſiſter of Charles's conſort; and William, duke of Normandy, to enter into his views. They all ſwore to aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of their power, in reſtoring the throne to its lawful poſſeſſor; and the pope threatened with excommunication whoever ſhould dare to oppoſe the reſtoration of Charles. That prince was accordingly releaſed from confinement, and conducted to Saint Quentin, where he was received by the ſame people who had rejoiced at his depoſal with every demonſtration of joy. From thence he repaired to Eu, where he received homage from the duke of Normandy.

A. D. 928, 929.] Rodolph, in order to avert the impending ſtorm, at length offered the city of Laon to Herbert; and that perjured traitor, having thus acquired what had alone induced him to take up arms, accepted his propoſal. The unfortunate Charles was again ſacrificed to the ambition of his nobles, and confined at Peronne, where he died ſoon after, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. By his firſt wife, whoſe name is unknown, he had Giſele, who married Rollo, the firſt duke of Normandy. By Frederune, his ſecond wife, he had no child; and by Egiva, ſiſter to Athelſtan, king of England, he had Lewis *d'Outre-Mer*. This monarch was buried at the abbey of Saint Fourcy.

A. D. 930 to 936.] The few remaining years of the reign of Rodolph were paſſed in reſtraining the incurſions of the Normans, and in quelling the turbulent ſpirit of the nobles. The friendſhip of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Hugh, duke of France, was ſoon converted into implacable hatred, and war was declared between them. But the former, after being ſtripped of moſt of his poſſeſſions, at length conſented to a truce,

[3] By county is here meant a certain diſtrict, giving to its poſſeſſor the title of Count.

that

that was followed by a peace. This was the laſt remarkable event that occurred during the life of Rodolph, who died at Auxerre, in 936.

The death of this prince was followed by an interregnum of near ſix months. Such was the ſituation of affairs, at this period, that no attention was paid to the eſtabliſhed rules of ſucceſſion. Hugh the Black, brother to Rodolph, who had died without children, aſpired to the crown; and his pretenſions were favoured by the Burgundians. But he had a powerful rival in the perſon of Hugh, duke of France, whoſe dignity of birth, and ſplendor of talents, rendered him a formidable competitor. But the nobles, however, were reſolved to exclude from the throne any claimant who poſſeſſed ſufficient vigour and merit to enſure obedience. Hugh, therefore, was rejected. The conjuncture was favourable to the lawful heir, Prince Lewis, ſon of Charles the Simple, who had been taken to England by his mother, in order to ſecure him from the rage of faction. It was from his reſidence in England that he acquired the appellation of *Outre-Mer*, *Beyond the Sea*, or *Stranger*. Hugh, unable to obtain the regal dignity himſelf, was glad to ſee it conferred on a prince whom he hoped to keep in a ſtate of dependence. With this view he recalled Lewis from England, and meeting him at Boulogne, paid him homage as a vaſſal, and took the oath of fidelity to the youthful monarch.

LEWIS THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE STRANGER.

A. D. 936.] LEWIS was but ſixteen when called to the throne of his anceſtors; and he had been abſent from his native country thirteen years. The example of Hugh was followed by a great number of nobles and prelates, who attended the king to Laon, where he was crowned by Artaud, archbiſhop of Rheims. To diſcharge his obligations to the duke of France, and to ſecure the fidelity of that powerful nobleman, he appointed him miniſter, and committed to his hands the reins of government. The duke of Burgundy had preſumed on an infant reign to diſturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, and to ſeize the city of Langres: the inſult was reſented by Hugh, who, at the head of a powerful army, penetrated into Burgundy, and compelled the brother of Rodolph to purchaſe an ignominious peace, by the ceſſion of great part of that fertile duchy. But Lewis ſoon became tired with remaining under the tuition of this ambitious ſubject, who wiſhed to keep him conſtantly at Paris, where he was ſole maſter. The young king had privately ſecured the duke of Normandy, and the counts of Flanders, Vermandois, and Poitiers, who, jealous of the miniſter's power, cheerfully united in order to releaſe him from the ſtate of captivity in which he was holden. He accordingly withdrew to Laon, where he was met by his mother Egiva. The duke, more aſtoniſhed than alarmed at this circumſtance, only ſought to encreaſe his power by the influence of fear. He found the means of gaining over the inconſtant and perfidious Herbert, who had ſufficient influence to make the Normans forſake the intereſt of the king. They were alſo joined by Gilbert, duke of Lorraine; and Otho, king of Germany, promiſed to protect them.

A. D.

A. D. 937, 938.] As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the confederated princes began their march towards thoſe parts where the king's authority was moſt acknowledged. Lewis advanced to meet them, not with a powerful army, but with a band of biſhops, whoſe *ſpiritual* weapons were exerted with greater ſucceſs than the *temporal* ſwords and pikes of the troops. Theſe formidable prelates ſent to inform the duke of Normandy and the count of Vermandois, that they excommunicated them both—the firſt, for having burned ſome towns in Flanders; and the laſt, for unjuſtly retaining certain poſſeſſions belonging to the abbey of Saint Remi, at Rheims. This extraordinary interference of the eccleſiaſtical power, and the effect it produced, are ſtrongly characteriſtic of the ſpirit of the times. The rebels, alarmed at their threats, remained in ſuſpenſe. The laws of honour, ever ſacred; the obligation of an oath, the firmeſt bond of ſociety; the love of juſtice; a regard for their duty—all theſe potent conſiderations had proved inſufficient to deter them from taking up arms againſt their ſovereign—while the fear of excommunication, the motives for which were probably unjuſt, checked in a moment the uplifted arm of rebellion. Prince Hugh, for that was the title he aſſumed [1], obſerving the indeciſion of his aſſociates, propoſed an accommodation; and a truce was accordingly agreed on.

A. D. 939.] Lewis employed this interval of tranquillity in ſecuring the kingdom of Lorraine, whoſe inhabitants invited him to reign over them. While he advanced to Verdun, an Engliſh fleet appeared on the coaſt of Flanders, in order to protect thoſe maritime towns of Lorraine which had declared for the king. The firſt offenſive and defenſive treaty between France and England [2] was concluded during this reign; till when but little intercourſe, except ſuch as was merely commercial, had ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms. Having made himſelf maſter of the greater part of Alſace, Lewis compelled ſeveral counts, who ſtill remained faithful to the king of Germany, to retire beyond the Rhine; but receiving intelligence that the biſhop of Laon was about to ſurrender that important city to Herbert, he haſtened thither, and expelled the ſeditious prelate. The tide of ſucceſs then turned; the dukes of Lorraine and Franconia, to whoſe care he had entruſted his new conqueſt, ſuffered themſelves to be taken by ſurprize; the laſt was killed by the enemy, and the firſt was drowned in paſſing the Rhine, while his widow had taken refuge in the ſtrong fortreſs of Chievremont, in the county of Liege; whither Lewis repaired with a body of troops, and in order to ſecure her intereſt in Lorraine, married her in a few days after the death of her huſband [3]: but the appearance of Otho ſpeedily reduced all the towns which had declared againſt him to return to their obedience.

A. D. 940.] The only effect of this war, in which Lewis had ſignalized his courage and activity, was to make him a new enemy in the perſon of Otho, who now

[1] Dudo, l. 2. [2] Luitprand, l. iv. c. 14. [3] Viſchind Hiſt. Saxon. l. ii.

renewed his ancient engagements with Hugh. That nobleman, in concert with the count of Vermandois, made incurſions upon the territories of the archbiſhop of Rheims, to whom the king accorded, by way of recompence for the damage he ſuſtained, the right of coining money. But the prelate did not long enjoy this privilege; for his epiſcopal city was preſently attacked, and after a ſiege of ſix days reduced [4]. His troops were better in appearance than in reality; and the prelate himſelf, being taken from a cloiſter to head a principality, was but little ſkilled in the art of defending towns. It is here neceſſary to remark, that the biſhops, in imitation of the nobles, had aſſumed the government of their epiſcopal cities and dioceſes. Hence the titles of prince, duke, or count, which many of them ſtill enjoy. Hence, too, that bloody and obſtinate war, (which laſted eighteen years) undertaken and ſupported by the count of Vermandois, in order to maintain his ſon Hugh in the poſſeſſion of a ſee, ſince become the firſt duchy in the kingdom; a war during which the two rivals were alternately confirmed or depoſed, according to the intereſt and caprice of the court of Rome, and of the eccleſiaſtical councils. Artaud, however, ſtrengthened by the king's intereſt, the ancient canons, and a majority of the councils, at length prevailed; though he was obliged to give up the government of the dioceſe, and to content himſelf with the abbies of Avenay and Saint Baſle, which were aſſigned him for his ſupport.

A. D. 941.] From Rheims the rebels marched to Laon, which by the vigour of its defence gave the king time to advance to its relief. On his appearance the factious leaders retired, and conducting Otho to the palace of Attigny, declared him, by an inſtance of treachery hitherto unexampled ſovereign of France [5]. Though ſome of the French monarchs had before been depoſed, yet a prince of the blood had always been appointed to fill the vacant throne, to which no ſtranger had ever been called. Lewis, in this calamitous ſituation, ſhewed himſelf worthy of the crown he wore. By retreats, attacks, and negociations, ſagaciouſly planned, and opportunely enforced, he at length ſucceeded in his attempts to detach Otho from the factious league. But ſtill fortune diſplayed her uſual inconſtancy [6]: his troops were defeated near Laon, and he himſelf was ſo cloſely preſſed by the enemy, that it was with difficulty he effected his eſcape. This victory was followed by a general defection of the whole kingdom, except the inhabitants of Aquitaine, who alone preſerved their fidelity. At laſt, through the pope's mediation, peace was concluded. Otho, though proclaimed king by the rebels, had the generoſity to declare againſt them: Hugh and Herbert, forſaken by this powerful ally, returned to their duty, and ſhewed ſubmiſſion to that authority which they were unable any longer to conteſt.

A. D. 943.] William, duke of Normandy, ſurnamed Long-Sword, had greatly contributed to the reſtoration of tranquillity; but that wiſe prince did not live long

[4] Hiſt. Remens. [5] Flodoard. Chron. [6] Dudo. l. iii.

to

to enjoy the ſalutary effects of his interference, being aſſaſſinated at an interview with Arnoul, Count of Flanders, on the river Somme. He left an infant ſon, named Richard, whom Lewis took under his protection, and conducted to Laon, where he kept him in cloſe confinement. According to ſome authors, he intended to *hamſtring* the young prince, in order that, being maimed and lame, he might be deemed incapable of being placed on the throne, and at the head of armies. But two hiſtorians [7], who wrote at a period nearer to the preſent, affirm, that he only threatened the prince with that puniſhment, in caſe he ſhould leave the city without his permiſſion. Richard, however, was preſerved from the danger, by the vigilance of his governor, Oſman, who, in the diſguiſe of a groom, eſcaped with his pupil, concealed in a truſs of hay, and mounting him on a fleet horſe, conveyed him in ſafety to the friendly caſtle of Bernard, Count of Senlis. Prince Hugh promiſed this nobleman to afford him effectual protection againſt the reſentment of Lewis; but he was induced to break his word, on a propoſal made him by the king to divide Normandy between them, on condition that the expence of reducing it ſhould be mutually borne. A treaty for this purpoſe was concluded in a few days; and Lewis entering Normandy, advanced to Rouen, with a powerful army, while the duke of France penetrated into the country of Baieux [8].

A. D. 944, 945.] The Normans, unable to reſiſt their united forces, endeavoured to ſow diviſion between the allies. With this view they offered to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Lewis, provided he would compel Hugh to leave their territories. The propoſal was accepted by the king, and the duke retired enraged at his perfidy, and vowing revenge. An opportunity for putting his threats in execution ſpeedily occurred. Lewis having advanced to attack Aigrol, king of Denmark, who had landed with an army of Danes [9], in order to ſupport the claims of the infant duke, his troops were defeated with great ſlaughter, and he himſelf was taken priſoner. Hugh, at the ſolicitation of Queen Gerberge, immediately convened the parliament [10], and expatiated largely in favour of the royal authority. By his advice, it was reſolved that the king ſhould be releaſed on giving his ſecond ſon for a hoſtage, and that young Richard ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his duchy. The Normans on this condition ſurrendered Lewis into the hands of Hugh, who refuſed to ſet him at liberty till he had ceded the city of Laon.

A. D. 946.] During theſe tranſactions, Hubert, count of Vermandois, had died, and his laſt moments were embittered by the pangs of remorſe [11]. He left ſeveral ſons, and among others Albert, who was the head of the houſe of Vermandois. Lewis being determined to revenge the perfidy of the father upon the children, a bloody war enſued, in which that monarch was frequently worſted. But a conteſt

[7] Dudo. l. iii.—Guill. Gemet. c. iv. [8] Flodoard. Chron. [9] Idem. Ibid. [10] Chron. ii. Breve. Ducheſne. tom. iii. p. 321. [11] Glab. l. i. c. 9.

ſtill more obſtinate and dangerous was he compelled to maintain againſt Hugh, whoſe power ſet his utmoſt efforts at defiance. Aſſiſted by the king of Germany and the count of Flanders, Lewis marched againſt the rebels, at the head of an army of one hundred and eighty thouſand men; but Hugh prudently declined a combat with a force ſo ſuperior to his own, and the king reaped no other advantage from this acceſſion of ſtrength than the capture of Rheims, the expulſion of archbiſhop Hugh, the re-eſtabliſhment of Artaud, and the devaſtation of the duchy of France[12]. Having formed the ſiege of Rouen[13], he was foiled in his attempts to reduce it; and after loſing a great number of men, was compelled to withdraw his troops.

A. D. 948.] Still, however, hoſtilites continued with unabated ardour, though without any other ſucceſs than the deſolation of fertile provinces. But Hugh at length prevailed ſo far that the crown was within his graſp, and he was ſtrenuouſly urged to ſeize it, by his numerous partizans[14]. Lewis, in this dilemma, was reduced to the dangerous and degrading neceſſity of having recourſe to the authority of the church. He repaired to the council of Ingelheim[15], which had been convened by the pope, where he was met by Otho, his ally; and when the two monarchs had taken their ſeats on the ſame bench, the pope's legate read aloud the inſtructions he had received from his maſter, who delegated to him the power of crowning and of depoſing ſovereigns. The French monarch then roſe and demanded juſtice for the daring attempts of an arbitrary ſubject who had uſurped his authority, and left him but the empty title of king. The fathers moved by his ſituation, threatened to excommunicate his rebellious vaſſal, unleſs he inſtantly appeared before the council and juſtified his conduct. The duke refuſing to comply with the citation, the ſentence of excommunication was iſſued againſt him, that ſame year, by the council of Treves, and afterwards confirmed at Rome. Hugh, alarmed for the conſequences of this proceeding, which, though he deſpiſed it himſelf, he knew had great influence on the minds of the people, conſented to an accommodation with Lewis, to whom he reſtored the caſtle of Laon, and whom he acknowledged for his ſovereign. But ſtill he cheriſhed a ſecret enmity, which laſted till the death of that prince[16], who periſhed by a ſingular accident.

A. D. 954.] One of his ſons, named Lewis, having died at Laon, he determined in future to reſide at Rheims: as he approached that city, he ſaw a wolf, which he immediately followed on full gallop, when his horſe ſtumbled and threw him. The injury proved fatal: being carried to the archbiſhop's palace, he there expired, in the thirty-third year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign[17]; he was interred in the church of Saint Remi.

[12] Dudo. l. iii. [13] Guill. Gemet. Ibid. c. xi. [14] Hiſt. Rem. c. 35. [15] Tom. ix. Conc. Edit. Lab. Col. 623. [16] Flodoard. Chron. [17] Chron. Breve Fragm. Hiſt. Franc. Chron. Floriac.

Lewis

Lewis was poſſeſſed of many good qualities; his courage was undaunted, and his political talents were far from contemptible. The misfortunes of his reign proceeded chiefly from a facility of diſpoſition, which laid him open to deceit—a defect, not uncommon in virtuous minds, though ſeldom to be found in thoſe of a contrary deſcription.

Lewis had by his queen Gerberge, the widow of Gilbert, duke of Lorraine, five ſons; Lothaire, Lewis, Carloman, Charles and Henry, and two daughters, Matilda, married, ſome time after his death, to Conrad, king of Burgundy; and Albrade, wife to Renaud, count of Roucy. Only two of the princes ſurvived him, Lothaire, who ſucceeded to the crown; and Charles who was unjuſtly excluded from the throne of his anceſtors. The firſt was only in his thirteenth or fourteenth year, and the ſecond but a year old. The eldeſt, whom his father had taken the precaution to aſſociate with him in the empire, had the ſole government of the kingdom, to the total excluſion of the youngeſt, contrary to the cuſtom that had prevailed from the very foundation of the monarchy: perhaps this was owing to the infancy of Charles, or more probably it was a ſtroke of policy in Hugh, who imagined that a diviſion of the kingdom would effect a dimunition of his authority. Whatever was the cauſe, this example, which experience has proved to be ſo highly beneficial, has ſince become a cuſtom, ſanctioned by the poſitive laws of the realm.

LOTHAIRE

LOTHAIRE.

A. D. 956.] HUGH, poſſeſſed of power almoſt abſolute, might eaſily have placed the diadem on his own brows; but afraid to aſſume a title which could not fail to enſure him the envy and reſentment of the nobles, he choſe to confer the regal dignity on the lawful heir, and Lothaire was accordingly crowned at Rheims. Still that imperious nobleman preſerved his extenſive authority; and in addition to the dignities he already poſſeſſed, he now acquired the duchy of Aquitaine, which was taken from the family of the counts of Poictiers, in order to gratify his ambition. Such was the degree of grandeur to which Hugh had attained, when he expired at Dourdan, little regretted by the king, on whoſe prerogatives he infringed, though greatly lamented by his numerous friends. It is ſaid of him, that he reigned twenty years without being king. He had acquired the appellation of *the White*, from his complexion; of *the Tall*, from his ſtature; of *the Prince*, from the extent of his power; and of *the Abbot*, from the three abbies of Saint Germain-des-Prés, Saint Denis, and Saint Martin at Tours, which he poſſeſſed: theſe he tranſmitted to his ſon, Hugh Capet. Beſides Hugh Capet, this nobleman left two other ſons, Otho, and Eudes or Henry, who were ſucceſſively dukes of Burgundy; and two daughters, Emma, married to Richard, duke of Normandy; and Beatrix, wife to Frederick the Firſt, duke of Upper Lorraine.

The reign of Lothaire is marked by no event of importance. His authority being almoſt confined to the city of Laon, he was long a quiet ſpectator of the wars between his powerful vaſſals. He made an unſucceſsful attempt on Aquitaine, and after ſeeking in vain to gain poſſeſſion of the perſon of Richard, duke of Normandy, he was at length compelled to ſecure that duchy to him and his heirs. In Flanders, his efforts were more fortunate; he reduced Arras, Douay, and ſeveral other ſtrong places, and obliged count Baldwin

Baldwin the Third to ſue for peace and mercy. On his return from this expedition, he concluded at Cologne a treaty of marriage with the princeſs Emma, daughter of Lothaire, king of Italy, and of his wife Adelaide, who was afterwards married to the emperor Otho. The nuptials were celebrated ſome months after, and were ſucceeded by a perfect calm in the empire, which laſted ſeveral years; and which alone ſufficed to prove the great capacity of a monarch, who, poſſeſſed only of a few towns, and a very ſmall army, could ſtill repreſs the ambitious attempts of his nobles, and keep within due bounds thoſe haughty vaſſals, who had ſo long preſerved a ſtate of independence.

A. D. 965.] But the diſputes with regard to Lorraine at length re-kindled the deſtructive torch of war, and proved fatal to the deſcendants of Charlemagne. The king had ceded his rights to that kingdom to his brother, prince Charles [1], who had hitherto in vain endeavoured to aſſert them; When Otho the Second, in order to divide the royal family, offered the duchy of Lower Lorraine to that prince, which comprehended Brabant, and all the provinces between the Rhine and the Schelde, as far as the ſea; but on condition that he ſhould hold it as a fief, under the crown of Germany. Charles, whoſe revenue was ſmall, joyfully accepted the offer, and taking the required oath of fidelity eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Bruſſels. The French were highly enraged at this proceeding, and ſaw with indignation the brother of their ſovereign become the vaſſal of a foreign prince. Such was the motive which operated to the excluſion of Charles from the crown, and made it paſs into another family, in which it has remained ever ſince.

A. D. 977, 978, 979, 980.] When the king was apprized of his brother's conduct, he marched into Upper Lorraine, and ſeizing Metz, received homage from the majority of the nobles. He then advanced to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he had nearly ſurprized the emperor as he was ſitting at table. The town was pillaged by the troops. Otho, in his turn, over-ran France with a powerful army, and laid ſiege to Paris, where he was determined, he ſaid, to ſing *Hallelujah* [2]. Hugh Capet, whom he informed of his intention, prevented him from gratifying his wiſh; and by a vigorous reſiſtance, and ſallies judiciouſly planned, and ſucceſsfully executed, at length compelled him to raiſe the ſiege. On his retreat he was attacked by Lothaire, and loſt ſo many of his troops in different ſkirmiſhes, that not one ſixth of his army returned to Germany.

But the vigorous exertions of Lothaire were productive of no ſolid advantage; he reduced all the towns of Lorraine, but was unable to keep them, not having ſufficient troops to ſupply them with garriſons. Beſides, circumſtances were unfavour-

[1] Guill. Nang. in Chron. Sigeb. [2] Glaber. l. i. c. 3.

able

able to long expeditions; as the vaſſals were only obliged to keep the field for a certain time. Before he diſmiſſed his nobles, he repaired to Compiégne, where he aſſociated his ſon Lewis, a boy of twelve years old, with him in the empire. A peace was at length concluded between Lothaire and Otho, to whom he ceded the kingdom of Lorraine, on condition that he ſhould hold it as a fief of the crown of France. Notwithſtanding this treaty, he ſoon after made an irruption into that devoted country, where he committed great devaſtations, and took the town of Verdun. This was the laſt memorable exploit of his reign. He died the following year at Rheims, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-ſecond of his reign. He was buried in the church of Saint Remi, where his tomb may ſtill be ſeen. Some authors have affirmed that he was poiſoned by his wife, Emma[3]; and this ſuſpicion appears to receive confirmation, from her fears leſt the reports concerning her licentious conduct ſhould be inveſtigated; from her ambition to reign, under the name of her ſon; and from her connections with the Imperialiſts and the inhabitants of Lorraine. But the myſtery in which this dark tranſaction is involved, renders it impoſſible to ſpeak with deciſion on the ſubject.

Lothaire was diſtinguiſhed for his courage, activity, and vigilance; his projects were well concerted, and his actions were generally marked by wiſdom, ſpirit, and perſeverance. In times of anarchy and revolt, his prudence ſufficed to gain him an aſcendancy over the minds of men[4], which he endeavoured to turn to the advantage of the ſtate; and had his life been prolonged, it is probable that his bold attempts to re-unite the ſcattered portions of the French monarchy would have been crowned with ſucceſs. His principal defect, was an occaſional verſatility of mind, that ſometimes led him to a violation of his promiſes. Beſides Lewis, who ſucceeded him, he had two natural ſons[5], Arnoul, archbiſhop of Rheims; and Otho, who died in his infancy.

[3] Ademar Chron. Malleac. [4] Glab. l. ii. c. 34. [5] Mabil. de re diplom. l. ii. c. 26.

LEWIS

LEWIS THE FIFTH.

A. D. 987.] LEWIS, on his acceſſion to the throne, neither poſſeſſed the good qualities of his father, nor the eſteem of his people. The contempt to which his reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition had given riſe would have excluded him from the ſucceſſion, but for the interpoſition of Hugh Capet, who took him under his protection. To this prince was the care of the king's perſon confided, while the regency of the kingdom devolved on the queen dowager. But Emma, being accuſed of a criminal connection with Adalberon, biſhop of Laon, was ſoon driven from her ſtation with ignominy and diſgrace. She had recourſe to her mother, wife to Otho the Great, who pitied her misfortunes, and promiſed her relief. An army of Germans was preparing to march into France, when the death of the young monarch, in the twenty-firſt year of his age, gave a new turn to affairs. He was buried in the church of St. Corneille at Compiégne, where he had been crowned during his father's life. He had acquired the epithet of *Faineant*—not from any indolence of diſpoſition, or attachment to pleaſure, but becauſe his ſhort reign was diſtinguiſhed by no memorable act[1]: *Juvenis qui nihil fecit.*

It is believed that his death was owing to poiſon, adminiſtered either at the inſtigation of his mother, whom he had perſecuted with great cruelty, or elſe by his wife Blanche, to whom he was an object of averſion. This princeſs was daughter to a nobleman of Aquitaine; ſhe had left her huſband once to return to her family, which gave riſe to reports prejudicial to them both. It is ſaid by ſome that Lewis made a will, by which he bequeathed his kingdom to Hugh Capet, to the excluſion of his uncle Charles, or, according to others, to queen Blanche, on condition that, after his death, ſhe ſhould marry Hugh, whom the wiſhes of the nation at length called to the throne[2].

[1] Odoran. in Chron. [2] Idem Odoran. Gervaſ. Tilbert. apud Ducheſne, tom. iii.

But it is certain that Adelaide, the wife of Hugh, lived ſome years after the coronation of her huſband. Beſides, it is highly improbable that Lewis ſhould have rewarded his wife's infidelity by the gift of a crown. Be that as it may, this prince was the laſt of the Carlovingian kings. As he died without children, Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, was the lawful heir to the throne; but he had alienated the affections of the French, by becoming a vaſſal of the German crown. In conſequence of this conduct Hugh Capet took poſſeſſion of the vacant throne, whoſe deſcendants have reigned over France, without interruption, for the long ſpace of eight centuries.

Thus expired the illuſtrious race of the Carlovingians, who had filled the throne of France for two hundred and thirty-ſix years. It had been divided into three branches, who reigned over three ſeparate kingdoms, Italy, Germany, and France. It is remarkable that the laſt monarch of each branch was named Lewis. The kings of this family had ſeldom any fixed reſidence, but were conſequently travelling about on horſeback, accompanied by their wives. Charles Martel and Pepin, when not in the field, reſided moſt frequently at Paris; Charlemagne and his ſon, at Aix-la-Chapelle or Thionville; Charles the Bald, at Soiſſons or Compiégne; Charles the Simple, at Rheims; and Lewis the Stranger, at Laon, the only place of ſtrength in his dominions. The fall of the Carlovingian race may chiefly be aſcribed to the diviſion of the empire into a number of independent ſtates. United under one head, the very dread of its power would have maintained its importance; but divided into ſmall portions it became impotent, and ſunk into a ſtate of inſignificance. We have ſeen as many as five princes at a time, of the blood of Charlemagne, wearing the crown.—But what princes?—Unnatural ſons, ambitious brothers, and bad parents, who, intent on mutual deſtruction, taught their ſubjects to infringe on the ſovereign authority, which was too feeble to repreſs their rebellious attempts.

Hence the encroachments of the ſovereign pontiffs, who, conſidering themſelves as entitled to diſpoſe of an empire of which at firſt they were but ſubjects, extended an authority, merely ſpiritual, over all temporal concerns. Hence, too, that enormous authority aſſumed by the prelates, who, after dethroning a parent at the ſolicitation of a child, claimed the right of electing, confirming, or depoſing their maſters. Swayed by ambition, they were better calculated to ſhine in the field than the pulpit; contemptible from their ignorance—ſcarcely able to read, much leſs to write—yet formidable, as well from their ſpiritual thunders, as from the temporal authority they had uſurped over their dioceſes and epiſcopal towns. This gave riſe to thoſe principalities, almoſt independent, which the monks erected, in countries where a few years before they had been employed in the cultivation of a ſmall portion of land, the gift of liberal piety. Hence alſo thoſe uſurpations of the nobles, who inſenſibly made themſelves kings, as it were, of the provinces to which they had been originally appointed in the capacity of governors;—uſurpations which were ſoon converted into hereditary rights, at firſt tolerated through

through weakneſs, and the fear of making enemies; and at length by neceſſity, from want of power to repreſs them. The domains of Lewis, the laſt of the deſcendants of Charlemagne, were confined to Laon, Soiſſons, and a few other diſtricts, his claim to which was diſputed. Many a vaſſal was more opulent and powerful than his maſter. Hence thoſe dreadful inundations of Normans, which, for the beſt part of a century, deſolated the empire, thus weakened by diviſion; and who, after eſtabliſhing a ſettlement in the heart of France, at length united with her tyrants, for annihilating the royal authority. Such were the chief cauſes of the decline of the houſe of Charlemagne, which under Pepin poſſeſſed all the brilliancy of youth; under Charlemagne all the force and vigour of manhood; and under Lewis the Gentle all the weakneſs of old age.

There were but few feſtivals obſerved under the ſecond race of kings; the nobles were obliged to attend their celebration in the principal city of the dioceſe, in which they reſided; the kings themſelves made a point of being preſent. A liſt of theſe feſtivals may be ſeen in a famous *conſtitution* of Charlemagne, where they are marked in red letters. They were Chriſtmas day; Saint John the Evangeliſt; the Innocents; the Octave of our Lord (New Year's day); the Epiphany; the Octave of the Epiphany; the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin; Eight days at Eaſter; the great Litanies; the Aſcenſion; Whitſunday; St. John the Baptiſt; Saint Peter and Saint Paul; Saint Martin, and Saint Andrew.

THE

THIRD, OR CAPETIAN RACE.

HUGH CAPET.

A. D. 987.] FRANCE, on the death of Lewis the Fifth, was no longer in that flouriſhing ſtate in which it was found by Charles the Bald, on his acceſſion to the throne. Each province formed a ſovereignty, and there was ſcarcely a citizen endued with ambition and poſſeſſed of power, but aſpired to a ſtate of independence. It was ſtill a great kingdom, which extended from the Schelde, and the Meuſe, to the Britiſh Channel; and from the Elbe to the Rhone; but, as Mezerai obſerves, it was rather governed like a large fief, than as a monarchy; the power of the king bore but a ſmall proportion to the extent of his dominions. Every province had its hereditary counts or dukes; vaſſals whoſe power was almoſt as formidable to their ſovereign, as that of the neighbouring princes. In order to convey a juſt idea of the ſituation of the kingdom at this period, it will be neceſſary to take a curſory view of its various diviſions, and to offer ſome remarks on the nobles or princes who enjoyed thoſe great fiefs, on the acceſſion of Hugh Capet to the throne.

Flanders, which comprehended all that country which lies between the Scheld, the Sea, and the Somme, was then governed by Arnoul, the ſecond of his name. The care of this province had been entruſted by Charlemagne to a count who aſſumed the title of *Foreſter*—whether it then became a fief of the crown is not known, but it is certain that



F. Jones fecit.

HUGH CAPET.

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BRITISH
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that the ſucceſſors of that count enjoyed it, after the feudal manner, from the time of Baldwin, ſurnamed *Bras-de-Fer*, who married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. When theſe nobles thus became proprietors of a province of which, originally, they were but governors, they introduced *ſub-infeudations*, and by that means acquired vaſſals, who were bound in the ſame duties to them as they themſelves were to the king. Such was the origin of the counts of Guines, Boulogne and Saint Pol, or Therouane, and of the Lords of Montreuil and Lille.

The houſe of Vermandois was equally ancient and powerful; it derived its origin from Bernard king of Italy; and poſſeſſed, beſides the county of Senlis and ſeveral diſtricts in the Iſle of France, a great part of Picardy, all Brie, and nearly the whole of Champagne. But its power had experienced conſiderable dimunition from a diviſion of its domains. Robert, youngeſt ſon of Herbert the Third, was the firſt who took the title of count of Troies. He was ſucceeded by his brother Herbert, who left one ſon, named Stephen; and Stephen dying without iſſue, appointed Eudes or Odo, grandſon to Thibaut, and to Ludgarde princeſs of Vermandois, as his heir. From him ſprang the counts of Champagne, whoſe poſterity enjoyed that province, till the reign of Philip the Fair, who by his marriage with the heireſs, Joan, re-annexed it to the crown.

Burgundy had alſo its dukes, and ſo early as the time of Charles the Simple it was governed by Richard *the Juſticiary*, with almoſt ſovereign power. Under Lewis the Stranger, it paſſed into the Family of Hugh, duke of France. At this time it was enjoyed by Henry, on condition of doing homage to his elder brother, Hugh Capet. From ſeveral ancient records it appears, that the extent of this duchy was nearly the ſame as it is at preſent. That part which lies beyond the Saone was divided between different counts, who are celebrated in hiſtory, ſuch as thoſe of Maçon, Auxonne, and Châlons, who were vaſſals to Conrad *the Pacific*, king of *Transjurane* and *Cisjurane*, Burgundy (ſo named from Mount Jura, by which they were ſeparated) that had long been diſmembered from the crown of France.

The duchy of France was neither leſs important from its extent, nor leſs formidable from the number of its vaſſals. It comprehended, beſides, its extenſive domains in Picardy and Champagne, the town and county of Paris; the Orleannois; the Chartrain; Perche; the county of Blois; Touraine; Anjou and Maine. This vaſt fief, which had long been enjoyed by the children of Robert the Strong, rendered its poſſeſſors more powerful than the ſovereigns, whoſe vaſſals they were. The cuſtom of ſub-infeudations appearing to be attended with advantages, it was adopted by the dukes of France; whence aroſe the counts of Anjou, Blois, Chartres and Tours. But it is worthy of remark that theſe *ſub-vaſſals* were not claſſed among the nobles of the kingdom. We read, in the annals of Rheims, that *Thibaut le Trichard* was excluded from one of the French Parliaments, becauſe he was not a vaſſal of the crown, but of Hugh the White.

Normandy

Normandy and Brittany had been ceded to Rollo the Dane; the former as an independent ſtate, the ſecond as a fief of the crown. They were at preſent governed by Richard the Firſt, brother-in-law to Hugh Capet, who had been brought up at his court. Such was the pride of the Norman princes, that they diſdained to conſider themſelves as vaſſals of the crown; ſuch their independence, that they pretended they were exempt from the obligation of furniſhing troops for the king; and ſuch their power, that their revenues were infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of their maſter.

We learn from a deed of foundation, dated in the reign of Hugh Capet[1], that the duke of Gaſcony was ſtill a vaſſal of the French monarch. That duchy included the whole extent of country between the Garonne and the Dordogne—the Pyrenees and the two ſeas, except the county of Comminge and Conſerans. William Sancho, who was the ſeventh hereditary duke, now governed that province.

It was ſome time before the counts of Thouloufe attained to that degree of power which they enjoyed under the reign of Lewis the Stranger. Confined, at firſt, to the mere province of Thouloufe, afterwards heirs to the principality of Languedoc, they annexed to their ancient title the quality of prince, duke, and marquis of Gothia or Septimania. This family appears to have loſt much of its original ſplendour, under Hugh Capet and Robert. William the Third, who lived under the laſt of theſe monarchs, only took the title of count of Albi, Cahors, and Thouloufe. But Raymond the Fourth reſtored it to all its ancient rights, and became one of the moſt powerful vaſſals of the crown, under the title of duke of Narbonne.

Aquitaine would indiſputably have been the moſt conſiderable fief in the kingdom, had it been united under one chief. We have ſeen with what difficulty it was reduced under Pepin the Short, and by what means it became a powerful kingdom, under Lewis the Gentle and his children. From the time of Charles the Bald it was poſſeſſed, as a duchy, by the counts of Poitiers; and William, ſurnamed *Fier-a-Bras*, governed it in the capacity of a duke, on the acceſſion of Hugh Capet. But though he had ſucceeded to the rights of his anceſtors, he had not ſucceeded to their power. Aquitaine was, at this time, torn by the inteſtine commotions of its ambitious nobles, who, taking advantage of the general diſorder which prevailed in the monarchy, erected ſeparate, and almoſt independent, eſtabliſhments. Such were the *Sires* of Bourbon, the dukes of Auvergne, the counts of Bourges, of La Marche, Angoulême, and Perigord, who all enjoyed their territories as *freeholds*, with ſcarcely any marks of feudal dependence.

[1] Marca, Hiſt. de Bearn, p. 221—225.

To

To theſe times of anarchy, tyranny, and confuſion, may be traced the origin of that cuſtom, which afterwards became ſo prevalent among ſuch of the nobles as were neither counts nor dukes, of taking the names of their eſtates and caſtles. On reading the ancient authors, we find that formerly none but proper names were uſed. Under the ſecond race of kings, an epithet was added, as a more evident mark of diſtinction; and this was either taken from the dignity or ſtrength of the perſon, from his complexion, or from ſome perſonal quality. Hence thoſe names that ſo frequently occur in hiſtory, of Hugh the *Abbot*; Robert the *Strong*; Hugh the *White*; Hugh *Capet*. The epithet given to this laſt prince is ſaid to be derived from the Latin word *Capito*, which literally means a large head, and figuratively a *ſenſible man*. Some however, affirm, that he was thus named from a kind of hat which he firſt introduced.

However that may be, it is certain that from this time ſurnames became faſhionable. The nobles took theirs from their fiefs or lordſhips; the citizen his, either from the place of his birth, as *Le Picard*, *Le Normand*; or from his profeſſions, as *Le Charron* (the wheelwright); *Le Meuſnier*, (the miller); or elſe from ſome taunting appellation beſtowed on him by his comrades, as *le Roi*, (the king); *le Prince*, (the prince); *l'Eveque*, (the biſhop); or laſtly, from ſome natural defect, as *le Camus* (flat-noſed); *le Boſſu*, (hump-backed).

Such was the ſtate of France, at the time when the ſceptre was transferred from the family of Charlemagne to the illuſtrious houſe which ſtill retains it. Theſe numerous dukes and counts were not only accuſtomed to tranſmit to their deſcendants the principalities they poſſeſſed, but to have vaſſals of their own, from whom they received an immediate homage. The new ſovereign ſuffered them quietly to enjoy their uſurpations, and entertained no thoughts of diſputing their prerogatives. Nothing can tend better to demonſtrate the inſignificance of the ſovereign authority in theſe boiſterous times, than the anſwer of Aldebert, count of Perigord, to Hugh Capet, and his ſon Robert. That nobleman had laid ſiege to Tours, which belonged to Count Eudes; and the kings—ſays an ancient author—not daring to have recourſe to arms, merely ſent to aſk him, who had made him a count?—"And pray who made them kings[a]?" replied Aldebert, with great coolneſs, and continued the ſiege till he had reduced the place.

In the preſent ſituation of the empire, both courage and addreſs were requiſite to remove thoſe impediments which barred the approach of Hugh Capet to the throne. It has been generally aſſerted that the crown was conferred on him by the general conſent of the nation aſſembled at Noyon. But if credit may be given to a letter diſco-

[a] Hiſt. Aquit. Frag. tom. iv. Collect. Ducheſne, p. 80, 81.

vered

vered by Ducheſne, far from having recourſe to the authority of a parliament, he effected by force of arms the diſſolution of that parliament, which had actually aſſembled for the purpoſe of enſuring the ſucceſſion to duke Charles. This letter was written to Diederic, or Thierri, Biſhop of Metz, by the famous Gerbert, who was raiſed from the dignity of a canon of Rheims, to the archiepiſcopal ſee of that city, from thence tranſlated to that of Ravenna, and finally promoted to the papal throne, under the appellation of Sylveſter the Second. Theſe are his words—"Duke Hugh has aſſembled ſix hundred "men at arms, and on the report of his approach, the parliament, which was then ſitting "in the palace at Compiègne, ſeparated on the eleventh of May. All took to flight, "the duke Charles, the count Reinchard, and the princes of Vermandois, and the biſhop "of Laon, Adalberon, who has given his nephew as an hoſtage to *Bardas*, for the execu-"tion of what Sigefred and Godfrey have promiſed[3]." It muſt be obſerved that the duke of France is here called *Bardas*, in alluſion to what was then paſſing at Conſtantinople, where a nobleman of that name had uſurped the empire, to the prejudice of the children of his maſter and benefactor.

It was not to a parliament then that Hugh Capet was indebted for the crown, but to that by which empires are eſtabliſhed and overturned—a fortunate combination of ſtrength and prudence. It is needleſs to trace the genealogical tree of this prince, or to examine the different opinions with regard to the deſcent of his anceſtor, Robert the Strong. It is ſufficient to know that his grandfather had ſwayed the ſceptre of France, and that his father without the title had enjoyed the authority of a king. That his birth was illuſtrious admits not of a doubt; but ſtill it could give him no poſſible title to the throne. Had the rules of ſucceſſion been obſerved, Charles muſt have ſucceeded his nephew. Hugh, ſenſible of this, chiefly founded his own pretenſions on the baſeneſs of that prince in ſubmitting to become the vaſſal of a monarch, who had formerly been a ſubject of France. The neceſſity which induced Charles to the adoption of that meaſure in order to obtain an eſtabliſhment, which the ſcanty poſſeſſions of his nephew were inſufficient to afford him, was totally overlooked. Nothing but the degradation of his family was inſiſted on, and that operated ſo powerfully on the minds of the French, as to effect his excluſion from the throne. In order to ſtrengthen his claims, Hugh called in the aid of ſuperſtition. He cauſed a report to be propagated, that Saint Riquier—a Saint then in vogue—had revealed to him that he ſhould be king, as a reward for his piety in having compelled the count of Flanders to reſtore his (the Saint's) relics, in order to depoſit them in the abbey which bears his name.

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Hugh, having previouſly given orders to his principal vaſſals to be ready to aſſiſt him in caſe of neceſſity, found him-

[3] Epiſt. 59. tom. i. Collect. Ducheſne, p. 803.

ſelf

ſelf in a ſituation to aſſume the title of king, as ſoon as Lewis was dead. Advancing from Noyon, where he then was, to Rheims, with a conſiderable body of troops, he was there anointed and crowned by archbiſhop Adalberon.

A. D. 988.] Hugh, conſcious that his title was defective, haſtened to take every ſtep which he thought could confirm his authority. With this view he convened a parliament, in the month of December ſubſequent to his coronation, in the city of Orleans, out of the reach of his rival, and in the midſt of his own friends and dependants. There, by the unanimous advice of the Aſſembly [4], his only ſon, Robert, was aſſociated with him in the government, and was accordingly crowned by Seguin, archbiſhop of Sens —We have already had occaſion to remark, that the moſt valuable eccleſiaſtical benefices had paſſed into the hands of noblemen, moſt of whom were in the army, and married men. Hugh himſelf had inherited from his anceſtors the abbeys of St. Martin at Tours, of St. Germain-de-Prèz, St. Denis, and St. Riquier, which had fallen to him on the death of his father, Hugh the Great. He now reſtored them to the monks, with the liberty of electing their own abbots in ſuch places as enjoyed that privilege according to the ancient canons. This liberality, which was imitated by all the nobles in the kingdom, ſecured not only immenſe riches to the clergy, but a degree of authority that became highly formidable to the ſucceſſors of this prince. It anſwered, however, the preſent purpoſe, by procuring him the unanimous votes of the clergy, whoſe gratitude led them to confirm his uſurpation.

But the new monarchs were not ſuffered long to enjoy in tranquillity the dominions they had thus acquired. Charles armed in Lower Lorraine, and with him Arnoul count of Flanders, and Herbert count of Vermandois, who, being both deſcended from Charlemagne, determined to ſupport the pretenſions of the lawful heir. But unfortunately the firſt died at this critical conjuncture; and the ſecond, who was father-in-law to Charles, was ſo much expoſed to the vengeance of the two kings, that he was afraid to declare himſelf openly. Charles, however, commenced the campaign, and with a powerful army laid ſiege to Laon. This place was exceedingly ſtrong; and the garriſon being encouraged by the preſence of queen Emma, and the exhortations of biſhop Aſcelin, an obſtinate reſiſtance was expected; but the duke preſſed the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the town was carried before, any ſuccours could arrive.

The queen and the prelate were made priſoners; and the obſtinacy of the prince, in refuſing to releaſe them, created him many enemies; and the clergy, as much from arrogance, as from reſpect to the reigning family [5], overwhelmed him with the thunders of the church. Theſe eccleſiaſtical anathemas were then highly prejudicial, as they de-

[4] Glaber. Rodolp. l. ii. p. 1. [5] Gerbert Epiſt. 12.

clared the object of them to have forfeited all his rights to the throne; but in this inſtance they were by no means deſerved, particularly with regard to the prelate, who, far from complaining of his captivity, was proud to become the miniſter and favourite of his conqueror.

Hugh was ſenſibly afflicted at the news of the capture of Laon; of the conſequence of which, at the commencement of his reign, he was fully aware. As no time was to be loſt, he aſſembled his vaſſals, and advanced towards the enemy; but the prince defended himſelf with heroic courage; and, making a judicious ſally on the beſiegers, he burnt their quarters, put numbers of them to the ſword; and obtained ſo complete a victory, that the whole army was put to flight, and Hugh with difficulty eſcaped the general carnage.

The news of this victory revived the hopes of the friends of the family of Charlemagne. William, duke of Aquitaine, either from attachment to that illuſtrious houſe, or from jealouſy at ſeeing one of his equals become his ſovereign, conſtantly refuſed to acknowledge the authority of Hugh Capet. In converſation, and by letters, he ventured to reproach the French with the violation of their oath; and deteſting (to uſe the words of an ancient writer[6]) the iniquity of thoſe who had attended the aſſembly at Orleans, he openly declared for the duke of Lorraine, whoſe birth, together with the wiſhes of a numerous body of the people, called him to the throne.

Hugh immediately took meaſures for preventing the progreſs of this ſpirit of diſcontent; and marching to Poictiers, he formed the ſiege of that city. But here all his efforts proved equally unſucceſsful with his late attempts on the city of Laon; the inhabitants repelled his attacks, and defeated him in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. At length, being in want of proviſion, he was compelled to retire, when he was purſued ſo cloſely by William, that he was obliged to hazard a battle, which was fought near the abbey of Bourgueil. The conteſt was maintained with great vigour on both ſides, and victory was long doubtful; but at length it declared in favour of Hugh: and William, being defeated, was reduced to the neceſſity of acknowledging his authority.

Charles, in the mean time, profiting by this powerful diverſion, had made himſelf maſter of Soiſſons and Rheims; but not purſuing the advantage he had thus acquired with ſufficient ardour and alacrity, he gave time to Hugh to march to the aſſiſtance of archbiſhop Adalberon, who refuſed to give him the royal unction. The prelate's pretence was, that he had no right to diſpoſe of the crown, which could not be lawfully conferred without the conſent of the biſhops and nobles, who repreſented the whole monarchy. He had not ſuffered this ſcruple to operate as an impediment to the coronation of the duke of France, nor would he now have ſtarted it, had not that prince been very near to him. In fact, Hugh ſoon retook the city of Rheims; and Adalberon

[6] Chron. S. Cybar.

dying

dying ſoon after, he beſtowed the vacant ſee on Arnoul, the natural ſon of Lothaire, and conſequently nephew to his competitor.

The elevation of an enemy to this important poſt was an inſtance of ſhort-ſighted policy, which he ſhortly had cauſe to repent. It is true, he took every precaution in his power to avert the ill effects of his imprudence, and to enſure the fidelity of the youthful prelate. He required hoſtages, and accordingly biſhop Bruno, Gilbert, count of Rouci, Bruno's brother, and Guy, count of Soiſſons, their couſin-german, were delivered to him. A form of homage was preſented, and ſubſcribed by Arnoul, by which he ſwore an inviolable fidelity to the two monarchs, and imprecated the vengeance of Heaven on his head, if he failed in his duty. By entering into theſe ſolemn engagements, he not only ſecured an archbiſhoprick, valuable from the extent of its revenues, but the temporal dominion of the city, and of ſome other lands and diſtricts, which the archbiſhop of Rheims had ſeized, during the troubles that prevailed under the late reigns. He therefore ſwore an eternal fidelity to Hugh, and made his dependants take a ſimilar oath; though it was no ſooner taken than violated.

The archbiſhop, unwilling openly to eſpouſe a cauſe, which he had publicly ſworn to abandon, had recourſe to ſtratagem [7]; and by the means of a prieſt, named Adalgar, whom he admitted to his confidence, a body of troops, ſent by Charles, was ſecretly admitted into the town of Rheims, during the night.

The principal clergy were immediately ſeized; and, in order to favour the deception, the archbiſhop himſelf was arreſted and conducted to Laon, where they affected to treat him as a ſtate priſoner. From thence the thunders of the church were fulminated, by the artful prelate, againſt all who had been concerned in the plot; and he ordered his ſuffragans to iſſue ſimilar anathemas. Hugh was not deceived by his profeſſions, but, yielding to circumſtances, he courted and effected a reconciliation with Arnoul. But the perfidious prieſt again violated his promiſe, and fled to Laon. His defection, however, was attended with no bad conſequences to the new ſovereign. [A. D. 991.] But the treachery of another prelate, Aſcelin, proved fatal to his unhappy rival Charles. Though the favourite of his prince, and the depoſitary of his ſecrets, he had long maintained an epiſtolary correſpondence with Hugh, whom he informed of every thing that paſſed in the councils of his maſter; and particularly apprized him that the blind ſecurity which prevailed in the city of Laon, would render it an eaſy conqueſt. Hugh gratefully accepted the invitation, and the treachery diſplayed at Rheims was revived at Laon. The king was admitted by the perfidious prelate into the palace of his benefactor, in the night of Holy-Thurſday, when he was employed in the devotions appropriate to the day; and Charles and his

7 Hiſt. Depos. Arnul. tom. iv. Collect. Ducheſne.

family were immediately conducted to Senlis, and from thence to the tower of Orleans, where that prince, who was worthy of a better fate, died, after a captivity of two years.

Charles left four children—Otho, who ſucceeded him in the duchy of Lorraine, and who died without heirs; Lewis, who, according to ſome authors, founded the family of the Landgraves of Thuringia; but, according to others, died childleſs ſome years before his brother; Hermengarde, wife to Albert, count of Namur; and Gerberge, married to Lambert, count of Hainault. Queen Iſabel, wife to Philip Auguſtus, ſprang from the eldeſt of theſe princeſſes; and the landgraves of Heſſe are deſcended from the youngeſt.

A. D. 991, 992, 993, 994, 995.] Archbiſhop Arnoul had been taken with his uncle, and confined in the ſame priſon; but, in order to effect his depoſition, the king deemed it neceſſary to convene an eccleſiaſtical council, which accordingly aſſembled in the church belonging to the abbey of Saint Baſle, near Rheims. Some of the members wiſhed to refer the deciſion of this matter to the pope; but Arnoul, biſhop of Orleans, a prelate diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and erudition, proved, by various examples from the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that biſhops ſhould be tried on the ſpot, where it was more eaſy to obtain the neceſſary proofs for eſtabliſhing their guilt. "We believe," ſaid that prelate[3], "that we ſhould always honour the church of Rome, in memory of Saint Peter; and we "do not pretend to oppoſe the decrees of the ſovereign pontiffs, when they are conform-"able to the canons, the authority of which ſhould ever remain in full vigour. If the "popes are diſtinguiſhed for knowledge and virtue, we have nothing to fear from them, "and if they are led away by ignorance or paſſion, they are ſtill leſs to be dreaded." The biſhop then entered into a detail of the calamities produced by the ſee of Rome, and of the unworthineſs of ſeveral of its pontiffs. He repreſented John the Twelfth, ſurnamed Octavian, as a man addicted to the loweſt kind of debauchery, and as having excited a ſpirit of ſedition that filled Rome with aſſaſſinations and carnage. Boniface the Seventh he painted as a monſter, ſtained with the blood of his predeceſſor, and, in ſhort, as the worſt of men.

"If it be affirmed," ſaid he, "that the church of Rome ſhould judge every other "church, and be exempt from judgment itſelf, let a pope then be choſen whoſe ſen-"tences will not need reformation. We reſpect the church of Rome, we conſult it. "If its judgment be juſt, we receive it in peace; if it be otherwiſe, we will follow the "advice of the apoſtle, not to liſten even to an angel, againſt the goſpel. If Rome be "ſilent, as at preſent, we will conſult the laws." The biſhops, and the king himſelf, had in fact written to pope John the Fifteenth, on the ſubject, but had received no anſwer.

The council therefore proceeded to the trial of Arnoul. The prieſt who opened the

[3] Acta Concil. Rhem. c. 28.

gates

gates of Rheims betrayed his truſt, and acknowledged the orders he had received from the archbiſhop. That prelate was accordingly condemned, though with reluctance, by a decree of the council; and the favourable inclinations of the preſident—the archbiſhop of Sens—and of ſeveral other members towards him, were rendered ineffectual, by a voluntary ſubſcription to his own confeſſion and degradation: the vacant ſee was beſtowed on Gerbert, formerly a monk of Aurillac, and afterwards preceptor to the empeperor Otho the Third;—a man celebrated, in thoſe days of ignorance, for his learning. But the court of Rome reſented with indignation the proceedings which had been adopted withour her concurrence. The pope diſpatched a legate into France, who was commiſſioned to reviſe the ſentence. A ſecond council was holden at Rheims, and the papal power was gratified by the depoſition of Gerbert, and the reſtoration of Arnoul.

Gerbert, however, inſiſted on the illegality of the ſentence; and wrote ſeveral letters to the pope, whoſe interference, he maintained, was an attack on the rights of the kingdom, on the epiſcopal dignity, and on the king himſelf. "If," ſaid he[9], "the biſhop "of Rome, ſin againſt his brother, and, after repeated remonſtrances, ſhould refuſe obe- "dience to the church, he ſhould be regarded as a publican. The higher the rank, "the more dangerous the fall. The ſaying of Saint Gregory, that the flock ought to "reſpect the ſentence of the paſtor, whether juſt or unjuſt, cannot be applied to "biſhops; for biſhops are not the flock, but the leaders of the flock. We muſt not give "our enemies an opportunity of ſaying, that the whole prieſthood ſhould be ſo far "ſubmiſſive to an individual, that if he ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted by money, fa- "vour, fear, or ignorance, no man can be a biſhop without inſinuating himſelf "into his good graces by ſimilar means. The common law of the church conſiſts "of the ſacred writings, the canons, and the decrees of the holy ſee, when conform- "able to thoſe."

A. D. 996.] This diſpute with the pope was the laſt event worthy of notice in the reign of Hugh Capet, who died the year after the diſſolution of the ſecond council of Rheims, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. He is ſaid to have married Blanche, widow of Lewis, the laſt king of the blood of Charlemagne. By her he had no children; but by Adelaide, daughter, as it is ſuppoſed, of William the Third, duke of Guienne, he had Robert, whom he had aſſociated with him in the empire; Hadwige, married to Regnier the Fourth, count of Hainault; Adelaide, who eſpouſed Regnaud the Firſt, count of Nevers; and Giſelle, wife to Hugh the Firſt, count of Ponthieu.

A miſtaken principle of delicacy, founded on reſpect to the reigning family, has in-

[9] Tom. ix. Concil. p. 744. Poſt. Conc. Rhem. p. 146.

duced

duced the generality of the French hiſtorians to *ſink* the *uſurpation* of Hugh Capet, and to exaggerate his virtues; as if the former could invalidate the title, or the latter enhance the reputation, of his deſcendants. Even the abbé Velly, whoſe ſpirit and good ſenſe moſtly riſe ſuperior to the little arts of adulation, and lead him to exert the dignified privilege of an hiſtorian, to enforce *truth* without regard to *rank*, has, in this inſtance, condeſcended to ſanction, by his authority, the general prejudice.—Though he ſcorns to deviate from veracity, yet has he deigned to *palliate* a fact, by obſerving—that "in that age, Hugh was, *perhaps*, conſidered as an uſurper."—That his acceſſion to the throne of France was ſtamped with the moſt glaring and indelible marks of uſurpation, who is there will dare to deny?—To the crown he could have no poſſible claim by *deſcent*—and, with regard to *election*, he diſſolved, by force, that parliament which had met for the purpoſe of conferring it on the lawful heir. Hugh Capet was, therefore, an uſurper in every ſenſe of the word; but that he ſwayed the ſceptre he had thus acquired with dignity, juſtice, and moderation, is equally certain. From the moment he aſſociated his ſon to the regal authority, he abſtained himſelf from the uſe of the enſigns of royalty; and, as a modern writer has juſtly obſerved, if ſome praiſe be due to the greatneſs of mind which ſcorned the pageantry of power, more will always be aſcribed to the clemency of a prince who transferred to his family a crown unſtained with blood, and who, in an age of violence, preſerved the reputation of unblemiſhed humanity.

The high idea which has ever been entertained of the wiſdom of Hugh Capet has led ſome modern writers to make him the author of various eſtabliſhments, which owe their origin to the mutual conſent of the ſovereign and his ſubjects. Such is the cuſtom by which the younger ſons of the crown are excluded from partaking in the ſucceſſion; ſuch alſo is that which excludes natural children, even in defect of lawful heirs. An example of the firſt we have ſeen in the perſon of Lothaire, who left no part of his dominions to his youngeſt ſon Charles; and the ſecond had become a law under the ſecond race of kings, during whoſe reigns no baſtard ſucceeded to the throne. The emperor Arnoul may, indeed, be cited as an exception; but he was rather indebted to force and uſurpation for the imperial dignity, than to any right of ſucceſſion. Hugh then did no more than comply with an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, by excluding his natural ſon, Gauſlin, who was abbot of Fleury and archbiſhop of Bourges, from any ſhare in the kingdom.

The inſtitution of the peerage has likewiſe been aſcribed to him; but this is an error that has no foundation whatever in hiſtory. The term *peer* (pair) is as old as the monarchy; it is derived from the Latin word *par* (equal). In this ſenſe only was it uſed under the firſt and ſecond race. The royal ſons of Lewis the Gentle call themſelves *peers* in the famous treaty of partition concluded at Verdun. In the time of Charlemagne, Chrodegrand applied the appellation to biſhops and abbots; and a century before that it had been given to monks by Dagobert. Lewis the Gentle, in one of his ordinances, forbids the

the ſoldiers to force their *peers* to drink; *ut in hoſte nemo* PAREM *ſuum bibere cogat*[10]. It will be ſeen hereafter, that, when the cities had acquired the right of municipal juriſdiction, by what were called *charters of community*, they conferred on their judges the name of *citizen peers* (pairs-bourgeois). But inſenſibly this title became confined to gentlemen who poſſeſſed hereditary and patrimonial fiefs.

Peers then, properly ſo called, were the vaſſals who held under the ſame lord, not becauſe they were equal to their feudal lord, but becauſe they were *peers* among themſelves, holding their fiefs under the ſame perſon, in the ſame manner, and by the ſame obligation of paying *faith and homage*, of ſerving their lord in the wars, of attending him in all great ceremonies, and, finally, of aſſiſting him to hold his court of juſtice[11]; for the *peers* were judges throughout the extent of that lordſhip of which their peerage was holden. But the law did not permit them to ſit as judges when they were parties concerned. This prohibition they endeavoured to extend to the king himſelf, but they could not prevail, as it was deemed that, in defending his own rights, he defended thoſe of the crown.

From theſe circumſtances we may infer, that there were as many peerages in the kingdom as there were fiefs immediately holden of one certain lordſhip. But all peers were not holden in equal conſideration. Thoſe of the king, who paid an immediate homage to the crown, were regarded as men of ſuperior dignity to thoſe of the count of Champagne, who were only ſub-vaſſals. Theſe were excluded from the national parliament, and from a ſeat among the nobles of the realm; while the former, being judges in all matters of ſtate, compoſed what was called, the court of France, the king's court, or the court of *peers*.

The number was neither fixed, nor yet confined to the dukes and counts: all barons, who held immediately of the king, were equally *peers*, of France becauſe the immediate dependance always conſtituted the eſſence of the peerage. In the hiſtory of Saint Lewis we read, that that prince having adopted a regulation with regard to the Jews[12], it was ratified and approved by the barons and *peers*, who ſubſcribed it indiſcriminately; which ſeems to prove that the precedency of the *twelve peers* was not thoroughly eſtabliſhed at the commencement of that monarch's reign. It was not till about the fourteenth century that the feudal dignity of barons began to be conſidered as inferior to that of duke or count.

The appellation of peer was not originally a title of dignity, for which reaſon it is that we find no ancient deed in which the dukes and counts aſſume it. They did not take

[10] Capit. Ludov. Pii, l. iv. art. 77. [11] Loiſeau des grandes Seign. chap. 5 et 8.
[12] Chantereau, preuves du traité des fiefs, p. 209.

that

that title till the number of peers were reduced to twelve; though at what period the reduction took place has been the ſubject of much controverſy, and has never been preciſely aſcertained. Some pretend, that this inſtitution was eſtabliſhed ſo far back as the reign of Charlemagne; but their ſuppoſition has no other foundation than the apocryphal tales of archbiſhop Turpin. Others aſcribe it to Hugh Capet; but theſe can produce no authority for their opinion. Favin imputes it to king Robert, who, he tells us, formed a ſecret council, compoſed of ſix of the principal nobles and ſix eccleſiaſtics, whom he honoured with the title of peers [13]. He, doubtleſs, did not recollect, that at the commencement of the third race, the cities of Laon, Langres, Beauvais, Noyon, and Châlons-upon-Marne, did not belong to their biſhops. The *county* of Langres was not united to the biſhoprick till the reign of Lewis the Seventh. Du Tillet is of opinion that this reform in the peerage was effected by Lewis the Young, at the coronation of his ſon Philip-Auguſtus [14]. The king, ſays he, in order to prevent confuſion at that ſplendid ceremony, ſelected, from among the vaſt number of prelates and nobles who attended as immediate vaſſals of the crown, the twelve who have ever ſince been diſtinguiſhed for this illuſtrious function. The diſtinction, however, by no means detracted from the dignity of the ancient baronies of the kingdom: theſe have ever continued to be real peerages of France; though their poſſeſſors no longer enjoy the ſame privileges as before the reduction took place. The twelve peers, on the contrary, have always poſſeſſed, in virtue of their peerage, a ſeat in the parliaments, in the council-chamber, in the beds of juſtice, and in all great ceremonies.

France, from its diſmembered ſtate, was involved, during the reign of Hugh Capet, in poverty and barbariſm. While Greece and Italy were famous for their beautiful manufactures, the French were unable to imitate them; ſince their cities were unprivileged, and their country diſunited. Internal commerce was ſcarcely known; and the inhabitants of one province were frequently ſtrangers to the diſtance and ſituation of the next. Such was the ignorance which prevailed, that few people could read, and ſtill fewer write. There were no title-deeds of eſtates, and no deeds or regiſters of marriages. Hence the danger of contracting an alliance within the prohibited degrees was great; and this circumſtance gave riſe to numerous divorces and ſcandalous ſeparations.

[13] Theatre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie. [14] Recueil de Rangs, chap. de Pairs de France.

ROBERT.

ROBERT.

A. D. 996.] ROBERT, on the death of his father, had juſt entered his twenty-ſeventh year. As his ſubjects were already accuſtomed to ſee him hold the reins of government, they acknowledged him for their ſovereign without oppoſition or murmur. But though the commencement of his reign was, by this means, exempt from domeſtic commotions, his happineſs was interrupted by the intrigues of the ſovereign pontiff. The court of Rome was highly diſpleaſed at the treatment of archbiſhop Arnoul, who, though reſtored to his ſee by a decree of the council, was ſtill regarded as a ſtate priſoner. As a mark of his diſpleaſure, the pope evinced a diſpoſition to annul the marriage of Robert with Bertha [1], widow of Eudes, count of Chartres and Blois, and daughter of Conrad, king of Burgundy. His pretext was, that Robert had ſtood godfather to a child of that princeſs; and that he was her couſin in the fourth degree—two impediments to a legal marriage, which a diſpenſation alone could remove.

A. D. 997.] Robert, who was extremely fond of his wife, took every means to prevent a ſeparation, in which his love and his honour were equally intereſted. He thought by reſtoring Arnoul [2], a confirmation of that union in which his happineſs was centered might be more eaſily obtained from the pope; but this had no effect on Gregory the Fifth, who was the creature of the emperor Otho the Third, to whom he was related, and was wholly ſwayed by that monarch and by Gerbert, who were both enemies to the reigning family. This pontiff had been expelled from his church by Creſcens [3], conſul of Rome, who cauſed John the Sixteenth, a Greek monk, named Philagathes, to be elected in his place: But Gregory was no ſooner reſtored to his dignity, than,

[1] Hiſt. Franc. Frag. Duch. tom. iv. p. 85. [2] Abbo. Epiſt. 1. [3] Petr. Dam. Lib. 1. Epiſt. Ultim. ad. Cadal.

after ordering the eyes of his competitor to be put out, and his noſe and tongue to be cut off, he aſſembled a council [4], in which he annulled the marriage of the French monarch.

Robert, enraged at his inſolence, refuſed to ſubmit to a ſentence which he juſtly regarded as an attack upon the majeſty of the throne. Gregory, however, perſiſted, and by an infamous abuſe of power excommunicated the King, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; by which means [5] the celebration of divine ſervice was ſtopped throughout the realm, the adminiſtration of the ſacrament ſuſpended, and the burial of the dead, in conſecrated ground, forbidden. This was the firſt inſtance of a ſimilar ſentence being enforced in France; and the nation was ſo alarmed, and ſo blinded by a degrading ſpirit of ſuperſtition, that the monarch was abandoned by his courtiers, and even by his domeſtics.

The murmurs of the people, the defection of the nobles, and the well-founded dread of a general revolt, at length compelled the king to ſubmit, and to diſmiſs his wife, who ſtill preſerved, notwithſtanding, the title of queen. After their ſeparation, Robert, being deſirous of heirs, married Conſtance, daughter of William the Firſt, count of Provence, a woman of extraordinary beauty, but whoſe perſonal charms concealed a mind polluted by pride, vanity, and caprice. Brought up in a country where the warmth of the climate, by affording a powerful ſtimulus to the impulſes of nature, ſtrongly invited to voluptuous enjoyments, her retinue was compoſed of dancers, farce-players, and youthful libertines of rank, who inſenſibly introduced luxury and debauchery into a court, which had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed for its gravity, ſimplicity, and modeſty [6]. The arrival of this princeſs may alſo be conſidered as the epoch in which a taſte for poetry firſt prevailed in France; a taſte that was afterwards improved by the Troubadours, and which has ſince attained to as great a degree of excellence as the language will admit. The ſplendour of her charms, and the aſcendancy which they gave her over her huſband, rendered the new queen ſo arrogant, that in time ſhe became inſupportable to the whole nation, even to her own children. Hugh de Beauvais, count Palatine, and prime miniſter, enjoyed the confidence of his maſter; and to him the king communicated the anxiety and uneaſineſs he experienced from the impropriety of his wife's conduct. This was ſufficient to make that nobleman an object of her hatred and revenge; ſhe accordingly had him aſſaſſinated in the preſence of her huſband, who, in vain, endeavoured to ſave the life of his favourite [7].

The internal tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed for ſome time, was interrupted by Eudes the Second, count of Champagne, a ſon of Bertha, by her firſt huſband. This politic and ambitious prince, being deſirous to open a communication

[4] Chron. Saxo. [5] Hiſt. Franc. Frag. loc. cit. [6] Glaber. l. iii. c. 9. p. 38 and 39. [7] Idem. Ibid. c. ii. p. 29. Ducheſne, tom. iv.

between

between the county of Chartres and La Brie, by ſecuring a paſſage over the Seine, caſt his eyes on Melun, which Hugh Capet had given to count Bouchard. That nobleman kept but a ſmall garriſon in the place, under the command of a viſcount, named Gautier, who had a pretty and intriguing wife[8]. Eudes feigned a violent paſſion for this lady; and being a handſome young man, his ſuit was ſucceſsful. By her means he bribed the huſband to deliver the town into his hands.

Count Bouchard complained to Robert, who undertook his defence; and being joined by the forces of Richard the Second, duke of Normandy, Melun was inveſted, and, in a few days, reduced. Eudes found means to eſcape; but Gautier and his wife were taken, and hung on a lofty mountain in ſight of the town. Gentlemen formerly were not capitally puniſhed for rebellion or felony: treaſon alone could incur the penalty of death.

A. D. 1000 to 1006.] This war was ſucceeded by another of greater importance, and longer duration. Henry, duke of Burgundy, uncle to the king, and brother to Hugh Capet, had married Gerberge, counteſs of Dijon, widow to Adelbert, king of Italy. He died ſome years after this marriage, and left but one natural child, named Eudes, to whom he aſſigned the county of Beaune: Robert was the lawful heir to the duchy; but the duke, previous to his death, had adopted for his heir Otho William, the ſon of his wife by her firſt marriage, who was already count of Burgundy. That nobleman, ſupported by Landri, count of Nevers; Bruno, biſhop of Langres; and Eudes, count of Champagne; took poſſeſſion of the diſputed territory; while Robert, determined to enforce his pretenſions, had recourſe to arms; and his forces were ſtrengthened by the troops of his kinſman, the duke of Normandy. Though repulſed in his firſt attempt on Auxerre, that town afterwards capitulated; its example was followed by Sens; and the walls of Avalon are reported to have fallen before the victor. Yet even the moſt credulous muſt allow that the cruelty of the monarch ill-deſerved the interpoſition of Divine Providence; the favour of Heaven was ill-repaid by the inhumanity of the king; and the wretched inhabitants were doomed to expiate their reſiſtance by exile and death. More than five years were conſumed in the gradual reduction of Burgundy; Otho William was at length compelled to abandon his vain hopes, and to relinquiſh whatever places he had occupied; Eudes acquieſced in the peaceable enjoyment of the county of Beauvais; and Robert, to gratify the Burgundians, who were deſirous of an independent prince, and to ſoothe his own vaſſals, who were jealous of their power in the aggrandizement of the crown, beſtowed the duchy of Burgundy on his ſecond ſon Henry, with the title of Duke.

[8] Guill. Gemet. l. v. c. 14.

A. D. 1006 to 1020.] But few events of importance occurred during the long ſpace of fourteen years. After an expedition into Flanders, where the king promoted an accommodation between the emperor of Germany and the heireſſes of Charles of Lorraine, with reſpect to the territories of that prince, he reſolved, with the advice of his miniſters, to aſſociate to the throne his eldeſt ſon Hugh, who, though but in his eighteenth year, had deſervedly acquired the appellation of Great. The ceremony of his coronation was performed at Compiégne, in the year 1007. About the ſame time a ſect of heretics appeared in France, that ſoon demanded the attention of government. They held in deriſion all the myſteries of religion [9]; deſpiſed the ſacraments; condemned marriage; treated the accounts of the creation of the world, contained in the Old Teſtament, as ſo many dreams; and neither believed that virtue would meet with any future reward, nor the moſt criminal pleaſures incur puniſhment. They uſed to aſſemble in private houſes, during the night, where they recited a kind of litany in honour of evil ſpirits [10], and did not ceaſe their invocations till they ſaw a demon appear amongſt them, when they immediately put out the lights, and each man taking the firſt woman he could lay hands on, proceeded to the enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures for which they deemed any lawful permiſſion unneceſſary.

For repreſſing this licentiouſneſs, the king convened a council at Orleans, and the leaders of this voluptuous ſect being arreſted, they were taken before the biſhops, who deſired to be informed of their religious tenets. But they ſtudiouſly avoided any direct anſwers to the queſtions propoſed to them; till Aréfaſte [11], a Norman gentleman, who had revealed the whole ſecret, reproached them with their cowardice, and explained the impiety of their ſyſtem. They then declared that ſuch was their firm belief; in vain did the prelates advert to the doctrines of Chriſtianity, in vain did they talk of the immaculate conception, of the birth and death of our Saviour; the only anſwer they could obtain from theſe obſtinate heretics, was—"We were not preſent; we cannot "believe that to be true."

The council finding them incorrigible, condemned them all to be burnt alive; as they proceeded to the place of execution they betrayed evident ſymptoms of gaiety and pleaſure; but when they felt the effects of the flames, their enthuſiaſm and their courage forſook them, and they exclaimed that they had been deceived. The king and queen attended this cruel exhibition; during which the latter thruſt out the eye of her confeſſor, who was one of the heretics, with her cane.

Two years after this execution, another ſet of theſe heretics appeared at Arras; but the biſhop, Gerard, a man whoſe fervent piety was regulated by reaſon, and tempered by

[9] Glaber. l. iii. c. 8. [10] Anon. tom. ii. Spicil. [11] Chron. S. Pet. tom. ii. Spicil. p. 740.

charity,

charity, inſtead of having recourſe to threats, convinced them of their error by argument and perſuaſion, and brought them to a public abjuration. So true it is that the throne of truth is not erected on a ſcaffold; and that mildneſs will lead, where ſeverity diſguſts.

The king finding tranquillity eſtabliſhed throughout the realm, reſolved on a journey to Rome, in order to viſit the tombs of the apoſtles. He was accompanied by ſeveral of the prelates, and every place he paſſed through experienced the effects of his munificence. On his return he dedicated the church of St. Agnan at Orleans, which he had recently built, and to which he afterwards bequeathed the treaſures of his own chapel, and, among a variety of other curious articles, an enormous bell, which he had ordered to be ſolemnly baptized by the name of Robert.

A. D. 1022 to 1031.] In the following year an interview took place between Robert and the emperor, on the banks of the Meuſe, for the purpoſe of ſettling ſome trifling matters of diſpute, which, if neglected, might have led to a ſerious rupture. The magnificence diſplayed on this occaſion is ſpoken of in terms of rapture by the ancient writers; but the concluſion of an amicable treaty between the royal viſitors afforded a better theme for national congratulation. This excurſion was ſucceeded by a circumſtance that threatened the kingdom with all the calamities of a civil war: Hugh ſecretly withdrew from court, and, being joined by ſeveral of the young nobility, erected the ſtandard of revolt. His motive for this retreat was the pride and ſeverity of his mother, who obſtinately refuſed to eſtabliſh his houſhold, or to let him have any ſhare in that government to which he had been formally aſſociated. Fortunately the inſurrection was ſpeedily quelled; and Hugh, returning to his duty, was pardoned by his father, and admitted to a participation of his throne and authority.

The prince never after tranſgreſſed the rules of propriety, but obſerved the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion to the will of his parent and his ſovereign. If the authors of theſe times may be credited (and there is no reaſon for impeaching their veracity), he was a father to the poor, a protector of the church, an advocate for the people, and the friend of virtue. The poſſeſſion of theſe numerous perfections rendered his name ſo celebrated throughout Europe, that Italy, at the death of Henry the Second, invited him to wear the imperial crown. But in a ſhort time after this flattering offer was made, Hugh, to the great ſorrow of all France, was taken off in the flower of his youth. He was interred in the church of St. Corneille at Compiégne.

On the death of Hugh it was natural that Robert ſhould aſſociate his next ſon, Henry, to the dignity which he had imparted to his deceaſed brother; but the juſtice of this nomination was oppoſed with indecent warmth and determined obſtinacy by Conſtance; and her partiality for her younger ſon, Robert, agitated the court with all the

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fury of contending factions. Yet neither the ſecret arts of intrigue, nor the open violence of the offended queen, could ſubdue the inflexible integrity of her huſband. In an aſſembly at Rheims Henry received the crown from the impartial juſtice of his father; and Robert, his younger brother, refuſing to join in the daring meaſures of Conſtance, became equally the object of her hatred and perſecution.—The two princes, harraſſed by the inceſſant enmity of their implacable mother, retired from court, and entered into an alliance for their mutual defence; the eldeſt poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Dreux, and the younger ſeized Avalon, in the duchy of Burgundy. The unnatural paſſions of a female had already enkindled the torch of civil commotion; and the gloomy flame was beheld with horror throughout the kingdom of France. But an explanation enſuing between the king and his children; the princes returned to their duty, were again reſtored to the confidence of their father, and the force which had been aſſembled to extinguiſh the diſſenſions of his family, was happily employed by Robert in humbling the haughty nobles of Burgundy, who had preſumed to withhold the homage due to their ſovereign.

The remainder of this reign, during which the kingdom enjoyed more years of peace and proſperity than it had known for ſome centuries, was chiefly employed by Robert in the erection of pious edifices, in reforming the manners of the clergy, and in other works of devotion, private and practical. In the year 1031 this virtuous monarch was ſeized, at Melun, with a violent diſorder that ſoon brought him to the grave. He expired in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Saint Denis, where it was depoſited in the royal vault, without an epitaph or any other ſepulchral embelliſhment.—Robert had three wives:—Ludgard or Roſale, widow to Arnoul, count of Flanders; Bertha, widow to Eudes, count of Chartres and Blois; and Conſtance, daughter of William, count of Provence. By the laſt he had Hugh, who died before his father; Henry, who ſucceeded to the throne; Robert, to whom was allotted the duchy of Burgundy; Eudes, who, according to ſome writers, was biſhop of Auxerre; Adelaide, wife to Renaud, count of Nevers; and Adela, firſt married to Richard the Third, duke of Normandy, and afterwards to Baldwin, count of Flanders.

Robert was equally diſtinguiſhed for his piety, moderation, and prudence; wiſely ſtudious to avert the calamities of war, and anxious to promote the felicity and welfare of his ſubjects, who were never diſturbed by the oppreſſions of domeſtic tyranny, or the devaſtations of foreign armies. The rigour with which he puniſhed, in the reduction of Burgundy, the ſpirited reſiſtance of the inhabitants of Avalon, had caſt a ſlight ſhade on a reign of unprecedented clemency; yet a people, whoſe annals have hitherto diſplayed almoſt a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſanguinary and ferocious princes, might well exclaim on the death of Robert, "We have loſt a father, who governed us in peace, beneath "whoſe authority we dwelt in ſecurity; who ſuffered not in others that oppreſſion

"which

" which he himſelf diſdained; who commanded our affections, and who baniſhed our " fears."

In his conduct to the poor, his humanity and his charity were eminently conſpicuous; the latter, indeed, almoſt degenerated into weakneſs, ſince, by encouraging a ſpirit of indolence in the lower claſs of people, it muſt certainly have tended to mar induſtry, and to impede thoſe agricultural improvements, which an enlightened monarch ſhould ever attend to, and the neceſſity of which was never more evident than in the reign of Robert.—He daily diſtributed food to three hundred poor people, and ſometimes a thouſand. Every Holy Thurſday he ſerved them on his knees, and, being clothed in ſackcloth, waſhed their feet[12]. Hence originated the cuſtom that has ever ſince been obſerved by the French monarchs, of waſhing the feet of twelve poor people on Holy Thurſday, and of waiting on them at table, aſſiſted by all the princes of the blood, and the principal nobility. Robert's compaſſion for the poor would ſometimes betray him into acts of injuſtice; for, we are told, that when he had no money to give them, he would tell them to go and ſteal, and be angry if they were prevented from ſo doing. Helgaud, the monk, ſays, that rogues, under pretence of begging, would frequently follow him into his apartment, and take from him whatever was worth taking, either in his pockets or on his clothes. One of them having cut off the half of a piece of gold fringe, was about to take away the reſt, when the king mildly requeſted him to be contented with what he had, and to leave the reſt to ſatisfy the wants of his companions.—The diſpoſition of his queen, Conſtance, being very different from his own, he was under the neceſſity of performing his acts of charity in ſecret;—and his gifts were generally accompanied by this caution: " *Be ſure you don't let Conſtance know it.*" As he was going one day to church, he ſurprized two perſons in the act of fornication; the horror, ſays the abbé Velly, which he experienced at the ſin, did not extinguiſh his compaſſion for the ſinner; he threw his cloak over them, and went ſtrait to the altar to pray for their converſion; he then ſent one of his attendants to fetch another cloak, *forbidding him, under pain of his diſpleaſure, to mention the circumſtance to any one, but more particularly to the queen.*

Notwithſtanding the efforts of this prince to render his ſubjects happy, he had the misfortune to ſee his kingdom a prey to the horrors of famine, at ſeveral different times. The firſt was general throughout Europe; but the ſecond was confined to France, where it was attended with circumſtances peculiarly horrid. There were people, raging with hunger in ſuch a dreadful degree, that they dug up the dead bodies to eat; others ſeized upon the children in the ſtreets, or way-laid the travellers in the fields and woods[13]. At Tournus, in Burgundy, a butcher expoſed human fleſh to public ſale; but this in-

[12] Helgal. p. 72. [13] Glaber. l. iv. c. 4. p. 444.

humam

human traffic was put a ſtop to, and the brute who carried it on juſtly condemned to the flames. Another man, who kept a public houſe in a foreſt near Mâçon, murdered his gueſts and eat them. He was detected by two paſſengers, a man and his wife, who were lucky enough to effect their eſcape; and when his houſe was ſearched, eight-and-forty human heads of men, women, and children, whoſe bodies he had devoured, were found. The barbarous wretch experienced the ſame puniſhment as the butcher. Such was the ſcarcity of food that people were reduced to the neceſſity of making bread with a kind of white earth, reſembling pipe-clay, mixed with a very ſmall portion of flour or bran. This dreadful famine was followed by a peſtilence, during which the people were ſo weak from want of ſuſtenance, that they were unable to aſſiſt each other. Thus the ſick remained without relief, and the dead without burial.

It is in vain that we ſeek for the probable cauſe of theſe calamities in any of the French hiſtorians, either ancient or modern; the former, inſtead of attempting to account for what muſt have had a natural cauſe, recite the ſuperſtitious tales of the times, and tell us of ſhowers of blood, and other diſmal tokens of divine vengeance, by which they were preceded; while the latter repeat theſe tales, and, though they treat them with the deriſion they merit, yet withhold the information we ſeek for. Had any violent drought or other extraordinary circumſtance occaſioned the famine, it could not, we apprehend, have eſcaped the attention of contemporary writers: we are therefore of opinion it muſt have been occaſioned by a ſhameful neglect of agriculture, which appears the more probable, as the kingdom was evidently infeſted with crouds of beggars, from the numbers which the king himſelf maintained, and conſequently encouraged Perhaps the early Franks, like the ancient Germans [14], deemed the cultivation of their lands too ignoble and laborious employment for them; yet the monks, we find, ſet an example of agricultural improvement, in the lands belonging to their convents; and the time was peculiarly favourable for ſuch exertions, as the nation enjoyed a perfect ſtate of tranquillity for a long ſeries of years.

From the cuſtom that prevailed with the firſt monarchs of the Capetian race, of aſſociating their eldeſt ſons with them in the empire, we muſt not infer, either that the crown was elective by the nobles of the realm, or that it was neceſſarily entailed on the eldeſt ſon of the king [15]; under the firſt race we have ſeen the crown invariably hereditary in the family of Meroveus, and all his deſcendants ſucceed to it without interruption, for upwards of three hundred years. It is true, indeed, that ſometimes the kingdom was divided between all the ſons, and, at others, one reigned alone, to the prejudice of the reſt; ſometimes even a prince of a diſtant branch was preferred to the children of the deceaſed monarch. But what inference muſt we draw from theſe facts?

[14] Tacit. de Morb. German. c. 15. [15] Mém de Litterat. tom. iv. p. 672.

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That the crown, always hereditary in the reigning family, was only elective with regard to the different princes of that family.

Under the ſecond race we ſtill find the ſame cuſtom and the ſame form of government prevail [16]. "*Such is the cuſtom of the French nation,*" ſays Foulques, archbiſhop of Rheims in a letter to the emperor Arnoul, "*that the nobles, without any dependance, chuſe a prince* "*of the royal family to ſucceed the king, when he is dead.*" Though Robert and Rodolph acceded to the throne without any previous election, no concluſion is to be drawn from thence, any more than from the elevation of Gondebald on a ſhield, during the firſt race. The ſtorm was ſoon diſpelled: Lewis the Stranger was recalled from England; "*and all the nobles,*" ſays a contemporary writer [17], "*elected him to reign over them by the* "*hereditary right which he had to the crown.*" This is an apparent contradiction of terms; but the difficulty is ſolved by referring to the *double right* by which the ancient monarchs of France held their crown;—viz. by their royal birth, and by the choice of the nation.

The circumſtances attending the aſſociation of Henry the Firſt to the regal dignity, prove that, at the commencement of the third race, the monarchy was ſtill governed by the ſame ſpirit, and the ſame maxims. They prove that the hereditary right was inconteſtably eſtabliſhed in the family that had been recently placed on the throne. This then was the general law, and the invariable cuſtom of the realm.

Still an election always took place: but, as during the two firſt races, the choice was confined to the children of the king. With regard to the coronation of Henry the Firſt, "*The king*" ſays Glaber [18], "*after the death of prince Hugh, began to conſider within himſelf* "*which of his three ſurviving ſons would be moſt capable of ſucceeding him in the throne.*" This could never have been an object of deliberation, had the throne devolved by right, to the eldeſt ſon of the reigning monarch. The biſhops, influenced by the queen, who did not like her eldeſt ſon, whom the king betrayed an inclination to favour, "*demanded,*" ſays another contemporary writer [19], "*that no deciſion might take place, on this important* "*affair, at leaſt, during the life of Robert.*" She flattered herſelf with the idea that, after the king's death, her intereſt would prove ſuperior to that of her eldeſt ſon, "whom "ſhe affected to repreſent as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince." But what became of theſe her hopes, if the laws of the realm had neceſſarily influenced the deciſion of the electors in favour of the eldeſt of the royal family? Notwithſtanding her oppoſition, prince Henry's party prevailed, and, continues Glaber, "*The king's choice,* "*ſupported by the concurrence of the nobles, at length placed him on the throne of France.*"

[16] Flod. Hiſt. Eccl. Rhem. l. 4. [17] Glaber. l. 1. c. iii. p. 5. [18] Glaber. l. 3. c. v. p. 37. [19] Inter Fulbert. Epiſt. 50. Duch. tom. iv. p. 191.

These remarks solve all the difficulties that present themselves with regard to the hereditary right of the reigning family to the throne of France. On one side, they show that a succession, which was always hereditary, did not exclude a real right of election; and on the other, that this right of election, though *passive* with respect to the family, was *active* with respect to the different members of that family; in other words, the nation had reserved to itself the power of chusing, from among the children of the last monarch, that prince which should appear to it the most capable of holding the reins of government, without regard to primogeniture.

Thus, in associating their eldest sons to the throne, the six first monarchs of the Capetian race were not influenced by any views of fixing the crown in their family, but merely by a desire of avoiding those dissensions which were but too common at elections. By degrees these associations led to the establishment of the right of *Agnation*, lineal and hereditary, which insensibly annihilated the elective power. In short, the crown appeared to be so well secured in the family of Hugh Capet, that Philip Augustus did not think it necessary to crown his son. The right of primogeniture became a fundamental law of the realm, and has been observed for more than seven centuries without the smallest interruption, either from the youngest children, or from the eldest of the younger branches.

Several ecclesiastical councils were holden during the reign of Robert. By that of Selingstad [20], priests are ordered not to say more than three masses in a day, and all men, except crowned heads, forbidden to enter the church with their swords. The fathers of Limoges decreed, *that nobody could receive penance and absolution from the pope without the leave of his bishop*. The council of Anse was still more strenuous in defence of the liberties of the Gallican church: it declared a bull of the pope's, by which the monks of Cluny were exempted from the jurisdiction of their ordinary, to be null and abusive. The archbishop of Vienne having, in consequence of that bull, ordained some of the monks of Cluny, without the permission of the bishop of the diocese, thought it necessary to make an apology, and to promise that in future he would never deviate from the rules of the national church.

But the most remarkable of these ecclesiastical assemblies was that which was convened at Saint Denis, on the subject of tythes, offerings, presentations, and churches. We have already observed that ecclesiastical property, even tythes and church livings, had passed into the hands of laymen, who could not sell them without the king's consent, to which was always annexed the condition that curates and bishops, if they chose to become purchasers, should have the first offer. At length the impropriety of

[20] Concil. c. ix. p. 884.

these

theſe proceedings was univerſally acknowledged: Hugh Capet and Robert were the firſt to ſet the example of reſtitution; which was ſpeedily followed by the nobility, who haſtened to reſtore thoſe poſſeſſions which their anceſtors had uſurped from the church. The biſhops wiſhed to monopolize the advantages ariſing from this pious reſolution, and exerted their utmoſt endeavours to exclude the monks from any participation in them [21]. Abbo, Abbot of Fleury, reſiſted theſe ungenerous efforts, and finding that the clergy, aſſembled at Saint Denis, were about to iſſue a ſentence to the prejudice of the monaſtic ſtate, he excited the monks and dependants of the abbey to riſe up againſt them, and they accordingly attacked the prelates, who were obliged to decamp without coming to any deciſion. Seguin, archbiſhop of Sens, a venerable old man highly reſpected for his virtue, was wounded between the ſhoulders, by a blow from an axe, and with difficulty eſcaped, all covered with mud. Such ſcandalous proceedings could ſcarcely obtain credit, were they not atteſted by contemporary writers; but what muſt appear ſtill more monſtrous, is, that a riot of this nature ſhould paſs unpuniſhed and unnoticed, even by the church.

[21] Concil. c. ix. p. 772.

HENRY THE FIRST.

A. D. 1031.] THOUGH Henry had the choice of his father, and the ſuffrages of a majority of the nobles, to ſecure and confirm his ſucceſſion, yet Conſtance, to whom he was an object of averſion, had neither loſt the deſire nor the hope of effecting his depoſition from that throne to which he had acceded in ſpite of her machinations. Baldwin, count of Flanders, and Eudes, count of Champagne, entered into her views; and being joined by many noblemen of France and Burgundy, ſupplied her with forces for the execution of her plans[1]. Dammartin, Senlis, Melun, Sens, Poiſſy, Coucy, Puiſet, and ſeveral other fortreſſes, declared in her favour, and hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt. Theſe were places of great ſtrength in thoſe days, and their importance was conſiderably encreaſed by their vicinity to the capital, which waited for the event of the conteſt before it would come to a deciſion.

Henry, aſtoniſhed and incapable of reſiſting the torrent, left Paris, and eſcaped, with only eleven faithful followers, into Normandy; and, deſerted by his ſubjects, threw himſelf on the generous friendſhip of duke Robert. That prince received him with all poſſible honour, ſupplied him with a powerful army, and ſent orders to his uncle, count Mauger, who commanded in Corbeil, to declare war againſt the inſurgents, and lay waſte their poſſeſſions with fire and ſword. Similar orders were likewiſe iſſued to all the governors of the frontier towns. It was a maxim with this duke, to ſhew no quarter to rebels; to which ſeverity he was probably indebted for the name he acquired, of Robert *the Devil.*

The king fixed his camp before the walls of Corbeil, where he was joined by a great number of his vaſſals, accompanied by a formidable body of troops. He then proceeded

[1] Frag. Hiſt. MS. Apud Duch. tom. iv. p. 148.

to

to Poiſſy, which he retook; he next reduced Puiſet, and thrice defeated the count of Champagne, who eſcaped with difficulty the purſuit of the victor. This vigorous conduct diſconcerted the projects of the queen-dowager and her partizans, who were compelled to acknowledge that the young monarch had been groſsly miſrepreſented to them. But Conſtance, ever implacable in her hatred, refuſed to liſten to any propoſals for an accommodation. In vain did her uncle, the count of Anjou, exhort her to be reconciled to her ſon; ſhe had long ſince abjured all the ſentiments of nature, and ſhe now obſtinately rejected the remonſtrances of reaſon. At laſt, however, finding herſelf forſaken by her friends and allies, ſhe was, reluctantly, perſuaded to enter into a ſecret treaty with the king: fortunately ſhe had no time to excite freſh intrigues, as ſhe died the following year, at Melun, and was interred at Saint Denis, by the ſide of a huſband whoſe repoſe ſhe had inceſſantly diſturbed.

The ſubmiſſion of the queen was followed by that of prince Robert, whom Henry not only pardoned, but generouſly aſſigned him the duchy of Burgundy, the inveſtiture of which he himſelf had received from the king his father. From this prince ſprang the firſt royal branch of the dukes of Burgundy, who reigned over that country for nearly four centuries. They were ſucceeded by Philip the Bold, ſon to king John, head of the ſecond houſe of Burgundy, which was extinguiſhed in the perſon of Charles the *Raſh*, who was ſlain before Nanci; at which period this duchy was irrevocably annexed to the crown.

A. D. 1032.] Henry being now peaceably ſeated on a throne of which, by his activity, valour, and moderation, he had ſhewn himſelf worthy, directed his attention to the renewal of thoſe alliances which his father had contracted with the neighbouring powers[a]. For this purpoſe he had an interview with the emperor Conrad, whoſe ſiſter Matilda he eſpouſed. His next care was to acknowledge and repay the obligations he was under to the duke of Normandy. To that prince he ceded the towns of Giſors, Chaumont, and Pontoiſe, with all that part of the Vexin which had hitherto belonged to the dominions of France.

A. D. 1033 to 1036.] The death of Rodolph, who, with the title of king, ruled that part of Burgundy which comprehended the countries of Switzerland and Savoy, the counties of la Breſſe, Dauphiné, and the Lyonnois, kindled a war between Eudes, count of Champagne, and the emperor Conrad, who each claimed the ſucceſſion, and ſupported their pretenſions by arms; but Eudes was compelled to yield to the ſuperior force of his rival, and, driven out of Burgundy, entered Lorraine, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Bar. Before he could improve this advantage he was encountered by Gothelon,

[a] Wippo in vita Conrad. Salic.

duke

duke of Lorrain; the defeat of the count of Champagne was rendered decisive by his death; and king Henry, and the emperor Conrad, had equal subject for rejoicing at the destruction of a turbulent vassal, and an enterprising neighbour.

A. D. 1037 to 1040.] Eudes left two sons, Stephen, count of Champagne, and Thibaud, count of Chartres, Blois and Tours. Both of them resigned all pretensions to Burgundy, and turned their arms against their sovereign. The feudal law required, that before any vassal could enter on possession of his territories, he should do homage to the king. The two counts refused to comply with this custom[3], because the king had not assisted their father against the emperor. In fact, the duty between the lord and his vassal was reciprocal. If the vassal was obliged to serve his lord in the wars; the lord was equally obliged to assist his vassal, in defence of that fief which he held of him. But this reason could not operate with regard to the count of Champagne. Conrad had not taken up arms in order to deprive him of those provinces which he held as a vassal of the crown; but to prevent him from usurping a kingdom, to which he himself had been declared sole heir. This then was only a pretext to which the insurgents had recourse for the purpose of concealing another design.

A. D. 1040 to 1044.] Their real project was to place prince Eudes, the king's brother, on the throne, under whose name they expected to be able to exert a despotic sway. An ancient chronicle, quoted by Duchesne[4], says, that this prince was the eldest of the sons of Robert, but that he was excluded from the succession, on the plea of insanity. But all other contemporary writers positively affirm that he was younger than either Henry or duke Robert. Be that as it may, Eudes, being left without territories or establishment, was willing to listen to any plan which the enemies of his house might propose; and as he was assured of a speedy and effectual support, he summoned the king to admit him to a participation in the domains of his father. This was the signal of war. Eudes, with his confederates, took the field, and committed dreadful devastations on the French territories; but they were soon routed by the royal army; Eudes himself was taken prisoner, and secured at Orleans; the pardon of Thibaud was purchased at the expence of Touraine; the count of Champagne was happy to escape by the cession of a considerable part of his inheritance; but Galoran, count of Melun, who had enlisted under the banners of unsuccessful rebellion, was formally attainted; and the forfeiture of his property and life, the first example of the kind mentioned in history, proclaims the power which the crown had imperceptibly acquired.

A. D. 1045, 1046.] Normandy, in the mean time, being governed by a child, was torn by intestine commotions. The reign of Robert had been greatly distinguished for

[3] Frag. Hist. M.S. Apud. Duch. tom. ii. p. 148. [4] T. iii. p. 361.

its

its wiſdom and ſplendour. After reducing the duke of Brittany to pay that homage which he had long refuſed to his liege-lord, he was ſtricken with remorſe for the ſins he had committed, and undertook a journey of penitence to the holy ſepulchre at Jeruſalem, which, according to the ſuperſtitious maxims of the age, was the moſt infallible means of procuring pardon for the greateſt crimes. But, previous to his departure, he deemed it neceſſary to appoint a ſucceſſor to the throne. He had no children by the ſiſter of Canute, king of England, whom he had married from policy, and repudiated from averſion [5]. He therefore aſſembled the ſtates of the duchy, and informing them of his deſign, engaged them to ſwear allegiance to his natural ſon William, a child of nine years, whom he had by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaiſe. As he was a prudent prince, he could not but foreſee the great inconveniences which muſt attend this journey, and the ſettlement of his ſucceſſion, ariſing from the perpetual turbulency of the great, the claims of other branches of the ducal family, and the power of the French monarch. But all theſe conſiderations were ſurmounted [6] by the prevailing zeal for pilgrimages; and, propably, the more important they were, the more would Robert exult in ſacrificing them to what he imagined to be his religious duty.

This prince, as he apprehended, died in his pilgrimage; and the minority of his ſon was attended with all thoſe diſorders which might naturally be expected in that ſituation. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of ſovereign authority, broke out into perſonal animoſities againſt each other, and made the whole country a ſcene of war and devaſtation [7]. Roger, count of Toni, and Alain, duke of Brittany, advanced claims to the dominion of the ſtate; and the king of France thought the opportunity favourable for reducing the power of a vaſſal, who had long appeared formidable to his ſovereign.

The firſt expedition of Henry into Normandy ſpread terror and conſternation throughout the country; and the regency eſtabliſhed by Robert exerted their utmoſt endeavours to avert the vengeance of a king, whoſe enmity might prove fatal to their youthful ward. In conſequence of their remonſtances, intereſt gave way to gratitude; and, mindful of the obligations he had received from the late duke, Henry now reſolved to march to the aſſiſtance of his ſon, who was threatened with a formidable conſpiracy of the nobles. At the head of this rebellion was Guy, ſon of Renaud, count of Burgundy, by a daughter of Richard the Second, duke of Normandy. This young nobleman, when his family was in diſgrace, had retired to Rouen, where he was brought up with duke William, who had juſt created him count of Vernon and Brienne. But theſe marks of kindneſs were inſufficient to command a grateful return; he now joined the rebels, and in the valley of Dunes, between Caen and Argentan, was met by the

5 Glaber. c. vi. p. 47. 6 Epod. Neuſt. p. 462. 7 W. Malmſ. p. 95.—Gul. Gemet. lib. vii. c. 1.

forces

forces of Henry. The rebels maintained their ground with obſtinate valour; the king himſelf was expoſed, and thrown from his horſe by the powerful arm of Haymon, a celebrated warrior, and was only preſerved by the immediate ſuccour of his attendants. But his victory was glorious and deciſive; and the battle of Dunes fixed the ſceptre in the hands of the duke of Normandy.

The acquiſitions of the Normans were not confined to their ſettlements in France; independent of their exertions in defence of which, they had recently revived their ancient fame, by the moſt hazardous exploits, and the moſt wonderful ſucceſſes, in the other extremity of Europe. A few Norman adventurers, in Italy, had acquired ſuch an aſcendant, not only over the Italians and Greeks, but the Germans and Saracens, that they expelled thoſe foreigners, procured to themſelves ample eſtabliſhments, and laid the foundation of the opulent kingdoms of Naples and Sicily[8]. Whether their progreſs in Italy had alarmed the vigilant Henry, or that he early diſcerned the loſty genius and unbounded ambition of William; that monarch ſoon after violated the friendſhip he had newly profeſſed, and ſeemed conſtantly to repent of the aſſiſtance he had afforded to the duke of Normandy. William de Arques, count of Tello, and ſon, by a ſecond marriage, of Richard the Second, the predeceſſor of Robert the Devil, no longer concealed his pretenſions to the ducal title, in which he was ſtrongly ſupported by his brother Mauger, archbiſhop of Rouen. The power which this dignity conferred, in thoſe days, on prelates, over their epiſcopal city, appeared to ſecure him the ſuffrage of the capital. William had juſt married Matilda, daughter to Baldwin count of Flanders, by Adela, daughter of king Robert, and ſiſter to Henry. As the princeſs was related to him, it was neceſſary to have a diſpenſation, which was then regarded as a violation of the ſacred canons; the pope, however, did not ſcruple to grant it, on condition that the duke ſhould found four hoſpitals to contain four hundred poor people. Mauger, leſs moved by zeal for the diſcipline of the church, than by a deſire of exciting a ſedition, favourable to the deſigns of his brother, excommunicated the new-married couple[9]. The ſovereign pontiff, enraged at his audacity, cauſed him to be depoſed by an aſſembly of prelates at Liſieux; and the duke baniſhed him to the iſland of Guernſey.

A. D. 1047.] The count of Tello, in order to facilitate the execution of his project, had erected a ſtrong fortreſs on the hill of Arques, where, being certain of aſſiſtance from the king, he hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion, and refuſed to pay to William the Baſtard that homage which was due to him as his liege-lord. The fortreſs was accordingly beſieged by the duke, and the army which Henry had deſtined to co-operate with his ally, was compelled to retreat with diſgrace; a conſiderable detachment, in

[8] Gul. Gem. l. vii. c. 30. [9] Wil. Malm. l. i. c. 3.

the

their march towards Rouen, had incautiouſly preſſed before the main body; between Eſcoucy and Mortimer, their negligence was chaſtiſed by the arms of the Normans; and few eſcaped to relate the melancholy fate of their companions. Henry himſelf, with the remainder of his forces, retired towards Paris, indignant at his diſgrace, and impatient to revenge his defeat by the deſtruction of his rival; while William, who had triumphed over his revolted ſubjects, was equally determined to purſue with eternal enmity the perfidy of the French monarch.

That prince had formed a new alliance with the duke of Guienne and the count of Anjou, and engaged again to invade the territories of the Norman; his preparations were ſuitable to the greatneſs of the enterprize, and two armies, which he had diligently levied, threatened the deſtruction of the young duke: the one was led by Henry in perſon; the other he entruſted to his brother Eudes, whom he releaſed for that purpoſe from priſon. But the ſuperior number of his troops only ſerved to augment his confuſion; thoſe led by himſelf were continually haraſſed and repeatedly ſurprized; while the army commanded by his brother was defeated in a deciſive action, in the Pays de Caux, with great ſlaughter. Preſſed or broken on every ſide, the French were compelled haſtily to evacuate a country which they had unjuſtly invaded; and the terms of peace, which ſoon after followed, were dictated by the victorious duke of Normandy.

A. D. 1054, 1055.] This unſucceſsful war was followed by a general peace, which laſted ſome years; when it had nearly been interrupted by the conduct of count Thibaut, who, having been deprived of Touraine, ſought and obtained the protection of the emperor, Henry the Third, who made him his knight, and gave him the title of Count-Palatine; a title to which no office was annexed, but which has, notwithſtanding, been enjoyed ever ſince by the counts of Champagne. This proceeding of Thibaut was conſidered as a violation of that duty and ſubmiſſion which a vaſſal owed to his lord. The king accordingly complained to the emperor, but could obtain no ſatisfaction or redreſs. It is ſaid that he ſent him a formal challenge to meet him in ſingle combat, but it was not accepted.—If the French monarch ſhewed the greateſt courage, the emperor diſplayed the greateſt prudence.

A. D. 1059.] The conſtitution of Henry being viſibly impaired, though more from infirmities than from age, he thought it neceſſary to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom, by the aſſociation of his ſon Philip, a young prince only in his eighth year, to the throne. With this view, he convened a numerous aſſembly of the nobles and prelates at Rheims. "The king," ſays Mezeray, "having reminded the aſſembly of the ſervices he had rendered the ſtate, requeſted them all collectively, and each of them individually, to acknowledge his eldeſt ſon Philip for his ſucceſſor, and to take an oath

"of fidelity to him." The whole aſſembly were unanimous in their compliance, and the young prince was immediately crowned by the archbiſhop of Rheims.

The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this event, was the attention ſhewn by the clergy to promote an augmentation of their prerogatives. The legates—Hugh, archbiſhop of Beſançon, and Hermenfroy, biſhop of Sion, proteſted againſt the coronation, which, they pretended, could not take place without the pope's conſent. Their proteſt, however, was treated with the contempt it deſerved. The archbiſhop of Rheims alſo profited by the occaſion to inſiſt on a confirmation of all the privileges of his church, as well temporal as ſpiritual. That artful prelate made a long ſpeech to prove that the right of anointing the kings of France belonged to the archbiſhop of Rheims, in conſequence of a decree of pope Hormiſdas, in the time of Clovis; a decree that was merely chimerical, ſince it is certain this pious cuſtom was abſolutely unknown during the firſt race.

The archbiſhop then adminiſtered the following oath to the young prince, which betrays a greater zeal for the private advantage of the prelacy, than for the general good of the nation; though the latter is not totally overlooked—"I Philip, who, by "the mercy of God, am going to be crowned king of France, promiſe in the preſence "of the Lord and his ſaints, to preſerve to every one of you, in particular, and to your "churches, your canonical privileges; to obſerve the laws; to adminiſter juſtice to "you, and, with the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, to protect you to the utmoſt of my "power, as far as a prince ought to protect the biſhops of his realm, and the churches "which are entruſted to their care, according to equity and reaſon. I alſo promiſe the "people over whom I am deſtined to rule, to enforce, by my authority, the obſervance "of the laws[10]."

A. D. 1060.] Henry did not long ſurvive the coronation of his ſon. A doſe of phyſic, adminiſtered at an improper time, put an end to his exiſtence at Vitri in Brie, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He was interred at Saint Denis. He was a warlike prince, of heroic valour and exemplary piety. A friend to virtue, merit was the beſt recommendation to his eſteem; and being endued with a manly ſpirit, he knew how to make his authority reſpected.

By his firſt wife, Matilda, he had no children. But by his ſecond, whoſe name was Anne, he had Philip, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Robert, who died young; Hugh, who, by his marriage with Adelaide, daughter of Herbert, became the chief of the ſecond branch of the counts of Vermandois; and the princeſs Emma, whoſe fate is un-

[10] Conv. Rhem. tom. ix. Concil.

known.

known. Queen Anne was daughter to Jaraſlau, prince of Muſcovy, to whom the Europeans gave the title of Duke, and who was called by the Ruſſians *Tzaar*, ſince corrupted into *Czar*.

It is remarkable that the regency was not entruſted to the queen-mother, although there were many precedents in her favour. It is even ſaid that ſhe advanced no claim to that dignity. Finding herſelf without ſupport, and without authority, in a country where ſhe had ſcarce any relations, reaſon more than neceſſity made her reſign her rights without heſitation or repugnance. This honour appeared to be reſerved for Robert duke of Burgundy, but he was too powerful. His connections with the nobles of France, his former pretenſions to the throne, and the fear of expoſing him to new temptations, all operated to his excluſion. Baldwin, count of Flanders, a wiſe prince, highly renowned for his courage and reſolution, was appointed regent of the kingdom, with the title of Marquis of France. The event demonſtrated the wiſdom of the choice. Baldwin diſcharged the duties of his ſtation with punctuality and honour; he took care that his pupil ſhould have a proper education, and governed his kingdom with great prudence.

During a part of this reign, the Roman church was governed by three anti-popes, who had all procured their election either by violence or bribery. Theſe three pontiffs[11], by a convention hitherto unexampled, agreed to divide the revenues of the church equally between them, and to live in perfect union. This harmony ſubſiſted as long as they had money to pay for their pleaſures; but when that failed, each of them ſold his part of the papal dignity to dean Gratian, a man of wealth and quality, whom Glaber, a contemporary writer[12], calls a good and pious prieſt, of known ſanctity. It was determined, however, that the gift of Peter-Pence, which was received from England, ſhould be aſſigned to young Benedict the Ninth, who had been elected to the chair of Saint Peter when only twelve years old, and long before the other two.

Simony was extremely prevalent at this period. In a council, holden at Lyons, five-and-forty biſhops, and twenty-three prieſts, publicly acknowledged themſelves guilty of that crime, and reſigned their benefices. The celibacy of prieſts, though eſtabliſhed in the weſtern church, was but ill obſerved, particularly in the provinces bordering on Germany, in Brittany and Normandy. Some of the clergy publickly kept women addicted to every ſpecies of debauchery; and others had concubines, or *chambrieres* as they were then called. There were ſome who even formed alliances by civil contracts, from the perſuaſion that it was better to have lawful wives than to live in a ſtate of fornication. In vain did the councils and popes, armed with all the thunders of the church, deprive

[11] Caſt. l. iii. Dialog. Sæc. 4. acta Bened. t. ii. p. 461. [12] Glaber, l. v. p. 58.

them of their livings, lay them under an interdict, excommunicate them, and forbid laymen to attend their maſſes; they could not repreſs this licentiouſneſs, till they permitted the nobles to ſeize and ſell for ſlaves all the children who ſprang from thoſe illicit marriages. That ſeverity at length had the deſired effect; and if the clergy did not become more chaſte, at leaſt they became more circumſpect in their conduct.

During this reign the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was ſtrongly combated in France, and the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament formally denied: this oppoſition the abbé Velly calls—"the ſad fruits of the vain ſubtilties of philoſophy."—We, however, muſt give it a different character, and aſſert it to be the triumph of reaſon over ſuperſtition. But a diſputation on points of faith would be idle, becauſe uſeleſs; thoſe whom we believe to be in error are equally certain that the error is with us; and ſince all the arguments that have been employed for ages have proved inadequate to produce conviction on either ſide, we ſee no good that could poſſibly accrue from a continuation of the conteſt; but if a ſtruggle muſt be obſerved between the contending parties, let it be a ſtruggle of virtue—whoſe weapons are benevolence, charity, and brotherly love. Let a ſpirit of emulation ſubſiſt; but let its object be to reconcile principle to practice, and to prove the juſtice of the one by the rectitude of the other.

The chief ſupporters of this *heretical* oppoſition, as it was then called, were Ratramne, a monk of Corbie; Berenger, archdeacon of Angers; and the celebrated John Scott *Erigena* [13], the friend and inſtructor of Charles the Bald. The doctrine they attacked was defended by Lanfrance, abbot of Saint Stephen's, at Caen, who afterwards accompanied William the Firſt to England, where he was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. Fortunately the conteſt was attended with no ſerious conſequences.

[13] The abbé Velly has fallen into the ſame miſtake with William of Malmſbury and Hoveden, with regard to the fate of this learned man. They affirm that, after the death of his patron Charles the Bald, he came over to England, at the invitation of Alfred;-that he taught ſome time in the univerſity of Oxford, from whence he retired to the abbey of Malmſbury, where he was murdered by his ſcholars with their penknives. But theſe writers appear to have confounded John Scott Erigena, with another John Scott, an Engliſhman, contemporary with Alfred, who taught at Oxford, and was ſlain by the monks of the abbey of Ethelingey, of which he was abbot. (Aſſerius in vita Alfredi.) It is moſt probable that Erigena ended his days in France.

Hiſtoire Literaire de France, ſiécle 9.

PHILIP

PHILIP THE FIRST.

From 1061 to 1066.] THE firſt years of the minority of Philip were diſturbed by a revolt of the Gaſcons, who refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the regent. But the vigour and prudence diſplayed by Baldwin in reducing the rebels to ſubmiſſion, not only gave new luſtre to his reputation, but ſecured him univerſal obedience, the more durable, as it was founded on eſteem. The territories of Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, were diſputed by his two nephews, Geoffrey and Fulk, and the cautious integrity of the former was enſnared by the perfidious artifices of the latter. Baldwin, however, intent on preſerving tranquillity in the dominions of his ward, forbore to interfere in their quarrel, on the termination of which, Fulk, the ſucceſsful competitor, ſought to obtain the protection of Philip by the ceſſion of the Gaſtinois.

But notwithſtanding the attention of Baldwin to the intereſts of the king, and the general welfare of the nation, his adminiſtration has not totally eſcaped cenſure. He has been accuſed of neglect, in ſuffering ſo dangerous a neighbour as the duke of Normandy to extend the limits of his dominions, and to atchieve the important conqueſt of England. It was ſcarcely poſſible however, that Baldwin could foreſee the fatal conſequences of this event; nor do we think that he could have been juſtified in expoſing the nation to the inevitable dangers of war, by an attempt to prevent the Norman prince from acquiring a new kingdom, which, it was natural to ſuppoſe, would render him leſs anxious to extend his native dominions. Be that as it may, the reduction of England by William gave riſe to a ſeries of bloody and deſtructive conteſts, which always contributed to exhauſt, and frequently threatened to ſubvert, the monarchy of France. As from this revolution the wars and negociations of the French and Engliſh have been indiſſolubly blended, and form one great and complicated ſyſtem

of

of politics, it will be neceſſary to take a curſory view of its riſe, progreſs, and accompliſhment.

In England the extinction of the Danes, and the reſtoration of the Saxon Line, had been effected by the acceſſion of Edward the Confeſſor, who was ſon to Ethelred, by Emma, ſiſter to Richard, Duke of Normandy. This weak but pious monarch had, in the year 1043, married Editha, daughter to the potent earl Godwin; but the hatred which he bore to the father was unfortunately transferred to the unoffending child; and though Editha is repreſented by contemporary writers as poſſeſſed of all the graces of perſonal beauty, and endowed with every virtue that can adorn the female mind, ſhe never could acquire the confidence and eſteem of her unnatural huſband. It is even aſſerted that he never conſummated the marriage; but abſtained from all connection with his wife, in conſequence of a pretended vow of chaſtity, which excited the praiſe and admiration of the monks, and contributed not a little to procure him the title of Saint and Confeſſor.

This ſtrange and unjuſtifiable conduct was attended with fatal effects; Edward having no children, the ambition of the Engliſh nobles was rouſed; and Harold, the brother of Editha, who was equally diſtinguiſhed for his power and talents, ſecretly formed the moſt judicious ſchemes for ſecuring his ſucceſſion to the throne. But the king, apprized of his intention, and inexpreſſibly hurt at the idea of being ſucceeded by the heir of a family whoſe power had been built on the ruins of regal authority, adopted a plan which ſeemed to promiſe an effectual diſappointment to his projects. Though his natural affection for the Normans—among whom he paſſed his youthful days—had led him to wiſh that duke William might ſucceed him, he was now fearful that ſuch an appointment would prove favourable to the pretenſions of Harold, by affording the people, who were averſe from the domination of foreigners, a ſpecious pretext for ſupporting the claims of their favourite. For this reaſon, he judged it more prudent to fix on his nephew Edward, ſurnamed the Exile, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, for his ſucceſſor, who was the only remaining heir of the Saxon line, and whoſe title could not have admitted of a diſpute, ſince it was preferable to that of Edward himſelf. This prince, indeed, would have ſucceeded to the throne on the death of Hardicanute, had he not, by his continual reſidence from his infancy in a country ſo remote as Hungary, ſo entirely eſtranged himſelf from the Engliſh, that they regarded him as a foreigner, and therefore gave the preference to Edward the Confeſſor. He arrived in his native country in the year 1057, after an abſence of forty years, but unhappily died within a month after his arrival, leaving an infant ſon, named Edgar Atheling.

Thus the fears of the king, which had been diſpelled by the arrival of his nephew, were renewed by his death, and he was conſtrained to look out for another ſucceſſor, as he plainly perceived that the youth and inexperience of Edgar would be able to form

form but a feeble oppoſition to ſo popular and powerful a rival as Harold. In this extremity, he again caſt his eyes on William duke of Normandy, whoſe talents and power, he was induced to hope, would enable him to ſurmount every obſtacle that might be oppoſed to his ſucceſſion.

At this period, William had, by his valour and perſeverance, expelled all daring pretenders to the ducal crown, and reduced his turbulent and imperious barons to due ſubmiſſion; compelled them to ſacrifice their mutual animoſities to the public tranquillity, and eſtabliſhed his ſovereignty on the firmeſt baſis. In a moſt rigorous adminiſtration of juſtice he diſplayed the natural ſeverity of his temper, which was well adapted to reſtrain the impetuoſity of ſubjects whom lenity could not ſoothe to obedience: but, from the ſucceſs which attended this plan of government in his Norman dominions, William was unfortunately led to believe, that its excellence was not local, but univerſal; and therefore eſtabliſhed, as a maxim, that inflexibility of conduct was the firſt duty of a ſovereign.

Though Edward was fixed in his determination that William ſhould ſucceed him, yet fearful to promote diſturbances by an open avowal of his intentions, he never put them in execution. Harold, whoſe hopes, which had been damped for a time, were now revived by the death of the lawful heir, openly proceeded to purſue the moſt effective meaſures for the increaſe of his popularity, and the eſtabliſhment of his power. There was one obſtacle, however, in his way to the throne, which it ſeemed difficult to remove. Earl Godwin, when reſtored to his fortune and honours, had given hoſtages for his peaceful and loyal demeanour; and among the reſt, was a ſon named Ulnoth, and a grandſon, named Haquin, whom Edward, for greater ſecurity, had conſigned to the cuſtody of the duke of Normandy, at whoſe court they were ſtill detained.

Though Harold did not know that the duke was his competitor, yet he was ſtill anxious to procure the liberation of his brother and nephew, from an apprehenſion that William might, in favour of Edgar Atheling, retain theſe pledges to operate as a check on the ambitious pretenſions of any other claimant. He therefore repreſented to the king, that as Godwin was dead, there could be no reaſon for their farther detention; particularly as his own conduct had afforded the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of unfeigned ſubmiſſion to royal authority, and the moſt perfect attachment to his prince, and devotion to the ſervice of his country. But Edward, though inceſſantly importuned on the ſubject, ſteadily refuſed to comply with his intreaties, alledging, that his application ſhould not be addreſſed to him, but to the duke of Normandy, in whoſe poſſeſſion the hoſtages were; and Harold, at length, perceiving that all attempts to obtain a more ſatisfactory anſwer would prove unavailing, deſired the king's permiſſion to make a voyage to the continent, that he might have an opportunity of ſoliciting the duke in perſon, and endeavour to obtain from him the releaſe of his kinſmen. This requeſt was

perfectly

perfectly conſonant with the king's wiſhes, who did not doubt that William would find ſome ſpecious pretext for detaining him in Normandy, or at leaſt that he would take ſuch meaſures as would effectually prevent Harold from oppoſing any obſtacle to his deſign.

Having obtained the king's conſent, Harold, wholly ignorant of his intentions in favour of William, and conſequently unſuſpicious of the danger he was about to incur, made immediate preparations for his departure, and embarked for Rouen, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue; but being driven by a tempeſt on the coaſt of Picardy, he was compelled to take refuge in a port, ſituated in the territories of Guy, Count of Ponthieu; who, being apprized of his quality, ordered him to be detained as a priſoner, and demanded an exorbitant price for his ranſom. Fortunately Harold found means to convey intelligence of his ſituation to the duke of Normandy; to whom he repreſented that the avaricious diſpoſition of the count of Ponthieu had compelled him to take an unfair advantage of a misfortune which had befallen him, as he was proceeding to the court of Normandy in execution of a commiſſion from the king of England.

The importance of this incident immediately ſtruck William in the moſt forcible point of view. He foreſaw, that, if he could once gain Harold, either by threats or promiſes, he ſhould encounter no farther obſtructions in his way to the throne; and Edward might then execute, without fear of danger, or dread of oppoſition, thoſe intentions which he entertained in his favour; He, therefore, diſpatched a meſſenger to the count of Ponthieu, to demand, in a peremptory tone, the liberation of his priſoner; and that nobleman, not daring to incur the diſpleaſure of ſo powerful a prince, delivered Harold into the hands of his emiſſary, who conducted him to Rouen.

William received Harold with every poſſible demonſtration of reſpect, and the moſt cordial marks of friendſhip; but, being acquainted with his ambitious projects, he was at a loſs in what manner to proceed; whether to deſtroy him as a dangerous competitor, or to ſecure him as a powerful friend. By the adoption of the firſt meaſure, he muſt have made a premature declaration of his own views, which it was his intereſt to conceal: beſides the deſtruction of a nobleman, ſo univerſally eſteemed, might have occaſioned a rupture between the Engliſh and Normans, which muſt have entirely fruſtrated any meaſures the king might wiſh to purſue, in order to enſure him the ſucceſſion; and, had Edward died, during a war, it was even impoſſible he ſhould leave the kingdom to a prince by whom it was actually attacked. Harold, moreover, being entruſted with the government of Weſſex and Kent, all the forts in the ſouthern parts of the iſland were in poſſeſſion of his immediate dependants, who would doubtleſs defend them to the laſt extremity againſt his aſſaſſin; a circumſtance alone ſufficient to create a formidable obſtruction to the deſigns of the duke.

Theſe

Theſe conſiderations, added to the uncertainty of the advancement which Harold had made in the affections of the Engliſh, and conſequently of the probability that exiſted of ſucceeding in his attempts, induced William to adopt the leſs deſperate mode of endeavouring to enſnare his friendſhip, though it was liable to objections equally valid, and was attended with equal danger: for, by communicating his intentions to Harold, he afforded him an ample opportunity of defeating them. He was willing, however, to believe, that, by ſo extraordinary a proof of his confidence, he ſhould excite the generoſity of Harold to make a ſuitable return; and, therefore, after evincing a diſpoſition to comply with his requeſt, in delivering up the hoſtages, he took an opportunity of diſcloſing to him the important ſecret of his pretenſions to the crown of England, and of the will which Edward intended to make in his favour. This diſcovery was followed by the expreſſion of an earneſt deſire that Harold would aſſiſt him in eſtabliſhing his claims; and by a ſolemn aſſurance that, in return for ſo great an obligation, he would comply with the ſuggeſtions of unbounded gratitude in ſupporting the preſent unrivalled grandeur of Harold and his family; which, he remarked, would with difficulty ſuſtain itſelf againſt the jealous and inveterate averſion of Edward, but could not fail to receive a conſiderable encreaſe from a ſucceſſor who would be ſo highly indebted to him for his elevation. He gave him to underſtand, at the ſame time, that he was not unacquainted with his own ambitious views; and endeavoured to impreſs his mind with a juſt ſenſe of the extreme difficulty with which an attempt to obtain his ends would be infallibly attended. To divert Harold from his purpoſe, he expreſſed to him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the determined oppoſition he muſt naturally expect to incur, as well from Edgar Atheling, as from the Engliſh nobility, who would not fail to regard his ambition with an eye of jealouſy. He made uſe of an argument ſtill more forcible, by plainly telling him that, ſhould fortune prove ſo far favourable as to enable him to ſurmount every other obſtacle, he would ſtill find a reſolute enemy in himſelf, who was amply poſſeſſed of every requiſite for undertaking a long and obſtinate conteſt, and whom no conſideration of danger or difficulty could deter from enforcing a claim which he conceived to be founded in juſtice. In ſhort, he obſerved to him, that by affording his aſſiſtance he might ſecure an extent of power equalled by none but the royal authority; whereas, if he rejected his profferred friendſhip, he hazarded the loſs of a certain and eſtabliſhed advantage, for an uncertain and precarious proſpect of aggrandizement.

Harold, though infinitely ſurpriſed at the duke's declaration, poſſeſſed ſufficient preſence of mind to be ſenſible of the danger he ſhould incur by a peremptory refuſal to favour his pretenſions; he therefore feigned to be convinced by the reaſons which the duke had alledged to deter him from the purſuit of his project; and, aſſuming a tone of hypocriſy juſtly adapted to the occaſion, confeſſed to William, with a plauſive appearance of candour, that before the arrival of prince Edward, as the king was without heirs, he had indeed entertained hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, from a conſciouſneſs

that there was no nobleman in England whoſe wealth and ſervices could give him ſo juſt a claim to the affection and obedience of the people: that, in conſequence of ſuch hopes, he had even proceeded to take certain meaſures, which had afforded him the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs; but that the arrival of the lawful heir to the throne had induced him to change his intentions, as he had been anxious to receive the crown as the free gift of the people, and not to ſeize it as an uſurper. He added, that, ſince he was acquainted with the pretenſions of William, and the pleaſure of his ſovereign, he ſhould think it his duty to promote them; as he would much rather that the kingdom ſhould fall under the dominion of a prince who was able to defend it, than under that of a child, whoſe infant imbecility gave but little hopes of improvement.

William, to attach him more firmly to his intereſt, offered him one of his daughters in marriage; but, the princeſs not being yet arrived at years of maturity, the conſummation of the marriage was deferred to a future period. He alſo required Harold to take a ſolemn oath to adhere ſtrictly to the promiſe he had made; and, in order to render it more ſacred and binding, had recourſe to an artifice which conveys a juſt idea of the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times—he ordered the relics of ſome of the moſt revered martyrs and ſaints to be privately conveyed beneath the altar on which Harold had conſented to ſwear; and, when the oath was taken, expoſed them to his view, with an earneſt exhortation to obſerve moſt religiouſly an engagement contracted under ſuch auſpices, and ratified by ſo tremendous a ſanction: the duke then diſmiſſed him, with great profeſſions of friendſhip and future protection; having firſt delivered to him his nephew Haquin, and promiſed to bring over his brother Ulnoth, when he ſhould go to England himſelf.

Harold was no ſooner at liberty, than he conceived himſelf authorized to violate an oath, which had been extorted by fear, and which, if fulfilled, might tend to operate the ſubjection of his native country to the domination of a foreigner. He determined to take advantage of the confidence that had been repoſed in him, the more effectually to fruſtrate the deſigns of the duke of Normandy. He exerted the utmoſt diligence and aſſiduity in encreaſing the number of his partizans, and ſpared no pains to ſecure the eſteem of the people. If, hitherto, he had really experienced any ſcruples of conſcience from an attempt to uſurp the crown, to the excluſion of the lawful heir, he now conceived himſelf to be totally exempt from any imputation of injuſtice to Edgar Atheling; as, even ſhould he forego his pretenſions, the ſucceſſion of that prince would be effectually impeded by the interpoſition of William. He, therefore, ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to reconcile the minds of the Engliſh to his own elevation to the regal dignity: he revived their ancient averſion to the Normans, and, by an oſtentatious diſplay of his influence and power, ſought to deter the wavering and timorous Edward from executing his intended will in favour of his Norman competitor.

The

The king, advanced in years and oppreſſed with infirmities, made no attempt to counteract his projects. Accordingly, on his death, which happened at the commencement of the year 1066, the crown was, by the unanimous voice of the people, conferred on Harold, who proved himſelf worthy to wear it, by a diſplay of wiſdom, vigour, moderation, and juſtice, that promiſed to ſecure the happineſs of his ſubjects, and the welfare of the ſtate. The duke of Normandy, enraged at the ſucceſs of his rival, made a vow that he ſhould experience the moſt dreadful effects of his indignation; but, that his attempt might be ſanctioned by ſome colour of juſtice, he ſent ambaſſadors to England, to reproach Harold with a violation of his oath, and to demand, in a peremptory tone, the immediate reſignation of the throne which he had uſurped, threatening him with immediate war in caſe of a refuſal. To this inſolent ſummons Harold juſtly replied, that William could have no poſſible pretenſions to the crown of England; that, if the late king had really made a will in his favour, it could be of no effect, as the laws of the land expreſsly forbade him to diſpoſe of the liberties of his ſubjects according to the ſuggeſtions of his own caprice; and that they had expreſsly provided againſt the ſucceſſion of a foreigner: that, for his part, the crown had been conferred on him by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people, whoſe favour he ſhould deſerve to forfeit, were he capable of betraying the deareſt intereſts of the nation, which had been conſigned to his care; that, with regard to the oath, with the violation of which his ambaſſadors had dared to upbraid him, it had been extorted by a well-grounded fear of perſonal violence, and could, therefore, never be regarded as obligatory. Finally, he gave the duke to underſtand that, if he made any attempt to enforce his claim, he would find the Engliſh ready to defend their liberties to the laſt extremity, under a monarch who, conſcious of the importance of the truſt repoſed in him, was determined that his reign ſhould end but with his life.

William, on receiving this reſolute anſwer, made the moſt formidable preparations for war. Though fully aware of the dangers that muſt inevitably attend this important enterprize, he ſuffered the voice of prudence to be ſilenced by the dictates of reſentment; and, ſubſtituting ambition for juſtice, determined to ſurmount every obſtacle that ſhould be oppoſed to his progreſs.

He founded his hopes of ſucceſs on the conſideration that the long period of tranquillity which England had enjoyed, for the ſpace of near half a century, muſt have eſſentially enervated its inhabitants; that the Engliſh ſoldiers muſt be conſequently devoid of diſcipline, and the officers of experience. He knew that the kingdom was wholly unprovided with fortified towns, which afforded an opportunity of prolonging a war; and that one deciſive action muſt, therefore, determine its fate. He was, moreover, willing to believe that, as Harold had aſcended the throne in direct oppoſition to the will of the late monarch, he was not ſo firmly ſeated in it, but that the leaſt commotion might occaſion a revolt that would prove fatal to his authority.

Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he haſtened the equipment of his fleet; and the fame of the intended invaſion being already diffuſed over the neighbouring kingdoms, great numbers of powerful noblemen, allured by the reputation which William had acquired by his military conduct, repaired to his ſtandard, accompanied by their vaſſals and dependents. But Conan, count of Brittany, who was the avowed enemy of William, embraced this favourable opportunity of advancing a frivolous claim to the duchy of Normandy, which he prepared to enforce by marching a powerful army into the Norman territories.

The duke, aware that a defeat at the preſent critical period muſt effectually fruſtrate his deſigns upon England, propoſed terms of accommodation to the count; but theſe being rejected with diſdain, William was compelled to prepare for deciding the diſpute by the ſword; and as the two armies were nearly equal in numbers, a deſperate engagement was expected to enſue; when the death of Conan, who died ſuddenly, very opportunely prevented the effuſion of blood.

Some hiſtorians affirm that this nobleman was poiſoned by his chamberlain, at the inſtigation of William; an aſſertion which acquires a great ſemblance of probability from a due conſideration of all the relative circumſtances; though it is not ſufficiently aſcertained to enable us to vouch for its authenticity.

Hoel, the brother-in-law, and ſucceſſor of Conan, deviated from the prudent policy of his predeceſſor, and not only concluded a peace with the duke of Normandy, but ſent his eldeſt ſon, Alain Fergeant, to join him with a body of five thouſand Bretons. The counts of Anjou, Poictou, Maine, and Boulogne, alſo engaged to ſupply him with troops and tranſports, on condition of being repaid for their ſervices by a ſtipulated portion of land, after the conqueſt of England.

William had even the audacity to apply for aſſiſtance to France; and Baldwin, rather through fear than friendſhip, permitted him to levy troops in the dominions of Philip, and even ſupplied him with a ſum of money. Henry the Fourth, emperor of Germany, not only gave permiſſion to his vaſſals to embark in this expedition, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, but ſolemnly engaged to protect the duchy of Normandy from inſult or invaſion during the abſence of William, who was thereby enabled to employ his whole force in the enterprize.

But an ally of ſtill greater importance, whom William had found the means of winning over to his intereſt, was the pope, whoſe influence on the minds of the people, in thoſe days of darkneſs and ſuperſtition, was immenſe. Far from confining his cares to the due performance of his ſpiritual duties, and the ſalutary regulation of his church, this aſpiring prelate aſſumed the right to interpoſe in all ſecular tranſactions, and to act

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as a deſpotic arbiter in the diſputes of monarchs; not merely with the laudable view of enforcing harmony, but, too frequently, for the malignant purpoſe of lighting the torch of diſcord, and affording a ſanction to injuſtice. Alexander the Second, who now enjoyed the papal dignity, highly pleaſed by William's appeal to his tribunal, and his offer to hold the kingdom of England as a fief of the apoſtolic ſee, determined to eſpouſe his quarrel; hoping too, by that means, to extend his influence to England, which ſtill maintained a certain degree of independence in its eccleſiaſtical government, and had, hitherto, ſtrenuouſly reſiſted thoſe exorbitant claims by which the grandeur of the papacy was ſupported. Urged by theſe potent conſiderations, without giving himſelf time to inveſtigate the juſtice and validity of William's claim, he openly declared in favour of it; and, to inſpire the Normans with confidence, ſent the duke a conſecrated banner, a golden Agnus Dei, and one of Saint Peter's hairs ſet in a ring; while, on the other hand, he attacked his adverſary Harold with the artillery of the church, denouncing excommunication againſt him and all his adherents.

Though this concurrence of favourable circumſtances had removed many obſtacles which had oppoſed themſelves to William's deſigns, by affording a colour of juſtice to his proceedings, and thereby diſpelling the doubts of ſome, who were deterred by ſcruples of conſcience, from engaging in his cauſe; yet one eſſential difficulty ſtill remained to be obviated: this conſiſted in the means of raiſing a ſufficient ſum of money to defray the enormous expences of ſo vaſt an undertaking. He, at firſt, had recourſe to the ordinary mode of convening an aſſembly of the ſtates of Normandy, which accordingly met at Lillebonne; but when he demanded their permiſſion to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies by means of a general impoſt, they unanimouſly refuſed to comply with his requeſt, from a judicious preference of the happineſs and repoſe of their country to the dangerous gratification of their ſovereign's ambition; for they plainly foreſaw that, if William ſucceeded in his deſigns, Normandy would infallibly become a province of England; and that, if he failed in his attempt, the duchy muſt long feel the effects of his defeat. They therefore repreſented to him that the late wars having nearly exhauſted the principality both of men and money, they were ſo far from being able to attempt new conqueſts, that they ſhould even find great difficulty in defending their own territories againſt the attacks of any powerful invader. They added, that though the claims of William might be founded in juſtice, they were not aware of any advantage that could poſſibly accrue to their country from the enterprize; nor were they obliged to ſerve in foreign expeditions, in which the intereſt of Normandy was not immediately concerned.

The duke, finding there was no probability of ſucceeding with the ſtates, reſolved on a ſeparate application to the moſt wealthy individuals of the province; and, beginning with thoſe in whom he could place the firmeſt reliance, obtained by degrees the requiſite ſum for the equipment of his armament.

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The counts of Longueville and Mortaigne afforded him great aſſiſtance in this negociation. Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, brother to the duke, fitted out forty veſſels at his own expence; William Fitz-Oſborne, count of Breteuil, and conſtable of the duchy, provided a ſimilar number, and the biſhop of Mons ſupplied him with thirty. The example of theſe noblemen was followed by many others; and the ſtates, finding it in vain to perſiſt in refuſing the required aſſiſtance, as without it he would be enabled to put his project in execution, at laſt conſented to grant his requeſt.

William had, by this time, collected a fleet of three thouſand veſſels, and aſſembled an army of ſixty thouſand choſen men; among which were more than five thouſand noblemen, four hundred and fifty of whom were of the firſt rank. The moſt celebrated were Guy, count of Ponthieu; Alain Fergeant, count of Dol; Amaury, viſcount of Thouars; the lords of Vetrè, Châteaugiron, Gael, and Loheac; all of them Bretons. The chief of the Normans were Odo, biſhop of Bayeux; the count of Mortaigne and his ſon, Geoffry de Rotrou; Roger, count of Beaumont, and his ſon Robert; the count of Longueville; with the lords of Avranches, Touques, Etouteville, Arques, Gournay, and Saint Sauveur de Cotentin, an old general of eighty, who was reſolved to terminate a life of glory in the field of honour. There were alſo Euſtace count of Boulogne; Hugh, count of Eſtaples; William Fitz-Richard, count of Evreux; William de Warrenne; Hugh de Grantmeſnil; Charles Martel; Roger de Montgomery, and Walter Giffard. To theſe courageous chieftains William promiſed the ſpoils of England, as a reward for their valour; and, pointing to the Britiſh coaſt, told them that was the field in which they muſt render their names immortal, and procure to themſelves honourable eſtabliſhments.

William had collected his fleet early in the ſummer of 1066, but was prevented from ſailing by contrary winds, and different incidents, till the month of September, when it ſet ſail from the harbour of Saint Valori; and, after a fortunate paſſage, arrived at Pevenſey, in Suſſex, on Michaelmas-day, when the army was diſembarked without the ſmalleſt oppoſition, as a large fleet which Harold had aſſembled, and which had cruized off the Iſle of Wight during the ſummer, had been diſmiſſed, on a falſe report that William had diſcontinued his preparations.

After publiſhing a manifeſto as falſe as his claims were frivolous, he advanced to the vicinity of Haſtings, where he was met by the Engliſh army, under the command of Harold and his valiant brothers: the fatal battle was fought on the fourteenth of October, and, after an obſtinate and bloody conflict, which laſted from morning till night, William, by an artifice, ſecured that victory which decided the fate of England. The death of Harold left this foreign uſurper in poſſeſſion of the field—and of the kingdom; and the ſceptre of Britain, which had been ſwayed by the Anglo-Saxons for more than ſix hundred years, was now transferred to the hand of a Norman.

A. D.

A. D. 1067.] The power which William acquired by this new conqueſt, afforded juſt ſubject of alarm to all the neighbouring princes, who repented, when too late, their own weakneſs, in not oppoſing his efforts. King Philip, young as he was, conceived that a crowned vaſſal was an object of apprehenſion; and he loudly cenſured the regent, who had aſſiſted the duke of Normandy with money and troops. But Baldwin did not long ſurvive this event: his death was a great loſs to the kingdom, which he governed with conſummate prudence; and a ſtill greater to the youthful monarch, who now became his own maſter, at an age when the underſtanding is generally weak, and the paſſions are ſtrong. Philip was then but fifteen, and, according to the ancient law of the realm, the king was not of age till he was twenty-one. It does not appear, however, that any other regent was named. The firſt expedition of the new monarch was into Flanders, whither reſpect for the memory of Baldwin induced him to carry his arms.

It had long been a cuſtom with the counts of Flanders to reſpect the rights of primogeniture, ſo far as to leave all their dominions to the eldeſt ſon, to the total excluſion of the younger children. The regent left two ſons, Baldwin the Sixth, who ſucceeded him; and Robert, who, according to the romantic ideas of the age[1], was ſent to ſeek his fortune on the Spaniſh coaſt. He landed in Gallicia, and, after making a conſiderable booty, was compelled to retreat to his ſhips, and return home. He then went, as a pilgrim, to Conſtantinople, whither he was invited by ſome Norman gentlemen, who had formed a deſign of making themſelves maſters of Greece. But their project being detected, Robert turned back, with a firm reſolution of eſtabliſhing himſelf in the vicinity of Flanders. He accordingly collected what troops he could, and made an attack upon Friezeland, which was then governed by Gertrude of Saxony, widow to count Florent, and guardian to her infant ſon, Thierri. The Flemiſh prince, though twice repulſed, renewed his attacks with ſuch determined courage, that the counteſs, fearing that he muſt finally ſucceed, offered him her hand, with the county of Friezeland; which he accepted, and from thence acquired the appellation of Robert the Friſon.

A. D. 1070.] Such was the ſtate of Flanders at the death of the regent of France, a prince of ſtrong talents, and inflexible integrity. Baldwin the Sixth, his ſucceſſor, either from jealouſy, ambition, or antipathy to his younger brother, reſolved to deprive him of an eſtabliſhment, for which he was ſolely indebted to his courage and good conduct. In vain did Robert ſue for peace, and ſolicit his friendſhip; bent on war, he had recourſe to arms; and a battle enſuing, he paid for his unjuſt and criminal attempt with his life. His two ſons, Arnoul and Baldwin, being ſtill in their infancy, were incapable of ſtopping the progreſs of the victor, who eaſily made himſelf maſter of his brother's principality. Deſpoiled of their inheritance, they fled, with their mother, Richilde of

[1] Lambert Aſchaff. de reb. Germ.

Hainault,

Hainault, to the court of France, and implored the protection of Philip, who received them with kindneſs, and, raiſing an army, advanced againſt the uſurper. But in a deciſive battle, near Caſſel, the French were defeated; and the young count, Arnoul, periſhed in the action. Robert, by no means elated with his victory, was ſtill eager to obtain the friendſhip of Philip; who accepted the profferred alliance, and even conſented to marry Bertha, daughter to his wife Gertrude, by Florent, count of Friezeland. Young Baldwin being thus abandoned by France, was compelled to content himſelf with the diſtrict of Hainault, and the title of count, and to leave his uncle in the peaceable enjoyment of Flanders.

A. D. 1073.] The church of Rome was, at this time, governed by the famous Hildebrand, a man of low extraction, formerly a monk of Cluni, afterwards a cardinal, and at length, on the death of Alexander the Second, promoted to the papal dignity, under the appellation of Gregory the Seventh. This turbulent and aſpiring pontiff, not content with the arbitrary exerciſe of his ſpiritual authority, laid claim to univerſal dominion; nor ſuffered his enterpriſing genius to be reſtrained by fear, decency, or moderation. His impious zeal engendered more inſurrections, and cauſed a greater effuſion of blood, than the ambition of the moſt ſanguinary tyrants. "He neglected nothing [2]," ſays Paſquier, "which either arms, the pen, or ſpiritual cenſures, could effect, in order to "promote the advantage of the papacy, and the diſadvantage of ſovereign princes." He was the firſt who dared to advance the dangerous doctrine, that the pope had a right to depoſe emperors, and to abſolve ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance [3]. At leaſt, ſuch is the doctrine contained in the famous publication known by the name of *dictatus papæ* [4], becauſe it gave the particulars of the pope's inſtructions to his legates. All the *circular letters* of this pontiff breathe the ſame ſpirit of arrogance; they contain repeated aſſertions that biſhops are ſuperior to kings, and are made to judge them; a precept to which his practice was ſtrictly conformable.

He excommunicated and depoſed Boleſlaus, king of Poland, and even took from that country the title of kingdom. The emperor of Conſtantinople alſo received an order from the imperious pontiff [5] to abdicate a throne which he had uſurped. The princes of

[2] Paſquier Recher. de la. Fran. c. viii. et xiv. p. 190 et 219. [3] Epiſt. 35. Greg. vii. lib. ii.

[4] That candour and impartiality, by which an hiſtorian ſhould never ceaſe to be ſwayed, compel us to obſerve, that many able critics, particularly Pagi and Father Alexandre, have been decidedly of opinion, that the treatiſe, entitled, Dictatus Papæ, was not the production of Gregory; but written by ſome of his enemies, in order to render him odious. At this diſtance of time it is almoſt impoſſible to verify the fact; but we muſt remark, that all the circular letters, ſent by that pontiff to the different biſhops, breathe the ſame ſpirit, and contain the ſame pernicious doctrine of ſpiritual authority over temporal concerns; and certain it is, that the conduct of Gregory was well-calculated to impreſs a belief that the publication in queſtion was really compoſed by him.

[5] Mabill. Præf. 2, tom. ix. p. 28.

Calabria,

Calabria, in order to avoid the thunders of the church, were compelled to take an oath of fidelity to the pope, and to hold their territories as fiefs of the holy ſee [6]. In his letters to Manaſſes, archbiſhop of Rheims, and to ſome other French prelates, he ſays—"Your king is a tyrant, unworthy to ſway the ſceptre: his life is paſſed in infamy "and crime [7]." Theſe inſolent expreſſions are followed by his uſual threat of excommunication. But this was only the prelude to his daring attempts upon France. His legates ſoon received orders to exact from the French an annual tribute [8] of a ſilver denier, for every houſe in the kingdom, which was equivalent to the Peter-pence paid by the Engliſh. Philip, however, treated this audacious demand with the contempt it deſerved.

Spain was treated with ſtill greater arrogance. "*You cannot but know* [9]", ſaid he, in his letters to the Chriſtian princes of that country, "*that Saint Peter is liege lord of all "your petty ſtates, and that they are the ſole property of the holy apoſtolic ſee. They had bet-"ter be in the hands of the Saracens, than not pay due homage to the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. "You muſt have learned from your fathers* [10]" (ſpeaking to Solomon, king of a country but juſt converted to Chriſtianity) "*that Hungary is a domain of the church of Rome. Be "aſſured you will experience her indignation, unleſs you acknowledge that you derive your au-"thority from the pope.*" The duke of Bohemia paid him an annual tribute of a hundred marks of ſilver, for permiſſion to wear a mitre. Sardinia, Dalmatia, and Ruſſia, were, he maintained, all fiefs of the triple crown. "*Your ſon,*" ſays he, in a letter to king Demetrius [11], "*has declared that he wiſhes to receive the crown from our hands; this "demand appearing to us to be founded in juſtice, we have given him your kingdom on the "part of Saint Peter.*"

But Henry the Fourth, emperor of Germany, was more haraſſed by the daring pretenſions of this turbulent prieſt, than any of the other princes. Under a pretence that he ſold eccleſiaſtical benefices and dignities, the pope ſummoned him to appear at Rome, to anſwer the accuſations that were preferred againſt him. Henry had juſt returned from a glorious expedition into Saxony when he received this ſtrange citation. Inſtead of anſwering it, he aſſembled a ſynod at Worms, at which the pontiff was condemned and depoſed. Gregory, on his part, convened a council, and pronounced the following anathema. "*On the part of the Omnipotent God. I forbid Henry to govern the kingdoms of "Germany and Italy: I abſolve all Chriſtians from every oath they either have taken or may "take to him: and I excommunicate whoever ſhall ſerve him as a king.*"

This ſentence, for which our language can afford no epithet ſufficiently ſtrong to mark the infamy of the prelate who pronounced it, had influence enough—ſuch was the

[6] L. viii. Epiſt. Greg. Poſt. Primam Epiſt. [7] Epiſt. 32. 35. l. ii. [8] Greg. Epiſt. 23. [9] L. i. Epiſt. 6. 7. l. 6. Epiſt. 28. [10] L. ii. Epiſt. 28. [11] L. vi. Epiſt. 24.

darkneſs and ignorance of the age!—to arm the whole empire againſt its chief. Henry ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded by an army of rebels, who, with the pope's bull in their hand, compelled him to promiſe that he would retire to Spires, and there live in the capacity of a private citizen, without attempting to diſcharge any of the functions of royalty, till ſuch time as Gregory ſhould repair to Augſbourg, in order to preſide at the court of princes and prelates who were to try their ſovereign. To avert a ſentence ſo degrading, the emperor reſolved to aſk abſolution of the pope; who was then at Canoſſa, near Reggio, with the counteſs Matilda, who may be conſidered as the true cauſe of the diviſions which prevailed between the imperial and prieſtly dignity [12]. Henry accordingly repaired to that fortreſs, wholly unattended, with his feet naked, and his body enveloped in ſackcloth. He was ſtopped at the gate, and ordered to faſt for three days. At length he was admitted to kiſs the pontiff's feet, on condition that he would ſhow a perfect ſubmiſſion to his will, and repair to Augſbourg, there to wait his pleaſure.

But the Lombards moved at the ſtate of humiliation to which this young prince, who had frequently ſignalized his courage and conduct in the field of victory, was reduced by the impious arrogance of an aſpiring prieſt, promiſed to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his dignity, provided he would break the diſgraceful engagement he had juſt contracted. In conſequence of this unexpected ſuccour, the face of affairs was ſpeedily changed, and Gregory was beſieged in the very fortreſs from whence he had recently given laws to the princes of Europe. Still his courage was inflexible; he carried on his uſual war of words; was laviſh of his threats and excommunications [13], and had even ſufficient credit to promote the election of a new emperor, in the perſon of Rodolph of Reinfeld, duke of Suabia, to whom Gregory ſent a crown of gold, with the following Latin verſe, containing a ſtupid play upon words.—

"*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.*"

As ſoon as Henry was apprized of this revolt, he haſtened into Germany, where, notwithſtanding the ſpiritual thunder of the pope, *who condemned him to have no ſtrength in battle, and to gain no victory* [14], he fought and defeated his rival. The uſurper, being mortally wounded by Godfrey of Bouillon, acknowledged on his death-bed that he was juſtly puniſhed for having taken up arms againſt his lawful ſovereign.

The emperor then returned to Italy, and laid ſiege to Rome. He took with him a new pope, who had been elected under his auſpices, at Mayence. This was Guibert, archbiſhop of Ravenna [15], afterwards known by the appellation of Clement the Third. The city was taken; but Gregory eſcaped and went to end his days in exile at

[12] Dambert, p. 240. [13] Hiſt. Bel. Sax. p. 135. [14] Tom. x. Conc. p. 381. [15] Acta ap. Boll. c. iii. tom 17

Salerno.

Salerno. Had this ſpiritual Alexander, whoſe ambition ſoared beyond the ſcanty limits of the world, lived in a more enlightened age, it is probable that he would either have been confined on the plea of inſanity, or that his criminal enterprizes would have met their juſt reward on a ſcaffold.

In times of darkneſs and ſuperſtition, that the moſt atrocious crimes, when veiled beneath the ſpecious maſk of piety, acquire a different complexion, and are conſidered as worthy of imitation and praiſe, is a fact that rather incurs pity, than excites aſtoniſhment; but, when the film of prejudice is removed, when the judgment ceaſes to be obſcured, and the mind is no longer bound by local ties, or private partialities that then the infamy, which for ages has attached to vicious characters, ſhould be done away by the mere force of words, and the powers of ſophiſtry, is a matter of deep concern, that leads us to lament the depredation, or, at leaſt, the groſs miſapplication of genius and ability. Hildebrand and Becket have both found a champion, in the *eighteenth* century!!! A champion who has devoted his ſplendid talents, not to the mere taſk of palliation, but to the converſion of abſolute crimes into active virtues. With regard to Hildebrand, it has been urged that he aimed at univerſal dominion, for the ſole purpoſe of promoting a reformation of manners, which was generally wanting, and of enforcing and extending the precepts of Chriſtianity and the practice of piety. Admitting this to have been his motive, his conduct was *ſo far* laudable; ſtill, however, the means he adopted for the execution of his plan, were inconſiſtent with his ſtation, and deteſtable from their immediate effects. Beſides, how can his endeavours to extend a deſpotic authority over all temporal concerns be reconciled with the expreſs declaration of that Being, whoſe vicar he profeſſed himſelf to be—*that his kingdom was not of this world?* or how will the arrogant and preſumptuous language of Gregory be made to ſquare with the meekneſs and humility of Chriſt? Can treaſon, perjury, rebellion, and murder, be proper inſtruments for enforcing obedience to *a God of mercy and peace?* But, we are told, what we now conſider as vice had formerly a different denomination, and that in appreciating crimes we ſhould always conſider the age and country in which they were committed—to this we reply—that truth and virtue are fixed and immutable; confined to no age; peculiar to no ſoil; attached to no party. Their precepts are plain and ſimple; correctly defined, and eaſily underſtood; though ſophiſtry may diſguiſe, it can never ſubvert them. Their nature ever was, is, and ever will be the ſame. Were it poſſible to change it, the firmeſt bond of ſocial harmony would be diſſolved; and every crime admit of juſtification. The Abbè Velly has obſerved, not unjuſtly, that the misfortunes of Gregory may be chiefly aſcribed to his ignorance of the proper boundaries of ſpiritual authority, and to his having arrogated to himſelf a power over temporal matters, that Jeſus Chriſt never granted, either directly or indirectly, to any of his diſciples. This bold aſſumption gave riſe to numerous wars, that were attended with a vaſt effuſion of blood, and a long train of calamities both to church and ſtate.

The diſpute between the emperor and the ſovereign pontiff induced all the ſovereigns of Europe to take proper precautions againſt the daring and dangerous power of the pope [16]. Such precautions, if Paſquier may be credited, had long been adopted in France, "We have had" (ſays that author) "from the earlieſt times, three propoſitions which "have ſerved us as a ſhield. The firſt is, that the king of France cannot be excom- "municated by the authority of the pope: the ſecond, that the pope has no juriſdiction "or power over the temporalities of kings:—the laſt, that the general and univerſal "council is ſuperior to the pope [17]."

An inſurrection of the inhabitants of Mans, called William the Norman from England, to reduce the rebels to ſubmiſſion. This taſk was no ſooner accompliſhed, than he was obliged to turn his arms againſt Ralph de Guader, a Breton, who had taken refuge in the city of Dol, whither William purſued him, and laying ſiege to the place, ſwore that he would not deſiſt till he had taken it, and gained poſſeſſion of his enemy. But he was compelled to violate his oath, for the king of France, together with Hoel count of Brittany, having ſent a formidable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of Ralph, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and relinquiſh his enterprize. Nor was this the only repulſe which William experienced; an event that occurred about this time was attended with much greater diſgrace and mortification.

Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſurnamed *Gambaron*, or *Court-hoſe*, from his ſhort legs, was a prince who inherited his father's courage without his diſſimulation. Being impatient of controul he was prompted to aſpire to an early independence; and ſeveral circumſtances had occurred to favour his deſign. When William received the ſubmiſſions of the province of Maine, he had promiſed the inhabitants that he would appoint Robert to govern them; and, previous to his firſt embarkation for England, while he was ſoliciting ſuccours from the French, he had expreſsly declared, that if his deſigns upon that country met with ſucceſs, the prince ſhould ſucceed him in the duchy of Normandy. This artful declaration was intended to quiet the jealouſy of his neighbours, who were fearful that he would acquire too great an extent of territory: but when Robert, after the acceſſion of his father to the throne of England, had demanded the performance of his promiſe, William anſwered, that the numerous inſurrections of his ſubjects, and the threatened invaſion of the Scots and Danes, rendered his power in England ſo precarious and uncertain, that prudence forbade him to part with his hereditary dominions, to which he might, perhaps, be finally, compelled, to retire. This evaſive anſwer ſerved his purpoſe for a time; but all thoſe pretended obſtacles being now removed, he was compelled to lay aſide his diſſimulation, and to confeſs to his ſon, that it was his determination not to reſign any part of his territories during his life. This

[16] Pere Daniel, tom. ii. p. 472. [17] Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 16. p. 224.

explicit

explicit avowal encreaſed the diſcontent of Robert, who made no attempt to conceal his diſpleaſure; and was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having inſtigated Philip and the count of Brittany to that oppoſition which had compelled him to raiſe the ſiege of Dol with ſuch precipitation.

A. D. 1079.] At length the ſignal for war was given; the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, together with thoſe of Anjou and Brittany, in general, declared for the prince, who was privately ſupplied with money by his mother Matilda, and thereby enabled to ſupport an unnatural conteſt, which, during three years, convulſed the hereditary dominions of William, and totally deſtroyed his domeſtic repoſe. Philip ſpared no pains to foment the diviſion, and to enlarge the breach which ſubſiſted between father and ſon.

William, finding his authority in Normandy conſiderably diminiſhed by the attachment of the Norman nobility to his ſon, was compelled to have recourſe to England, where his tyranny had eſtabliſhed his power on a more ſolid baſis, and where the doctrine of paſſive obedience had been more ſucceſsfully inculcated. An Engliſh army was accordingly tranſported to the continent; and Robert, unable to withſtand ſo formidable a reinforcement, was compelled to leave his father in poſſeſſion of Normandy, and to retire to the caſtle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoiſis, a retreat which Philip had ſecured for him. Here he was joined by a great number of French noblemen, who repaired thither, with their vaſſals, to ſignalize their courage under the command of a prince who was eſteemed one of the beſt ſoldiers of his time. From thence they ravaged all the Vexin Normand, and the Pays de Caux.

William, to put a ſtop to theſe incurſions, purſued his ſon, and laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle, which was defended with great valour. Before the walls of Gerberoy there paſſed many rencounters, which more reſembled the atchievements of chivalry than the operations of regular troops. In one of the numerous ſallies which were made during the ſiege, Robert perceiving an officer in the Engliſh army who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his vigorous exertions, rode up to him, and making a furious thruſt with his lance, wounded and diſmounted him at the firſt onſet. As he fell, he called out for aſſiſtance, and his voice immediately diſcovered him to be the king. Robert, ſtricken with horror at the crime he was about to accompliſh, ſprang from his horſe; and, falling on his knees, moſt earneſtly entreated his father's forgiveneſs.

William, ſtung with ſhame and indignation, did not anſwer the virtuous effuſions of filial reſpect with an equal return of tenderneſs; but mounting his ſon's horſe, departed for his camp, beſtowing a malediction where a heart leſs ferocious muſt have pronounced a pardon. He ſoon after raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Rouen, where, by the importunities

tunities of the queen, and the interpoſition of his nobles, he was prevailed on to liſten to a reconciliation with Robert: but he did not think it prudent to leave him in Normandy after his own departure from that country; and therefore took him with him to England, under the ſpecious pretence of entruſting him with the command of an army, which he ſent to repel the incurſions of the Scots, who had invaded England.

A. D. 1087.] For ſome years a perfect peace prevailed between the French and Engliſh monarchs: which was at length interrupted by the account received by William of ſome idle railleries with which Philip had indulged himſelf at his expence. William, who was become extremely corpulent, had been confined for ſome weeks to his bed by ſickneſs; which led Philip to expreſs a hope that his brother of England would be ſoon delivered of his great belly, and enabled to quit his chamber. This ſarcaſm being reported to the king, threw him into a violent paſſion, and made him ſwear—"by the "ſplendour and reſurrection of God", his uſual oath, that the firſt time he ſhould go abroad, he would light up as many torches at Saint Geneviève, to celebrate his recovery, as ſhould give but little ſatisfaction to Philip; alluding to the uſual practice, at that time, of women after child-birth, who, when they were churched, always preſented a certain number of lighted candles. Nor did he fail to put his menace in execution; for immediately on his recovery he entered the Iſle of France, at the head of a powerful army, at a time when the harveſt was ripe for gathering, and laid waſte the whole country with fire and ſword. He laid ſiege to Mante; and, having taken it by aſſault, firſt plundered the town, and then reduced it to aſhes, with all the churches and monaſteries it contained. But the deſtructive progreſs of theſe hoſtilities was impeded by an accident, which ſoon after put an end to William's exiſtence. His horſe, ſuddenly ſtarting, threw him on the pommel of the ſaddle, by which he received a dangerous bruiſe; and being extremely heated at the time, and likewiſe in a bad habit of body, he began to be apprehenſive of the conſequences, and ordered himſelf to be conveyed in a litter to the abbey of Saint Gervais, at Rouen, where he expired on the ninth of September, 1087, in the ſixty-third year of his age and the twenty-firſt of his reign.

A. D. 1091.] The death of this prince delivered Philip from a formidable enemy, and the dominions of the deceaſed monarch were conteſted by his three ſons. Of theſe, the ſecond, William Rufus, by the dying breath of his father, was recommended to the throne of England; but for the poſſeſſion of it, he was probably more indebted to the attachment of Eudes, the miniſter of the late king, who delivered into his hands the royal treaſures, than to the favourable opinion of a ſovereign who had never acquired the affections of his ſubjects. Robert, the eldeſt, ſucceeded to Normandy and Maine; and to Henry was only bequeathed a ſum of money. Yet Rufus, not content with the crown which Robert had a right to expect, invaded ſoon after the duchy of Normandy. The latter was faintly ſupported by Philip of France; and by the ceſſion of

Eu,

Eu, Feſcamp, and Cherbourg, purchaſed a diſadvantageous peace, which permitted him to retain the remainder of his inheritance.

A. D. 1094, 1095.] While theſe tranſactions were paſſing in France, the kingdom of Spain was a prey to every ſpecies of rapine and diſorder. The Saracens were in poſſeſſion of Luſitania, Murcia, Andaluſia, Valentia, Granada, and Torboſa; and their territories extended beyond the mountains of Caſtile and Saragoſſa. The Chriſtians had only Aſturia, a part of Old Caſtile, Barcelona, one half of Catalonia, Navarre, and a ſmall portion of Arragon. Too weak to oppoſe, by themſelves, the power of the Muſſelmans, they frequently implored the aid of France, and Philip ſent ſeveral armies to their aſſiſtance. William, duke of Aquitaine, and Hugh, duke of Burgundy, particularly ſignalized their zeal and courage in theſe pious expeditions[18], whence they returned laden with wealth and glory. But of all the French princes who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, only one laid the foundation of a laſting eſtabliſhment. This was Henry, ſon to Robert, duke of Burgundy, great-grandſon to Hugh Capet, who diſplayed ſo much valour, and rendered ſuch important ſervices to Alphonſo the Sixth, king of Caſtile, that that monarch gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and ceded to him the county of *Porto*, which the Spaniards had juſt conquered from the Moors. From him are deſcended the preſent royal family of Portugal, a name which was ſubſtituted for Luſitania, and which was taken from the towns of *Porto* and *Cale*, both of which were rebuilt by the French conqueror.

The tranquillity which prevailed in France afforded leiſure to Philip to purſue thoſe pleaſures to which he was naturally addicted; unfortunately they were not calculated to amuſe, but to enervate, the mind. The queen had, by this time, loſt her powers of pleaſing; and the king, though he had ſeveral children by her, was reſolved to procure a divorce. A diſtant and doubtful degree of conſanguinity afforded the pretence, and the unhappy princeſs, baniſhed to Montreuil, expired of a broken heart.

The king of France next demanded in marriage Emma, the daughter of count Roger, brother to Robert Guiſchard, duke of Sicily[19]. The lady, richly adorned with jewels, and liberally portioned, was eſcorted to the French court, but, to the diſgrace of Philip does the hiſtorian record, that Emma was diſmiſſed, and her fortune retained. His paſſions had been inflamed by Bertrade de Montfort, the wife of Fulk, count of Anjou, who, with the aſſiſtance of the king, had ſupplanted his elder brother Geoffrey. This woman was endowed with a great portion of ſenſe; but her ambition was inordinate: ſhe was imperious or ſupple, grave or gay, prude or coquette, according to the taſte of her lover. It was with the greateſt regret that ſhe had conſented to ſacrifice her youth

[18] Hiſt. Franc. Frag. apud Duch. tom. iv. p. 88, 99. [19] Hiſt. Robert Guiſchard, p. 106.

to

to an infirm old man, in temper moroſe, and oppreſſed with diſeaſe. The moment ſhe was apprized of the king's divorce, ſhe ſent a perſon in whom ſhe could confide, with a propoſal to her ſovereign to carry her off and then marry her. She relied for ſucceſs on the fame of her charms; and the event juſtified her confidence. The biſhop of Bayeux was baſe enough to marry them[20], and was richly rewarded for the degrading taſk; but ſo flagrant a violation of every moral and civil tye could not eſcape the cenſure of pope Urban the Second. In a council holden at Autun, a ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt the king, unleſs he parted from Bertrade; his ready promiſe of ſubmiſſion averted, or rather ſuſpended, the thunders of the vatican. But the death of Bertha induced him to recall Bertrade, who was ſolemnly crowned by two French biſhops. Paſcal the Second, who had ſucceeded Urban in the chair of St. Peter, immediately ſent two cardinals into France, with orders to aſſemble a council at Poictiers, for the purpoſe of renewing the cenſures of the church. But the face of affairs was now eſſentially changed[21]; Philip had recovered his liberty by the death of his wife; the count of Anjou had acknowledged that his own marriage was defective; the prelates exclaimed loudly againſt the arrogance of the ſovereign pontiff, who aſſumed an abſolute authority over the affairs of France; and the nobles began to be aware of the danger that muſt accrue to themſelves, if the court of Rome was permitted to extend her encroachments. William the Eighth, count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine, who publickly kept a miſtreſs, was moſt violent in his oppoſition to the proceedings of the legates. He declared, before all the members of the council, that he would never ſuffer his ſovereign to be excommunicated in his preſence; and finding his endeavours to counteract their deſigns fruitleſs and unavailing, he left the church, followed by a few of the biſhops, ſeveral of the nobles, and a part of the people, who treated the pope's miniſters with great indignity. They even proceeded to acts of violence: a ſtone was thrown at one of the cardinals, which broke the head of a prieſt that ſat at his ſide. All, then, was clamour and tumult. Moſt of the biſhops fled with precipitation; but ſome remained, and the legates ſtayed to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt the king.

It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed that, as ſome authors have aſſerted, the throne was declared vacant, the French were abſolved from their oath of fidelity, or that the kingdom was laid under an interdict. This opinion was probably founded on the mode which then prevailed, of dating public deeds—*done in the reign of Jeſus Chriſt, reigning in France*; but it has been demonſtrated by writers of eminence[22], that, long before his divorce, Philip made uſe of this pious form; and that it was often employed as well before as ſince his time. Service was performed, as uſual, with the doors of the church open; the ſacraments were adminiſtered in publick; and the king had even obtained *per-*

[20] Orderic. Vatal. p. 669. [21] Concil. Pict. tom. x. Concil. [22] Beſii, Blondel. Mabillon.

miſſion

miſſion from the biſhops to have maſs ſaid before him. The only effect of this excommunication was (if a contemporary author[23] may be credited, who has given a very particular account of it), that the ſervice was read in a low voice, and, when the king was preſent, with the doors ſhut; and, on ſolemn feſtivals, he was no longer crowned by the prelates of his kingdom, except by thoſe of Belgia, who would never conſider him as an excommunicated perſon[24]. Still, however, it afforded a plauſible pretext for revolt to ſuch of his vaſſals as were ſo diſpoſed; for which reaſon he reſolved to aſſociate his ſon, Lewis, to the throne—a prince of nineteen, poſſeſſed of great courage, and endued with a portion of wiſdom that is ſeldom to be met with at ſo early an age.

A. D. 1103, 1104, 1105.] While Philip paſſed his hours in the alternate enjoyments of love and wine, his kingdom was doomed by her miſeries to atone for the vices of her ſovereign. The barons once more aſſumed the tone of independance; the ſcenes of anarchy and confuſion, from which France had been reſcued by the prudence of Hugh Capet and his ſucceſſors, were again preſented in every province, and the dignity of the crown, which had been degraded by the follies of the father, was reſtored by the virtues of the ſon. From their fortified caſtles the nobles iſſued forth like a band of plunderers, and committed the moſt daring depredations on the public roads, laying all paſſengers, without the ſmalleſt diſcrimination of age, ſex, or ſtation, under a cruel contribution. It was no longer poſſible to travel but in caravans; and even the king himſelf did not dare to paſs from Paris to Etampes, without a ſtrong guard. The capital was in a manner blocked up by ſeven or eight ſmall towns, the lords of which kept regular bodies of troops that ſcoured the ſurrounding country; and theſe tyrants became more formidable from their union, which was cloſely cemented by the ties of blood, and the more powerful bonds of intereſt[25]. Lewis deemed it neceſſary to make every exertion for repreſſing diſorders which threatened the kingdom with deſtruction. With a ſmall but well-diſciplined force, he continually kept the field, and over-awed the nobles who had diſdained the authority of his father. He razed their caſtles, redreſſed the injuries of their dependants, and compelled them to relinquiſh the lands which they had raviſhed from the church. The banks of the Seine and the Loire alternately atteſted his indefatigable zeal; and the preſumption of a haughty nobility was repreſſed and chaſtiſed by a cautious yet enterpriſing prince.

Theſe glorious atchievements of Lewis not only eſtabliſhed his reputation but rendered him highly formidable to the few barons who ſtill reſiſted his power. Guy Trouſſel, one of the moſt determined plunderers in the kingdom, dreading the effects of his reſentment, offered to cede to him the caſtle of Montlhery, on condition that Philip, the king's ſon by Bertrade, ſhould do him the honour to accept his daughter's hand.

[23] Orderic. Vital. An. 1092, p. 699. [24] Mezerai, t. ii. p. 517. [25] Suger. Vita Ludov. Groſs.

As this fortreſs was deemed impregnable, and the king had been long anxious to get poſſeſſion of it, the propoſal of Guy was accepted with joy; and Lewis became maſter of a place which had for years proved the terror of the ſurrounding country, and broken off the communication between Paris and Orleans.

But of all theſe petty wars, the moſt glorious for Lewis was that which he carried on with Guy, count of Rochefort. This nobleman being a great favourite with Philip, had perſuaded the king to marry Lewis to his daughter Lucienne; but before the marriage was conſummated, it was oppoſed on the plea of conſanguinity, and declared null, by the Roman pontiff, Paſcal the Second, at the council of Troyes[26]. The father reſented the facility with which Lewis acquieſced in the determination of the pope; and, encouraged by Thibaud, count of Champagne, erected the ſtandard of revolt, plundered the traders who were under the king's protection, and ſecured his ſpoils in the caſtle of Gournay upon the Marne. Lewis immediately aſſembled his little army, and, advanced with a determination to lay ſiege to the fortreſs. Having forced the paſſage of the river, where he met with conſiderable reſiſtance, he drove the rebels from their entrenchments, and compelled them to take refuge within the walls of the caſtle. The garriſon, after ſome time, beginning to experience a ſcarcity of proviſions, treated with contempt the remonſtrances of Guy, and had reſolved on capitulating, when the count of Champagne haſtened to their relief with a numerous army. But Lewis immediately attacked him, and having gained a glorious and deciſive victory, returned to the caſtle, which ſurrendered; and was transferred by the victor to the lords of Garlande.

Lewis, either from curioſity, or to avoid the dangerous enmity of his mother-in-law, obtained permiſſion to viſit England. He was received by Henry (who, on the death of his brother William Rufus, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of that iſland, to the excluſion of Robert of Normandy, who was abſent in Paleſtine) with every mark of reſpect. Even here, if we can credit the teſtimony of concurring hiſtorians, the implacable hatred of Bertrade purſued him, and by a letter ſubſcribed with the name of Philip, and ſealed with the royal ſignet, the king of England was requeſted to retain his gueſt in confinement, or extinguiſh the dread of his return by death. But Henry, however addicted to cruelty and injuſtice where his intereſt or ambition was concerned, refuſed to violate the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, and delivered the letter which contained the fatal ſecret to Lewis himſelf. The prince immediately haſtened to his father, and throwing himſelf at his feet, told him he had brought him the criminal whom he had conſigned to deſtruction. Philip was entirely ignorant of what had paſſed, and expreſſed his deteſtation of the horrid attempt. But his love for Bertrade made him reject his ſon's demand of juſtice on her head; and Lewis, by this open

[26] Suger. Vita Ludov. Groſs.

diſplay

diſplay of his reſentment, only encreaſed the inveterate enmity of an abandoned woman, who determined, at all events, to procure the gratification of her revenge.

For this purpoſe ſhe applied to a faithful ſervant, who found means to adminiſter poiſon to Lewis [27], the ſtrength of whoſe conſtitution for a long time ſeemed overpowered with the violence of the noxious draught. At length, however, he was relieved from his ſufferings by the ſkill of an obſcure phyſician, who was treated as an ignorant quack by the faculty of Paris, but the effect of whoſe medicines beſpoke the extent of his knowledge. Lewis, juſtly enraged at this new and deſperate attack upon his life, would have immediately inflicted on Bertrade, with his own hand, that puniſhment which her crimes ſo juſtly merited, had he not been prevented by his father, who again ſucceeded in his attempts to promote a reconciliation between them. In order to appeaſe his rage, the king ceded to his ſon the town of Pontoiſe, with all the Vexin Françoiſ, an advantage ſo conſiderable, as engaged him to ſmother his reſentment.

The pope, in the mean time, had come to France; and Philip had ſent to inform him that he was willing to ſubmit to any penance he might think proper to impoſe; but on condition that he would grant him the neceſſary diſpenſation for rendering his marriage lawful and valid. A council was convened, for this purpoſe, at Baugenci, where the king and Bertrade promiſed to hold no farther commerce with each other, till the church had come to a deciſion on the ſubject of their union [28]. But the members of the council were afraid to deliver their ſentiments; and after diſputing for a conſiderable time, they ſeparated without coming to any determination on the buſineſs for which they had met.

The king complained bitterly of the inſult he had ſuſtained; and many of the French prelates wrote to the pope [29], who diſpatched two legates with orders to aſſemble a new council at Paris, at which Philip was, at length, abſolved from all cenſures, and his marriage confirmed [30]. Such was the concluſion of an affair that threatened to interrupt the national tranquillity, but which only ſerved to diſplay the wiſdom of ſome of the French prelates, and to ſhew the good qualities of Lewis.

We now come to an event which occurred during the tranſactions we have been relating, and which claims our particular notice, as well from its influence on all the nations of Europe, as from the eſſential part taken in it by the French.

The cruſades, or expeditions formed for the purpoſe of reſcuing the Holy Land from the hands of the Infidels, ſeem to be the firſt event that rouzed Europe from the le-

27 Suger. Vita Ludov. Groſs. 28 t. x. Concil. 29 Paſcal. Epiſt. 55. 30 Chron. Malleac.

thargy in which it had been long ſunk, and that tended to introduce any change in government or in manners[31].

The human mind is naturally inclined to dwell, with a degree of enthuſiaſtic delight that borders on veneration, on thoſe places which are entitled to diſtinction, either as the reſidence of ſome illuſtrious character, or as the ſcene of ſome glorious tranſaction. Hence proceeded that ſuperſtitious devotion with which the Chriſtians, from the earlieſt ages of the church, were accuſtomed to viſit that country which the Deity had ſelected as the inheritance of his favourite people, and in which the Son of God had accompliſhed the redemption of mankind.

The great expence, fatigue and danger, which neceſſarily attended a pilgrimage to ſo diſtant a country, conſiderably added to the merit of the undertaking, and ſoon made it be conſidered as a ſufficient atonement for the moſt flagrant offences. An opinion which was diffuſed over Europe with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, about the cloſe of the tenth and commencement of the eleventh century, and which obtained univerſal belief, cauſed a wonderful augmentation of the number of credulous pilgrims, and increaſed the ardour with which they undertook this uſeleſs voyage. The thouſand years mentioned by Saint John, in the twentieth chapter of the Revelations, were now ſuppoſed to be accompliſhed, and the end of the world to be, conſequently, approaching.

We learn from many of the ancient hiſtorians, preſerved by Martin Bouquet, a Benedictine monk, in his collection of the hiſtorians of France, that about this period mankind were ſeized with a general conſternation, that induced great numbers to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, and abandon their friends and families, to haſten with the utmoſt precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined that Chriſt would very ſoon appear to ſit in judgment upon the ſins of the world.

While the Arabians continued in poſſeſſion of Paleſtine, their caliphs encouraged the reſort of pilgrims to Jeruſalem; juſtly deeming that ſpecies of commerce as highly beneficial to the country, which brought conſiderable importations of gold and ſilver, and exported nothing but uſeleſs relics and conſecrated baubles. But the Turcomans, or Turks, a tribe of Tartars who had embraced the tenets of Mahomet, having, about the middle of the eleventh century, taken Syria from the Saracens, and made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem, pilgrims were expoſed to every kind of inſult and outrage from theſe Barbarians[32].

[31] Dr. Robertſon.

[32] Jo. Dan. Schoepflini de ſacris Gallorum in Orientum expeditionibus, p. 4.—Argent. 1726. Quarto.

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This revolution occurring at the very time when pilgrimages, from the cauſe above mentioned, had become more frequent, filled Europe with indignation and alarm. The religious travellers, on their return from Paleſtine, did not fail to relate the dangers they had experienced in viſiting the holy city; and to deſcribe the cruelty and vexations of the Turks, in terms of exaggeration proportioned to the magnitude of their fears.

When the minds of men were thus prepared, the miſguided zeal of a fanatical monk, who conceived the idea of leading all the forces of Chriſtendom againſt the infidels, and of effecting their expulſion from the Holy Land, was ſufficient to enforce the adoption of that wild enterprize. Gregory the Seventh had, indeed, formed the deſign of leading all the weſtern Chriſtians againſt the Mahometans; but the overbearing diſpoſition of that imperious prelate had created him ſuch numerous enemies, and rendered every ſcheme he propoſed ſo ſuſpicious, that he was able to make but little progreſs in the promotion of his plan, which was left to be completed by an inferior perſonage, whoſe ſtation of life prevented him from becoming an object of jealouſy or miſtruſt.

Peter the Hermit (or *Cucupietre*, as he is called in the Memoirs of the princeſs Anna, daughter of the emperor Alexis Comnena), a native of Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and witneſſed the dangers and inconveniencies to which the pilgrims were expoſed. This inſpired him with the idea of putting the Chriſtians in poſſeſſion of Paleſtine; and, to urge them to the undertaking, he ran from province to province, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting both princes and people to this holy war; and, wherever he came, he enkindled the ſame enthuſiaſtic ardour for the expedition as glowed within his own boſom [33]. The council of Placentia, ſummoned at the inſtigation of Peter, by pope Martin the Second, where four thouſand eccleſiaſtics and thirty thouſand ſeculars were aſſembled, pronounced the ſcheme to have been ſuggeſted by the immediate inſpiration of Heaven. In a ſubſequent council, holden at Clermont, in Auvergne [34], which was ſtill more numerous, and attended by the moſt powerful princes, nobles, and prelates, of Europe, the queſtion was no ſooner propoſed, than the whole aſſembly exclaimed with one voice: "It is the will of God—It is the will "of God!"

The contagion was ſpeedily diffuſed over perſons of all ranks: not only the martial barons of that age, with their warlike vaſſals, whom the boldneſs of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific ſtations of life, eccleſiaſtics of every order, even women and children, engaged in an undertaking, which was deemed ſacred and meritorious. If we may credit the concurring teſtimony

[33] Gul. Tyrius, lib. 1. c. ii. M. Paris, p. 17. [34] Concil. tom. x. Concil. Clarom. Mat. Paris, p. 16. M. Weſt, p. 233.

of

of contemporary hiſtorians[35], ſix millions of perſons aſſumed the croſs, which was the badge of union affixed to the right ſhoulder by all thoſe who devoted themſelves to this holy warfare.

This frenzy, which ſuperſtitious enthuſiaſm had engendered and ſpread, was rendered durable by thoſe extenſive immunities and privileges which were accorded to the cruſaders. They were exempted from all proſecutions for debt, during the time of their engagement in this ſacred ſervice[36]; they were exempted from paying intereſt for the money which they had borrowed[37]; they were exempted, either entirely, or at leaſt during a certain time, from the payment of all national impoſts[38]; they might alienate their lands without the conſent of the ſuperior lord of whom they held[39]; their perſons and effects were taken under the protection of Saint Peter; and the anathemas of the church were denounced againſt all who ſhould moleſt them, or carry on any quarrel or hoſtility againſt them, during their abſence on account of the holy war[40]; they enjoyed all the privileges of eccleſiaſtics, and were not bound to plead in any civil court, but were declared ſubject to the ſpiritual juriſdiction alone[41]; they obtained a plenary remiſſion of all their ſins; and the gates of Heaven were ſet open to them, without requiring any farther proof of their penitence, than their engagement in this ſacred expedition, which tended to gratify their favourite paſſion, the love of war[42].

When both the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers were thus ambitious to outvie each other, and to exhauſt their fertile invention, for the purpoſe of deviſing expedients to encourage, propagate, and confirm the ſpirit of ſuperſtition, it is not ſurprizing that it ſhould become ſo univerſal as to inflict the ſtigma of cowardice, and the mark of infamy, on every one who was poſſeſſed of ſufficient prudence or philoſophy to eſcape the general frenzy, and to decline engaging in the holy war[43].

The multitude of the adventurers ſoon became ſo great, that their more ſagacious leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to Philip; Raymond, count of Toulouſe; Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant; and Stephen, count of Blois[44], became apprehenſive leſt the greatneſs itſelf of the armament ſhould diſappoint its purpoſe; and they permitted an undiſciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thouſand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Gautier the Moneyleſs. Theſe men took the road towards Conſtantinople, through Hungaria and Bulgaria; and truſting that Heaven, by ſupernatural aſſiſtance, would ſupply all their neceſſities, they

35 Fulcherius Carnotenſis, ap. Bongarſii Geſta Dei per Francos, vol. i. 387. Edit. Han. 1611. 36 Du Cange, voc. Crucis Privilegium, v. xii. p. 1194. 37 Ibid. 3. 38 Ibid.—Ordonnances des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 33. 39 Ibid. 40 Du Cange, ib. Guibertus Abbas, ap. Bongarſii, i. p. 480—482. 41 Du Cange, ib. Ordon. des Rois, tom. i. p. 34, 174. 42 Guibert. Abbas, p. 480. 43 Will. Tyrienſis, ap. Bongars, vol. ii. p. 641. 44 Sim. Dunelm. p. 222.

made

made no proviſion for ſubſiſtance on their march; they ſoon found themſelves obliged to obtain, by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles; and the enraged inhabitants of the countries through which they paſſed, gathering together in arms, attacked the diſorderly multitude, and put them to ſlaughter without reſiſtance. The more diſciplined armies following after, and paſſing the Streights at Conſtantinople, were muſtered in the plains of Aſia, and amounted, in the whole, to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand combatants [45].

Amidſt this univerſal phrenzy, which ſpread itſelf by contagion throughout Europe, eſpecially in France and Germany, men were not entirely forgetful of their preſent intereſts, and both thoſe who went on this expedition, and thoſe who ſtayed behind, entertained ſchemes of gratifying, by its means, their avarice or their ambition. The nobles who enliſted themſelves were moved, from the romantic ſpirit of the times, to hope for opulent eſtabliſhments in the eaſt, the chief ſeats of arts and commerce during thoſe ages; and in purſuit of theſe chimerical projects, they ſold, at a very inadequate price, their ancient caſtles and inheritances, which had now loſt all value in their eyes. The greater princes, who remained at home, beſides eſtabliſhing peace in their dominions, by giving occupation abroad to the inquietude and martial diſpoſition of their ſubjects, took the opportunity of annexing to their crown many conſiderable fiefs, either by purchaſe or by the extinction of heirs. The pope frequently turned the zeal of the cruſades from the Infidels againſt his own enemies, whom he repreſented as equally criminal with the enemies of Chriſt. The convents, and other religious ſocieties, bought the poſſeſſions of the adventurers; and as the contributions of the faithful were commonly entruſted to their management, they often diverted to this purpoſe what was intended to be employed againſt the Infidels [46].

Among the leaders of the cruſades was Robert, duke of Normandy, whoſe intrepid ſpirit prompted him to embrace an expedition endeared by the proſpect of danger. For the trifling ſum of ten thouſand marks, he mortgaged Normandy during his abſence to his brother, who had already defrauded him of the crown of England; and the inconſiderable pittance which he had raiſed at the expence of the ſcanty remnant of his father's ample territory, was freely dedicated to the ſervice in which he embarked.

The holy wars gave riſe (among various other innovations of greater importance both in commerce and manners) to the eſtabliſhment of the three religious and military orders of knights *Hoſpitallers*, *Templars*, and *Teutonic knights*. The firſt of theſe, which ſerved as a model to the others, had acquired a high degree of celebrity, even before the capture of Jeruſalem by the cruſaders; but a part of them being employed in receiving

45 Mat. Paris, p. 20, 21. 46 Padre Paolo Hiſt. delle Benef. Eccleſiaſt. p. 128.

the

the faithful who went to visit the holy sepulchre, and the rest attending on the sick, they were solely occupied in works of charity, under the conduct of Gerard, the founder of the order[47]. Raymond Dupuy, a gentleman of Dauphiné, was the first who, to their primitive statutes of hospitality, added the obligation to take up arms against the enemies of the Christian religion. He divided his order into three classes[48]. The first was that of *knights*, who, on account of their birth, and the rank they had formerly enjoyed in the army, were destined to make war against the Infidels. The second class consisted of those who, neither being descended from a noble family, nor attached to the church, were appointed to serve the poor in the hospitals, and the knights in their military expeditions, these were called *serving-brothers*. They were afterwards distinguished by a different dress from that of the knights. The third class was formed of priests and chaplains, who, besides discharging their functions at church, and with the sick, were obliged to follow the army. All of them took vows of chastity and obedience. The new members, in order to distinguish themselves from the rest, assumed the appellation of the *Knights of Saint John*, from the name of an hospital which they had in the city of Jerusalem; and they wore a black dress with a white cross. This was that celebrated order, which, under the name of the knights of Rhodes and of Malta, filled the universe with the fame of its exploits, and of its victories over the Infidels;—an order, says the abbé Velly, not less esteemed for the peaceful virtues of religion, than for the splendour of its military atchievements.

But all the *Hospitallers* did not embrace the new institution. The most ancient, so well known by the appellation of the knights of Saint Lazarus, refused to take the vow of chastity, and separated from the rest who formerly belonged to the same order, and were subject to the same grand-master. They pledged themselves, however, in imitation of the others, to devote their lives to the defence of the holy city; besides their vows of charity and obedience[49], they swore an eternal promptitude to fight the enemies of Christianity; distinguished themselves from their former brethren by a green cross; and, like them, rendered signal services to their kings, to the people, and to religion. Lewis the Young, on his return from Palestine, brought some of them with him into France, to exercise their charitable functions; for which purpose he gave them the superintendance and administration of all the *lazarettos* in his kingdom, and ceded to them the castle of Boigni, near Orleans[50], which from that time became their chief place of residence. The splendour of the order being greatly diminished by the misfortunes of the times, Pope Innocent the Eighth undertook to suppress it, and to unite it, together with its possessions, to the order of Saint John of Jerusalem. But all his bulls for that purpose[51], declared abusive by a decree of the parliament, were revoked by the popes Pius the Fourth and Pius the Fifth. It was not, however, till the reigns of Henry the

47 Hist. Hieros. Jacob. Vitriaci, c. 74. 48 Ex Bosio, l. ii. p. 68. 49 Bul. Alex. 4. Bul. Greg. 9. 50 Belloy, c. 9.
51 Chopin. de sacr. polit. l. ii. tit. 6.

Fourth

Fourth and Lewis the Fourteenth that, by the protection of those monarchs, the knights of Saint Lazarus were restored to their primitive splendour. Pope Pius the Fifth united them to the order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel [52], which had been recently instituted at the instance of the French king. They then assumed, with their double title, a double cross of gold with eight points, and four *Fleurs-de-Lys*, with the image of the Blessed Virgin in the middle.

The example of the knights hospitallers was followed by many others. Hugh de Payens, Geoffrey de Saint Aldemar, and seven other French gentlemen, moved by the dangers to which the pilgrims were exposed on their return to Jerusalem [53], formed a little society among themselves for the purpose of escorting them [54]. They accompanied them on their road to Palestine, beyond the defiles of the mountains and the most dangerous passes; and they met them at the same place on their return. This was at first a simple association, but, by the sanction of the council of Troyes, it became a religious and military order. Saint Bernard prescribed rules for it, and gave it the white habit, with a red cross. The most illustrious princes and nobles fought under its banners; they were called *Templars*, or knights of the temple, because king Baldwin had assigned them apartments in his palace that were situated near the temple. In a short time these knights became so powerful that their wealth exceeded that of the most opulent monarchs. But these riches, the glorious reward of merit, proved the cause of their ruin,

The establishment of the Teutonic knights took place soon after that of the Templars. This new order derived its true origin from the siege of Saint John of Acra. The German soldiers, when either sick or wounded, could not procure relief on account of their inability to speak a language that was understood [55]. Some gentlemen from Bremen and Lubec, touched with pity at the misfortunes of their countrymen [56], made a large tent with the sails of their ships, whither they conveyed such of their acquaintance as stood in need of relief, and attended them with great care and kindness. Being speedily joined by forty noblemen of the same nation, they formed themselves into a religious and military order, which was sanctioned and confirmed by Pope Celestine the Third. They were called *Teutonic knights of Saint Mary*, from the name of an hospital which a rich German had formerly built at Jerusalem for the reception of the sick poor of his own country. Their habit was white with a black cross. They followed the rules of Saint Augustine: took the same vows as the Hospitallers and Templars; and observed the same military discipline as the latter. Before they assumed the habit, they were obliged to swear that they were descended from German parents, and born noble.

[52] Bul. Paul v. 1607. [53] Guil. Tyr. l. xii. c. 4. [54] Jac. de Vitr. c. 65. [55] Idem. c. 66. [56] Belloy, c. 15.

A. D. 1108] During theſe tranſactions in the eaſt, Philip was buſily employed in extending his dominions. Profiting by the ſuperſtitious rage of the times, he united ſeveral large fiefs to the crown, and, among others, the county or lordſhip of Bourges, which Herpin ſold to him for the purpoſe of procuring money to defray his expences to the Holy Land. The kingdom enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of tranquillity for ſome years previous to the death of Philip, who expired at Melun, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign. He was buried, by his own deſire, at the abbey of Saint Benedict upon the Loire.

Though Philip was generally deſpiſed by his ſubjects, and not without reaſon; yet he poſſeſſed many good qualities and excellent endowments. He was intrepid in the field, and, when he applied to buſineſs, not unſkilful in the cabinet; his generoſity was extenſive; his compaſſion ſtrong; and the courteous affability of his demeanour coinciding with the extraordinary graces of his perſon, all thoſe who had immediate acceſs to him were apt to forget, in the manners of the man, the vices of the monarch.

Philip was twice married: by his firſt wife Bertha, whom he baſely repudiated, daughter to Florent, count of Holland, he had Lewis the Sixth, ſurnamed (from his corpulence) the Groſs; Henry, who died young; and a daughter, named Conſtantia, who was firſt married to Hugh, count of Troyes, and afterwards to Bohemond the Firſt, prince of Antioch. His children by the celebrated Bertrade, of the illuſtrious houſe of Montfort, were Philip, count of Mante and lord of Melun; Fleuri; Cecilia, who was twice married, firſt to Tancred, nephew to Bohemond, and next to Pons de Touloufe, count of Tripoli; and Euſtatia, wife to John, count of Etampes.

Several monaſtic orders were inſtituted during this reign. That of the *Chatreux* (Carthuſians) was founded in 1086, by Bruno, a native of Cologne, who was firſt a canon of the church of Saint Cunibert, and afterwards of Notre-Dame, at Rheims, the moſt learned thologian of the age. A deſire of perfecting himſelf in the ſtudy of divinity induced him to retire to a ſolitary retreat in Dauphiné, called *Chartreuſe*, whence the order took its name. He was followed thither by ſix of his companions, who joined him in his ſtudies and acts of devotion [57]; they led a life of the greateſt auſterity; wore ſackcloth next their ſkin; ſeldom ſpoke to each other; took nothing but bread and water on Wedneſday and Friday in every week; wine and vegetables on Tueſday and Saturday; cheeſe on Thurſday; and a ſmall portion of fiſh on Sunday, and on feſtivals [58]. They were all *bled* five times a-year, and ſhaved only ſix. No noviciates were admitted under twenty. As they were precluded from ſpeaking, they were furniſhed with parchment, pens and ink, in order to tranſcribe paſſages from books of divinity. The founder of the order having been invited to aſſiſt the pope,

[57] Mabil. Præ. N. 86. [58] Guibert de vitâ ſuâ, c. 21.

refuſed

refuſed the biſhoprick of Reggio, and died in Calabria, at his monaſtery of Squillace, which had been founded by Roger, count of Sicily.

The abbey of Molême, in the dioceſe of Langres, had been founded five-and-twenty years by abbot Robert, when an evident relaxation of diſcipline induced the pious founder, with twenty of his monks, to retire into the deſerts of Citeaux, five leagues from Dijon [59]. The viſcount of Beaune having given them a part of the foreſt, they cleared away the trees, and erected a number of wooden cells, in which they paſſed ten or twelve years in the exerciſe of thoſe auſterities which had been originally practiſed by Saint Benedict [60]. As they had received no novices during this time, they began to dread the extinction of their order, when they were joined, in 1090, by Bernard, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the illuſtrious houſe of Châtillon—a man of ſtrong ſenſe and ſuperior eloquence. After this acceſſion the ſociety flouriſhed extremely; and the ſanctity of its members afforded ſome degree of excuſe for the prodigality of its benefactors. It was ſoon enabled to erect the four celebrated abbeys of *La Ferte*, *Pontigny*, *Clairvaux*, and *Morimond*, for *the Maids of Citeaux*, or *Ciſtertian* nuns. The order took its name from the place where it was eſtabliſhed; but of late it has been generally diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *Bernardines*.

The abbey of Fontevrault, in the dioceſe of Poitiers, was founded about the ſame time by Robert d'Arbriſſel, a man of genius, and a great orator. He was always followed by a multitude of people of both ſexes, who flocked together, in order to profit by his pious inſtructions; but as this ſingular mode of preaching the goſpel gave riſe to calumnious reports [61] (it being ſaid that Robert, in order to put his virtue to the proof, conſtantly ſlept between two of his female pupils), he reſolved to lead his followers into ſome retired ſpot, where a ſeparate reſidence might be eſtabliſhed for either ſex. He accordingly fixed on Fontevrault for this purpoſe; where he eſtabliſhed two monaſteries, ſubject to the rules of St. Benedict; one for women, who were entruſted with ſovereign authority; and the other for men, who were entirely dependant on the abbeſs. Robert ſet the example of obedience to his fair ſiſters, and always called himſelf ſteward or agent (homme d' affaires) to the nuns. This order of Fontevrault was the firſt over which a woman preſided.

59 Vita S. Rober. apud Boll. 29 April. tom. ii. p. 663. 60 Exor. Magn. Ciſterc. c. 1, 2, 10, 13.
61 In ejus Vitâ ap. Boll. 25 Feb. tom. v. p. 393.

LEWIS THE SIXTH,

SURNAMED THE GROSS.

A. D. 1108.] THOUGH Lewis had already been crowned, on his aſſociation to the throne, the cuſtom of the realm required him to undergo that ceremony a ſecond time, on his acceſſion to the ſole authority of the kingdom. It was accordingly performed at Orleans, by Daimbert, archbiſhop of Sens, on account of a ſchiſm which prevailed in the church of Rheims, where the princes of the Capetian race (except Robert) had hitherto been crowned. Rodolph had been elected by the clergy of Rheims, and had taken poſſeſſion of the archiepiſcopal dignity, without waiting for the conſent of Philip, who, in order to puniſh him for his preſumption, had nominated another prelate, named Gervaſe. Lewis refuſed to be anointed by the firſt, becauſe, in conformity to the decrees of the popes, and of the council of Clermont, he refuſed to do homage to the king; nor would he ſuffer the laſt to perform that ceremony, becauſe his authority was not univerſally acknowledged. Rodolph had the preſumption to oppoſe his coronation, under the pretext that it muſt be performed in his metropolitan church; and he thought, by this oppoſition, to engage the king to abandon his rival. But Ives de Chartres undertook to promote his reconciliation with Lewis, and that monarch conſented to ſuffer the archbiſhop to pay his reſpects to him at Orleans, and to attend the aſſembly which he had ordered to be convened in that city. Here the grand queſtion of inveſtiture was diſcuſſed [1]! The whole kingdom was unanimous in rejecting the arrogant pretenſions of

[1] Ivon. Carnot. Epiſt. 60. ad Hug. arch. Lugdun.

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the ſovereign pontiff, and in ſupporting the opinion of Saint Auguſtin,—that the church, holding its temporalities of the king, could not poſſibly poſſeſs them independent of him. Thus all the members of the aſſembly conjured the king not to confirm the election of the archbiſhop, till he had done homage. Rodolph, finding it in vain to reſiſt, at length complied, and ſubmitted to the required mark of ſubjection.

When Lewis had ſettled this important affair, he turned his thoughts towards the correction of thoſe internal abuſes which ſprang from the turbulent diſpoſition of the numerous and powerful vaſſals of the crown. The royal authority, indeed, was chiefly confined to Paris, Compiégne, Melun, Etampes, Orleans, Bourges, and ſome other places of little conſequence; and many of the nobles were able to bring a more formidable army into the field than the king himſelf, to whom they paid a vain and ſterile homage, while they exerciſed a deſpotic ſway within their own territories, and aſſumed almoſt every mark of ſovereignty. But the ſkill and courage of Lewis were ſucceſsfully exerted in repreſſing the inroads and curtailing the power of theſe dangerous ſubjects. He reduced numbers of them to ſubmiſſion, deſtroying their caſtles, and confiſcating their poſſeſſions; and among theſe was his brother Philip, count of Mante.

A. D. 1110.] But the attention of Lewis was ſoon called to oppoſe the increaſing power of a more formidable enemy. This was Henry the Firſt, king of England, who had uſurped the duchy of Normandy, to the prejudice of his brother Robert, and compelled the duke of Brittany to pay him homage. The French perceived, now it was too late, the fault they had committed in not oppoſing the conqueſts of William the Firſt; and they accordingly took up arms to repreſs the dangerous encroachments of a power that threatened to deſtroy their own. From this period to the reign of Charles the Seventh, there was a continual ſucceſſion of war and peace between France and England. During that time more than one hundred and twenty treaties were concluded, which were all broken almoſt as ſoon as they were ſigned.

The ſubject of the firſt diſpute between them was the fortreſs of Giſors, ſituated on the frontiers of France and Normandy. It had been agreed, that it ſhould be put into the poſſeſſion of a nobleman, who ſhould not cede it either to an Engliſhman, a Norman, or a Frenchman; or, in caſe it ſhould fall under the power either of France or England, the fortifications ſhould be razed within the ſpace of forty days. The governor, either ſeduced by a bribe, or intimidated by threats, ſurrendered the place to the king of England. Lewis, the moment he was appriſed of this circumſtance, ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh monarch, deſiring he would comply with the terms of the agreement. In vain, however, did he urge his requeſt; it was rejected by Henry, who, to his propoſal of deciding the diſpute by ſingle combat, replied: "That, if victorious, he could but "keep a place he already poſſeſſed without fighting; and that the king of France ha-"zarded his life, indeed, to obtain an important acquiſition, while his own would be "ſtaked

" ſtaked againſt nothing." A battle was the conſequence of this refuſal, in which the Normans were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Melun.

Henry, in return, endeavoured to excite an inſurrection in France, that the king's attention might be confined to his own dominions. The moſt formidable of the inſurgents was Thibaud, count of Blois, Chartres, and Champagne. Enraged with Lewis for having refuſed him permiſſion to erect a fort on a fief of the crown, he entered into a league with the count of Poitiers, the duke of Burgundy, and ſeveral other of the king's vaſſals, and made a powerful diverſion in favour of the Engliſh monarch. Lewis, whoſe activity was ever equal to his courage, levied an army with the utmoſt expedition, and, aſſiſted by Robert, count of Flanders, one of the braveſt warriors of the age, marched to attack the rebels. The count of Blois was defeated in three different engagements, the firſt at Meaux, the ſecond near Lagny, and the third at a league from Puiſet. Henry, in the mean time, having remained in the capital of Normandy a paſſive ſpectator of the ſlaughter of his allies, Lewis ſent a detachment to the very gates of Rouen, whoſe devaſtations forced the Engliſh monarch to take the field. After a few trifling ſkirmiſhes, in which Henry had the advantage, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two monarchs, in which all the rebels were included. The principal condition was that William, the only ſon of Henry, ſhould do homage to Lewis, in the place of his father, for the duchy of Normandy; in conſequence of which the caſtle of Giſors was ceded to him.

A. D. 1112, 1113, 1114.] No ſooner was this war terminated, than Thibaud, count of Blois, again diſplayed the banners of revolt, and compelled the king to make an incurſion into his territories. But in this expedition he did not meet with his uſual ſucceſs; for, being taken by ſurprize, he ſuſtained a defeat; and his loſs was conſiderably aggravated by the death of Robert, count of Flanders, who was thrown from his horſe, and trampled to death [2]. The king of England was accuſed of being the inſtigator of theſe inſurrections; and Lewis profited by the favourable diſpoſition of Fulk the Fifth, count of Anjou, to retaliate the injury. This nobleman had married Sybilla, the only daughter of Helie, count of Maine, and, by the death of his father-in-law, he had acquired poſſeſſion of that county. Won by the ſolicitations of the court of France, and aſſured of effectual ſupport, he refuſed to do homage to Henry for his new domain; and engaged ſeveral noblemen to eſpouſe his cauſe; particularly Robert de Belleſme, and Hugh de Medavid.

Henry, alarmed at this powerful confederacy, repaired to the continent, and took every method which prudence could ſuggeſt to avert the impending ſtorm. During

[2] Olderic. l. ii.

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two years which he paſſed in Normandy, he was continually engaged either in wars or negociations. At length, finding that all his endeavours to ſuppreſs the inſurrection were vain, he ſought to allure the count of Anjou, by a propoſal of marriage between his own ſon, William, who was the heir apparent to all his dominions, and the youngeſt daughter of Fulk. This temptation proved too ſtrong to be reſiſted; the count, who had before contracted his daughter to William, the ſon of duke Robert, now broke that contract, on pretence of their conſanguinity, and immediately affianced her ſiſter to the ſon of Henry, who ſtood exactly in the ſame degree of relation to her.—The king of England formed a ſecond alliance, which rendered him ſtill more formidable to the French, by marrying one of his daughters to Conan, ſon and heir to the duke of Brittany. Their grandſon, Conan the Fourth, was father to Conſtantia, who had, by Guy, count of Thouars, Alix, wife to Peter of Dreux, great-grandſon to Lewis the Groſs. It was through this alliance that the duchy of Brittany became, at a ſubſequent period, reunited to the crown, from which it has never ſince been ſeparated.

A. D. 1115, 1116.] About this time Lewis married Adelaide, daughter of Humbert, count of Maurienne and Savoy. The amiable qualities of this princeſs endeared her to the nobility, and her good ſenſe and diſcretion contributed to ſmooth the rugged path which Lewis, throughout his reign, was deſtined to tread. The relative ſituation of the French and Engliſh monarchs, and the contrariety of their intereſts, were ſuch, at this period, as to render the preſervation of tranquillity between them a matter of extreme difficulty. The turbulence of their vaſſals afforded frequent opportunities for the open diſplay of that enmity with which they were mutually impreſſed. When a French nobleman had any ſubject for diſcontent he applied for ſupport to Henry; and if a Norman wiſhed to encourage ſedition, in Lewis he was ſure to find a ready protector. In this ſtate of mind, the French monarch liſtened with pleaſure to the ſupplicating voice of a young prince, who, having in vain attempted to rouſe the compaſſion of other monarchs, now ſought ſhelter and ſupport in the court of France. This prince was William, the ſon of Robert duke of Normandy, and grandſon of William the Firſt; whoſe filial piety implored the humanity of Lewis to procure the liberty of his father, a priſoner to his brother Henry. The king of France did not long heſitate to comply with a requeſt, recommended by the powerful motives of pity and intereſt. He adviſed William to engage the inclinations of the nobles of Normandy, and particularly to attach to his cauſe the counts of Flanders and Anjou. The negociation of the young prince was ſucceſsful, but when the treaty was about to be ſigned by the heads of the confederacy, the count of Anjou refuſed to confirm his engagement, unleſs the king would re-eſtabliſh him in the office of grand ſeneſchal of France, which had been hereditary in his family from the reign of Lothaire.

We have already had occaſion to obſerve, that this office was nearly the ſame as that of grand maitre-d'hôtel, with regard to the royal houſhold; as that of conſtable in time of war;

war; and as that of count of the palace, in the adminiſtration of juſtice[3]. The chief vaſſals of the crown reſided ſo little at court, that it was impoſſible for the counts of Anjou to perform all the duties annexed to the office of Seneſchal. For this reaſon, they appointed a ſubſtitute who acted in their name; the cuſtom, indeed, of thus converting the great offices of the crown into fiefs, was not unfrequent. The office of ſeneſchal had been long filled by the Garlandes, miniſters and favourites of Lewis the Groſs. Theſe noblemen, proud of the protection of their ſovereign, took advantage of the defection of the counts of Anjou, to refuſe them that homage which it was uſual to pay to the proprietors of an hereditary office, and which gave it the complexion and nature of a fief. The preſent count, at firſt, took no notice of this mark of diſreſpect[4]; but beginning to fear that his right would at length be forfeited, he took advantage of the opportunity that now preſented itſelf, to procure a confirmation of it. This Lewis, who wanted his aſſiſtance, could not refuſe, and William de Garlande accordingly did homage to him for the office, and after him Stephen his brother, who, although a deacon, ſucceeded him in a place which gave him the command of armies, and the power of inflicting capital puniſhments—a circumſtance hitherto unexampled.

Every preliminary being now ſettled, the plan of operations was immediately laid. It was agreed to enter Normandy in three different parts. The king and Amaury de Montfort, on the ſide of France; the count of Flanders, by the Pays de Caux; and the count of Anjou on the ſide of Maine. Lewis then ſent to demand of the king of England the liberty of duke Robert; and, on the refuſal of Henry, war was declared. The armies of the confederates immediately began their march, and were joined by a great number of the Norman nobility and gentry, whom William had engaged to eſpouſe his cauſe. The chief of theſe were William de Gournay; Stephen, count of Aumale: Henry, count of Eu; Euſtache de Breteuil; Richer de L'Aigle; Renaud de Bailleuel, and Robert de Neuborg; they all took up arms in favour of the young prince, and proclaimed him duke of Normandy.

The king, in the mean time, took Andeley by ſurprize; ſeized by Gué Nicaiſe, an important fortreſs on the river Epte, and made himſelf maſter of the town of Aigle. The count of Flanders, likewiſe, advanced into Upper Normandy, where he laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. Henry ſent him word that if he did not diſcontinue his devaſtations he would himſelf carry deſolation to the gates of Bruges; the count replied that he would ſave him the trouble of ſo long a journey. He accordingly marched ſtrait to Rouen, where Henry was, and ſent that monarch a formal challenge to meet him in the field; but this being declined, and the town being too ſtrong to be eaſily reduced, he contented himſelf with burning the ſuburbs, and then retired. The

[3] Du Cange, voce Seneſcallus. [4] Hugo de Cleriis Duch. t. iv. p. 329.

count

count of Anjou in the mean time laid ſiege to Alençon, and took it in the preſence of Henry and the count of Champagne, who had haſtened to its relief. Amauri de Montfort engaged the governor of Evreux to ſurrender that town with its caſtle; which were entruſted to the care of Philip and Fleuri, brothers to Lewis.

No augmentation of danger, however, could depreſs the mind of Henry, who exerted his wonted courage to extricate himſelf from his difficulties; which he at length effected, not by puſillanimous conceſſions, but by vigorous reſiſtance. Hitherto he had acted chiefly on the defenſive, as, from the ſuperior force of the confederated princes, he had no hopes of ſucceſs from the adoption of a contrary line of conduct, and he thought it poſſible that ſome favourable change might take place, and that his attempts to ſow diviſion amongſt his enemies might finally ſucceed. Nor was he deceived in his conjectures. Baldwin, count of Flanders, one of his moſt formidable adverſaries, received a wound at the attack of the caſtle of Bures, in the Pays de Caux, of which he ſoon after expired. But the defection of the count of Anjou was a circumſtance of much greater importance to the king of England, and gave a more fatal blow to the intereſts of the French monarch. That nobleman, ſeduced by the bribes of Henry, violated thoſe ſolemn oaths by which he was attached to Lewis, as a vaſſal, as an officer of the crown, and as an ally, and declared for his rival.

The conteſt being now rendered more equal, Henry determined to take the field; and having received intelligence that Lewis had formed a plan for ſurpriſing the caſtle of Noyon, near Andely, he marched to the relief of that place, and took the king of France by ſurprize, on the plain of Brenneville. A ſharp conflict immediately enſued, in which prince William, the ſon of duke Robert, who led the van-guard of the French, diſplayed the greateſt bravery; he broke through the firſt ranks of the Engliſh, and penetrated to the ſpot where his uncle was poſted, whoſe life was in imminent danger, having received a wound on the head from William Criſpin, a gallant Norman officer, who had followed the fortunes of the young prince. The French, however, thinking the victory was already gained, broke their ranks in ſearch of plunder; while Henry, profiting by their confuſion, reſtored order to his troops, and attacked the enemy with irreſiſtible fury. The whole army fled with precipitation: William, being unhorſed, made his eſcape with difficulty; and Lewis himſelf had nearly been taken priſoner. It is ſaid that an Engliſhman, ſeizing the bridle of his horſe, exclaimed—"*The king is taken!*"—"*Do not you know,*" replied that prince, ſmiling, "*that at cheſs the king is never taken?*"—at the ſame time aiming a blow at him with his ſabre, which laid him dead at his feet. He then galloped towards a foreſt, where he wandered about for a conſiderable time, when he met with a woman who conducted him to Andely.

This ſkirmiſh was rendered famous by the dignity of the combatants; two kings, two princes, and many noblemen of the firſt rank, being engaged in it. The ſlaughter was

trifling, only three men being ſlain. This was partly owing to the heavy armour which was worn by the cavalry in thoſe times, and partly to the earneſt deſire of making priſoners, in order to enrich themſelves by their ranſom.

A. D. 1117, 1118, 1119.] Lewis, finding himſelf unable to wreſt Normandy from the king by force of arms, had recourſe to the dangerous expedient of making application to the ſpiritual power, and of affording the eccleſiaſtics a ſpecious pretence for interpoſing in the temporal concerns of princes. He prevailed upon pope Calixtus the Second, who was then in France, to convene a general council at Rheims, whither he carried William, the young Norman prince; and, having preſented him to the aſſembly, expatiated largely on the manifeſt uſurpation and flagrant injuſtice of the Engliſh monarch, craved the aſſiſtance of the church, for re-inſtating the true heir in his dominions; and repreſented the enormity of detaining in captivity ſo valiant a prince as Robert, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed champions of the Cruſade, who, by his powerful exertions againſt the Infidels, was placed under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee.

Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with addreſs. He had ſent over the Engliſh biſhops to attend this ſynod; but, at the ſame time, had cautioned them, that if the ſovereign pontiff, or the eccleſiaſtics, ſhould be induced to advance any farther pretenſions, he was fully determined ſtrictly to adhere to the laws and cuſtoms of England, and to maintain, undiminiſhed, thoſe legal prerogatives of royalty which had been tranſmitted to him by his predeceſſors. "Go," ſaid he to the prelates at their departure, "ſalute the pope in my name; pay attention to his apoſ-"tolic precepts; but be careful to bring back none of his new inventions with you into "my dominions." Finding, however, it would be a matter of greater facility to him to elude than to oppoſe the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambaſſadors private inſtructions to gain the pontiff and his favourites by liberal preſents and tempting promiſes. By a ſagacious application of theſe convincive arguments, they found means to prevail on the council to treat with neglect the well-founded complaints of the Norman prince.

Some time after, Calixtus went to Giſors, where he had a long conference with Henry, in which he intimated, that it was the deſire of the council, that Robert ſhould be reſtored to his dominions. Henry replied, that it was not from his brother he had taken Normandy, but from a nefarious band of depredators, who were conſuming the inheritance of his anceſtors, which the imprudence of Robert had delivered into their hands; he likewiſe added, that in taking poſſeſſion of that duchy, he had not acted in compliance with the dictates of avarice or ambition, but in conſequence of the earneſt and repeated ſolicitations of the nobility, clergy, and people of Normandy, who had beſought him, with the moſt ſtrenuous ſupplications, to prevent the utter deſolation of the church. Theſe ridiculous reaſons he took care to ſtrengthen with the ſame arguments which had been

been employed by his ambaſſadors at the council of Rheims; and they had ſo powerful an effect upon the pope, and the cardinals who attended him, that they declared, on their return, that, of all the men whom they had converſed with in the whole courſe of their lives, the king of England was the moſt eloquent and perſuaſive.

Calixtus having, by this means, been prevailed on to relinquiſh the intereſts of the Norman prince, exerted himſelf to effect an accommodation between the two monarchs; and, his endeavours being crowned with ſucceſs, a peace was concluded at the commencement of the year 1119. The terms of this treaty were, that all the caſtles and fortified places which had been taken in the courſe of the late war, ſhould be reſtored on both ſides, and that Henry ſhould do homage, for Normandy, to the French monarch. But Henry, eſteeming it a degradation of his royal dignity to do this homage in perſon, ſent his ſon, prince William, to do it for him, who then received the inveſtiture of that duchy from the hands of the king of France.

A. D. 1120.] When Henry had reſtored tranquillity to his continental dominions, he embarked at Barfleur, on his return to England, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of November, and arrived on the Engliſh coaſt the next morning.

One of the fineſt veſſels in the fleet, called the White Ship, was allotted to his ſon, prince William, and his numerous retinue; who, being detained by ſome accident, ordered three caſks of wine to be diſtributed to the ſhip's crew, by which means many of them became intoxicated; and the captain himſelf, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, was induced to exceed the bounds of ſobriety. They ſailed about ſun-ſet, and, being in a hurry to overtake the king, crouded all their ſails, as well as plied their oars; when, through the careleſſneſs of the pilot, the veſſel ſtruck on a ſunken rock, called the *Catte-razze*, with ſuch violence that ſhe ſtarted ſeveral planks, and was almoſt overſet. The boat was immediately hoiſted out, and the prince, with ſome of the chief nobility, entered it, and, having got clear of the ſhip, might have reached the ſhore, which was not far diſtant; but, affected by the ſhrieks of his natural ſiſter, Maude, counteſs of Perche, he commanded the ſailors to row back, and attempt to ſave her. When the boat, however, approached the ſhip, where terror and deſpair had deſtroyed all diſtinction, and every one was actuated by a natural impulſe of ſelf-preſervation, ſuch numbers leaped into it, that it inſtantly ſunk, and all on board periſhed.

On this occaſion, beſides the prince and his natural brother Richard, there were loſt eighteen ladies of the higheſt rank, one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, with all their attendants, and fifty ſailors. A butcher of Rouen, named Bertoud, was the only one who eſcaped from this dreadful diſaſter; being a robuſt man, and warmly cloathed, he climbed to the top of the maſt, which remained above water, and there ſtaid till the next morning, when he was taken

up by ſome fiſhermen. While he was in that perilous ſituation, Fitz-Stephens, the captain, ſwam up to him, and laid hold of the maſt; but, being informed by Bertoud, that prince William had periſhed, he expreſſed his determination not to ſurvive him, and inſtantly plunged into the ſea[5].

A. D. 1121, 1122, 1123.] This tragical event revived the hopes of the friends of William, the ſon of Robert; and the Normans, juſtly regarding Henry as an uſurper, were anxious to transfer the ducal dignity to a prince whom they now conſidered as the laſt repreſentative of their ancient dukes. A conſpiracy was accordingly formed to put him in poſſeſſion of Normandy, and was joined by many of thoſe noblemen, in whom Henry had repoſed the greateſt confidence, and whoſe fidelity he had attempted to ſecure by a profuſion of honours and rewards; among theſe were Gualeran, count of Meulan, and his brother Robert. The conſpirators, too, received conſiderable encouragement by the acceſſion of Fulk, count of Anjou, who, being releaſed, by the death of his ſon-in-law, from thoſe ties which had attached him to the intereſts of Henry, now embraced the party of William, and again promiſed to beſtow on him in marriage his daughter, Sibylla, who had formerly been contracted to him.

Henry was no ſooner apprized of the revolt, than he haſtened to ſuppreſs it. He ſailed from Portſmouth in the ſummer of 1123, and, arriving ſafe on the Norman coaſt, marched to attack the inſurgents, before they were prepared to receive him; took ſeveral of their caſtles, and defeated them in different ſkirmiſhes.

A. D. 1124.] In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, the Engliſh monarch had the good fortune to take the leaders of the conſpiracy by ſurprize, and to ſecure their perſons. Diſcouraged by this unlucky accident, all the other barons, who had joined in the revolt, haſtened to return to their allegiance, and to make peace with him, on the beſt terms they could procure. Henry, too, ſoon after found means to detach the count of Anjou from the league; that nobleman, ſeeing the confederacy in a great meaſure diſſolved, conſented to be reconciled to him, and to diſſolve the contract of marriage that had been lately formed between prince William and his daughter, who, though twice affianced, had never conſummated the marriage.

Still, however, the king of France continued to make the moſt formidable preparations for war, and troops were collecting on every ſide. Henry, aware of his intentions, was reſolved to anticipate him, and therefore began hoſtilities, by making incurſions on the domains of his rival. He alſo engaged his ſon-in-law, Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany, to make a powerful diverſion in his favour, on the ſide of Champagne:

[5] Orderic. Vital. p. 868, 869, 870.

that

that prince accordingly raiſed a numerous army for the purpoſe of forming the ſiege of Rheims; while Lewis, apprized of his plans, ordered all the vaſſals of the crown to meet him under the walls of that city on a particular day.

It is neceſſary to remark, on this occaſion, the difference which ſubſiſted, in the times we are now delineating, between the forces of the kingdom, and thoſe of the king. When the ſovereign went to war for the promotion of his own private intereſt, he had no more troops than what he could collect on the immediate domains of the crown; but when the general welfare of the nation was at ſtake, all domeſtic diſſenſions inſtantly ceaſed; every man flew to arms, and every vaſſal marched with a certain number of troops, proportioned to the extent and dignity of his fief. But the kingdom had not, for a long time, witneſſed ſo numerous an aſſemblage of armed men as now appeared in the field. Noblemen, citizens, prieſts, and monks, all became ſoldiers: the diſtricts of Rheims and Châlons alone ſupplied more than ſixty thouſand men; Laons and Soiſſons furniſhed an equal force; the countries of Orleans, Etampes, and Paris, ſent the ſame number into the field; even the counts of Champagne and Troyes joined the other vaſſals of the crown, preferring the intereſt of their country to any advantage they might reap from an alliance with the king of England—theſe noblemen commanded the fourth diviſion of the army; the fifth, conſiſting of the Burgundians, was placed under the orders of their duke and of the count of Nevers. Rodolph, count of Vermandois, a prince of the blood-royal, divided his troops into two bodies: thoſe of Saint Quentin and Vermandois, armed *cap a pie*, were placed on the right wing; and thoſe of Ponthieu, Amiens, and Beauvais, took their ſtation on the left. The count of Flanders, too, haſtened to the defence of the kingdom, followed by ten thouſand experienced ſoldiers, who formed in the rear.

Never, ſays Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, who attended the expedition with the dependents of his abbey, had the kings of the third race ſeen themſelves at the head of ſuch a numerous army. The quota furniſhed by the iſle of France, Champagne, and Picardy, are alone ſaid to have amounted to more than two hundred thouſand men. The emperor, alarmed at the immenſity of theſe preparations, repaſſed the Moſelle and the Rhine, with the utmoſt precipitation. The ſoldiers, enraged at what they conceived to be a ſymptom of cowardice, loudly demanded to be led into the German territories, that they might chaſtiſe an enemy who had dared to interrupt the repoſe of the kingdom. But Lewis, at the ſolicitation of the clergy, checked their impetuoſity, and diſbanded the army. He would moſt willingly have employed it againſt the king of England; but the intereſts of the prince and his vaſſals were eſſentially different, as what tended to aggrandize the one, muſt of neceſſity weaken the other. Thoſe very nobles who had taken up arms with ſo much zeal againſt a foreign prince who had threatened to invade the kingdom, would have refuſed to march againſt a vaſſal whom it was their intereſt to ſupport, in order to balance the power of the crown. In that age they made a material diſtinction between the

the wars of the nation and the wars of the ſovereign. On this memorable occaſion the celebrated *oriflamme*, the banner of Saint Denis, was firſt unfurled.

A. D. 1125, 1126, 1127.] While Lewis was thus engaged in Champagne, the incurſions of the Engliſh monarch, on the ſide of Normandy, were ſucceſsfully oppoſed by Amauri de Montfort, ſupported by the troops of the Vexin; and Henry, having appeaſed the troubles in Normandy, was conſtrained to liſten to terms of accommodation, and a durable peace was at length concluded.

But no ſooner had Lewis arranged the terms of accommodation with the king of England, than he was obliged to march to the aſſiſtance of the church of Clermont, whoſe biſhop, having been forcibly expelled from his ſee by the count of Auvergne, claimed protection and redreſs from his ſovereign. He ſpeedily reduced to obedience his rebellious vaſſal, and reſtored the injured prelate to his juſt rights. But though he was ever eager to defend the privileges and poſſeſſions of the church, he could neither ſecure the gratitude nor reſpect of the clergy. They loudly complained that the king interfered in the nomination to vacant benefices, and infringed on their revenues. Their murmurs were carried to ſuch a dangerous height, that Lewis, in order to reduce them to ſubmiſſion, was conſtrained to have recourſe to violence; and to ſeize upon ſome lands belonging to the archbiſhop of Sens, and the biſhop of Paris. The laſt, whoſe name was Stephen, employed the thunder of the church againſt that very ſovereign who had proved himſelf its moſt zealous protector[6]. But Honorius the Second, who then filled the chair of Saint Peter, declared the ſentence of excommunication pronounced by Stephen to be abuſive, and accordingly annulled it. The French prelates were highly offended at an interference thus hoſtile to the authority they wiſhed to aſſume; and Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, warmly remonſtrated with the ſovereign pontiff on the impropriety of his conduct. "We hoped," ſaid he, "that the ſeverity of the "prelate would have effected the converſion of the prince. Your miſplaced indulgence "has deſtroyed thoſe hopes. All is loſt, the prelacy diſhonoured, and religion expoſed "to the inſults of libertines[7]." But as this pompous epiſtle produced no effect on the mind of the ſovereign pontiff, he wrote a ſecond in a more peremptory ſtyle. The zealous abbot there obſerves, that Lewis is "always ready to attack religion, which he "regards as the peſt of his dominions, and the enemy of his crown. He is a ſecond "Herod, who ſeeks to deſtroy Jeſus, no longer an infant in the manger, but triumphing "in his church; he is a perſecutor, in ſhort, whoſe malignant ſhafts are not ſo much "directed againſt the prelates of his kingdom, as againſt the ſpirit of God, by which "they are animated[8]." This ſpirit of fanaticiſm was, in thoſe days of ignorance, dignified by the appellation of religious zeal; but Lewis, notwithſtanding this dangerous

[6] Art. de verifier les dates, p. 499. [7] Epiſt. S. Bernardi. 13 and 14. ad. Honor. 2. [8] Ejuſd. Epis. 49. ad. eumd.

diſplay

diſplay of prieſtly arrogance, conducted himſelf with temper and moderation, and by that means ſpeedily concluded a peace between the mitre and the crown.

Charles of Denmark, who had ſucceeded his couſin Baldwin in the principality of Flanders, fell a victim to the diſcontents of his ſubjects, and was aſſaſſinated at Bruges. Lewis haſtened to puniſh the aſſaſſins, and inflicted on them the moſt exemplary vengeance. As Charles had left no children, the vacant earldom was diſputed by various claimants. The chief of theſe were, Baldwin, count of Mons, one of whoſe anceſtors had been unjuſtly deprived of this country; Arnold of Denmark, ſon to the ſiſter of Charles; Thierri, count of Alſace, the ſon of Gertrude, ſiſter to Robert the Friſian; Stephen of Blois, brother to the count of Champagne; and William, ſon to Robert duke of Normandy. The king was to decide the matter, becauſe Flanders was a fief of the French crown; he therefore transferred the dukedom to William, probably with the view to render him a more formidable enemy to the king of England.

A. D. 1128.] Henry was fully aware of the deſigns of Lewis; and in order to ſtrengthen his own influence on the continent, and to diminiſh that of his rival, he determined to ſecure the friendſhip of the potent but fickle count of Anjou. With this view he propoſed an alliance between his daughter Matilda, widow to the emperor of Germany, and Geoffrey, furnamed *Plantagenet*, the eldeſt ſon of Fulk; which being cheerfully accepted by a nobleman, who was too apt to ſacrifice his honour to his intereſt, the nuptials were celebrated at Rouen with great pomp and magnificence, in the ſummer of 1128. But the Norman barons were highly diſpleaſed that a ſtep, in which the intereſts of their country were ſo eſſentially concerned, ſhould have been taken without their previous conſent, and Henry had too ſenſibly experienced the turbulence of their diſpoſition, not to dread the effects of their reſentment. It ſeemed probable that the party of his nephew might gain a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength from the encreaſe of the malcontents; and the important addition of power which William had recently acquired rendered his pretenſions ſtill more alarming. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, Henry reſolved to ſupport the claims of Thierri of Alſace, to the county of Flanders, which gave riſe to a war in which William was generally victorious; but having received a wound in the hand in a trifling ſkirmiſh, a mortification unfortunately enſued, which put an end to his exiſtence, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, 1128, at the abbey of Saint Bertin.

Ordericus Vitalis ſays[9], that when he found his death approaching, he wrote to Henry, to expreſs his concern for the trouble he had cauſed him; and to requeſt, with an earneſtneſs which evinced the goodneſs of his heart, that he would receive into

9 P. 885, 886.—M. Paris, p. 49, col. 1. Gul. Gemiticen. l. vii. c. 16.

his

his favour Helie de Saint Saen, and a few other friends, whom no reverſe of fortune had ever induced to forſake him. The death of this unfortunate prince, whoſe urbanity of manners and undaunted courage had ſecured him the love and eſteem of all who knew him, releaſed his ambitious uncle from thoſe jealous fears and anxious inquietudes which, ſince his uſurpation of Normandy, had never ceaſed to diſturb his tranquillity.

A. D. 1129.] The fatigues of war, more than the ravages of time, had viſibly impaired the health of Lewis; who, in order to avoid thoſe diſſenſions which were but too common on the death of a king, followed the example of his predeceſſors, in the aſſociation of his ſon Philip to the throne. That prince was crowned at Rheims by archbiſhop Raymond; but he did not long ſurvive his elevation to the regal dignity. A fall from his horſe proved fatal to the young prince[10], and the favourable expectations of a future reign, which had been raiſed by his early virtues, were blaſted by his premature death. The loſs of Philip was followed by the coronation of his brother Lewis, who, at the age of twelve years, received the crown from the hands of pope Innocent the Second.

From 1130 to 1137.] The kingdom now enjoyed a ſtate of perfect tranquillity; the inflexible juſtice of the ſovereign had ſecured his ſubjects from the oppreſſion of thoſe petty tyrants who infeſted his dominions, on his acceſſion to the throne; and the great vaſſals of the crown, convinced, at length, that the views of Lewis were honourable, were induced to repoſe that confidence in him, which they had hitherto withheld from his predeceſſors. But the approach of diſeaſe embittered the happieſt moments of his life, and prevented him from enjoying, in that plenitude of gratification which he ſo richly merited, the glorious reward of his virtuous labours.—He lived, however, to witneſs the aggrandizement of his ſon, by an honourable alliance, and an important addition of territory.

William the Ninth, duke of Aquitaine, having reſolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Saint James of Compoſtella, declared his eldeſt daughter, Eleanor, ſole heireſs of his dominions, on condition that ſhe ſhould marry the king's eldeſt ſon. The marriage was accordingly celebrated at Bourdeaux with great magnificence; and, the duke dying on his pilgrimage, young Lewis obtained immediate poſſeſſion of Poitou, Gaſcony, Biſcaye, and a large tract of country extending to the Pyrenees. The new-married couple then repairing to Poitiers, the prince was ſolemnly crowned duke of Guienne, a title which he preſerved after his acceſſion to the throne.

[10] Suger, p. 313.

But

But the king had ſcarce time to embrace his daughter-in-law, before he ſunk beneath the preſſure of his diſeaſe, and expired at Paris (in 1137), in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the ſixtieth of his age.

Of Lewis the Groſs it has been ſaid, "He might have made a better king, he could "not prove a better man." The eulogy is juſt, and comprehends his character in a few words; but ſtill, that Lewis was an excellent monarch will not admit of a doubt: impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice, vigorous in the ſuppreſſion of tyranny, and eager in promoting the welfare and happineſs of his ſubjects—he diſcharged the firſt duties of ſovereignty with propriety, wiſdom, and effect.—That he entertained a juſt ſenſe of the nature and importance of the royal dignity is evident from his laſt admonition to his ſon and ſucceſſor: "*Remember, my ſon,*" ſaid the expiring monarch, "*that royalty is a public* "*truſt, for the exerciſe of which a rigorous account will be exacted from you, by him who* "*has the ſole diſpoſal of crowns and ſceptres.*"

Lewis the Groſs had eight children by Adelaide of Savoy; Philip, who died before his father; Lewis, ſurnamed the Young, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Henry, who firſt aſſumed the monaſtic habit at Clairvaux, was afterwards made biſhop of Beauvais, and next promoted to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Rheims; Robert, founder of the houſe of Dreux, whoſe grandſon Peter, ſurnamed *Mauclerc*, acquired the county of Brittany by his marriage with the heireſs of that principality; Hugh, of whoſe fate no mention is made in hiſtory; Peter, who had by Iſabella, heireſs of Courtenay, a numerous offspring, whoſe deſcendants are ſtill in exiſtence; Philip, archdeacon of Paris; and Conſtance, firſt married to Euſtace, count of Boulogne, and afterwards to Raymond the Fifth, count of Toulouſe, and duke of Narbonne.

We have already had occaſion to remark that, in the early times of the French monarchy, eccleſiaſtics and military men were the only people in the kingdom who were free. The other inhabitants of cities, towns, and villages, were all ſlaves, though not in an equal degree. They were divided into two claſſes. The firſt called *ſerfs* [11], were attached to the *ſoil*, and transferred, with the trees that grew upon it, from one proprietor to another; neither being able to marry, nor to change their reſidence or profeſſion, without the permiſſion of their maſter—the whole produce of their labour was his, except he choſe to releaſe them from this obligation, on condition of receiving a ſtipulated ſum, at ſtated periods, as well for the *ſerf* himſelf, as for his wife and children [12]. The ſecond claſs, denominated *hommes de poete*, were not ſo immediately dependent on their lord, who had no power over their lives or property. All their ſervitude conſiſted in the obligation of paying him certain duties, and of repairing his roads and high-

[11] M. Le Gendre, Mœurs des François, p. 109. [12] Du Cange, voc. Servus et Poteſtas.

ways [13], But neither of theſe deſcriptions of men had any other judge than the lord of the ſoil, nor any other law than what he choſe to enact. Hence it was that ſo many crimes remained unpuniſhed; ſince the nobles themſelves were, generally ſpeaking, the immediate pepetrators of the numerous aſſaſſinations, and other lawleſs proceedings, ſo frequent throughout the kingdom. In ſuch caſes, where juſtice could not be obtained in the uſual courſe, ſince the judge, the legiſlator, and the culprit, were centered in the ſame perſon, the injured party had recourſe to the authority of the prince, who iſſued his orders to the lord, in whoſe territory the crime had been committed, to ſee that ſtrict juſtice was adminiſtered. On his refuſal to comply with the royal mandate, he ſummoned the other vaſſals of the crown to join him with their ſtipulated number of men, in order to reduce the rebel to ſubmiſſion. But often the royal authority was not more reſpected than the laws; even the towns within his own domain were frequently inexact in ſupplying their contingency.

Lewis, in order to remedy theſe abuſes, and at the ſame time to create ſome power that might counterbalance, thoſe potent vaſſals, who controuled or gave law to the crown, firſt adopted the plan of conferring new privileges on the towns ſituated within his own domain. Theſe privileges were called *Charters of Community* [14], by which he enfranchiſed the inhabitants, aboliſhed all marks of ſervitude, and formed them into corporations, or bodies politic, to be governed by a council and magiſtrates of their own nomination. Theſe magiſtrates had the right of adminiſtering juſtice within their own precincts, of levying taxes, of embodying and training to arms the militia of the town, which took the field when required by the ſovereign, under the command of officers appointed by the community. The great barons, by degrees, began to imitate the example of their monarch, and granted ſimilar immunities to the towns within their territories. They had expended ſuch immenſe ſums in their expeditions to the Holy Land, that they were eager to embrace this new expedient for raiſing money, by the ſale of thoſe charters of liberty. Though the inſtitution of communities was as repugnant to their maxims of policy, as it was adverſe to their power, they diſregarded remote conſequences, in order to obtain preſent relief [15]. In leſs than two centuries ſervitude was aboliſhed in moſt of the towns in France, and they became free corporations, inſtead of dependent villages, without juriſdiction or privileges.

But long before this inſtitution of *communities* in France, charters of immunity, or franchiſe, were granted to ſome towns and villages by the lords on whom they depended. Theſe however, were very different from ſuch as became common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They did not erect theſe towns into corporations; they did not eſtabliſh a municipal government; they did not grant them the privilege of bearing arms. They contained nothing more than a manumiſſion

[13] Le Pere Daniel, Hiſt. de France, p. 568. t. ii. [14] Orderic. Vital. l. ii. p. 836. [15] Robertſon.

of

of the inhabitants from the yoke of ſervitude; an exemption from certain ſervices which were oppreſſive and ignominious; and the eſtabliſhment of a fixed tax or rent, which they were to pay to their lord in place of impoſitions which he could formerly lay upon them at pleaſure. Two charters of this kind, to two villages in the county of Rouſſillon, one in the year 974, and the other in 1025, are ſtill extant[16]. Such conceſſions, it is probable, were not unknown in other parts of Europe, and may be conſidered as a ſtep towards the more extenſive privileges conferred by Lewis the Groſs on the towns within his domains[17]. The communities in France, never aſpired to the ſame independence with thoſe in Italy, which alſo owed their origin to the fanatical folly of the cruſaders—ſo often, by the wiſe and benevolent diſpenſations of Providence, does good ariſe out of evil!—They acquired new privileges and immunities; but the right of ſovereignty remained entire to the king or baron, within whoſe territories the reſpective cities were ſituated, and from whom they received the charter of their freedom. A great number of theſe charters, granted both by the kings of France, and by their great vaſſals, are publiſhed by M. d'Achery, in his *Spicilegium*, and many are to be found in the collection of the *Ordonnances des Rois de France*. Theſe convey a very ſtriking repreſentation of the wretched condition of cities previous to the inſtitution of communities, when they were ſubject to the judges appointed by the ſuperior lords, of whom they held, and had ſcarcely any other law but their will. Each conceſſion in theſe charters muſt be conſidered as a grant of ſome new privilege, which the people did not formerly enjoy; and each regulation as a method of redreſſing ſome grievance, under which they formerly laboured. The charters of communities contain likewiſe the firſt expedients employed for the introduction of equal laws, and regular government. On both theſe accounts they merit particular attention; and therefore we ſhall give our readers a view of ſome of the moſt important articles in theſe charters, under two general heads:—1. Such as reſpect perſonal ſafety.—2. Such as reſpect the ſecurity of property.

During that ſtate of turbulence and diſorder which the corruption of the feudal government introduced into Europe, perſonal ſafety was the chief object of every individual; and, as the great military barons alone were able to give ſufficient protection to their vaſſals, this was one great ſource of their power and authority. But by the inſtitution of communities, effectual proviſion was made for the ſafety of individuals, independent of the nobles.—For, 1. The fundamental article in every charter was, that all the members of it bound themſelves by oath to aſſiſt, defend, and ſtand by each other againſt all aggreſſors; and that they ſhould not ſuffer any perſon to injure, diſtreſs, or moleſt any of their fellow-citizens[18].—2. Whoever reſided in any town that was made free, was obliged, under a ſevere penalty, to accede to the community, and to take part

[16] Petr. de Marca (Marca), ſive Limes Hiſpanicus, App. p. 909—1038. [17] Robertſon, [18] D'Acher. Spicil. t. x. p. 642; xi. 341. &c.

in the mutual defence of its members[19].—3. The communities had the privilege of carrying arms; of making war on their private enemies; and of executing, by military force, any ſentence which their magiſtrates pronounced[20].—4. The practice of making ſatisfaction, by a pecuniary compenſation, for murder, aſſault, or other acts of violence, moſt inconſiſtent with the order of ſociety, and the ſafety of individuals, was aboliſhed, and ſuch as committed theſe crimes were puniſhed capitally, or with rigour adequate to their guilt[21].—5. No member of a community was bound to juſtify or defend himſelf by battle or combat; but, if he was charged with any crime, he could be convicted only by the evidence of witneſſes, and the regular courſe of legal proceedings[22].—6. If any man ſuſpected himſelf to be in danger, from the malice or enmity of another, upon his making oath to that effect before a magiſtrate, the perſon ſuſpected was bound under a ſevere penalty to give ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour[23].—This ſpecies of ſecurity is ſtill known in Scotland under the name of *lawburroughs*[24]; in France it was firſt introduced among the inhabitants of communities; and, having been found to contribute conſiderably towards perſonal ſafety, it was extended to all the other members of the ſociety[25].

The proviſions in the charters of communities, concerning the ſecurity of property, are not leſs conſiderable than thoſe reſpecting perſonal ſafety. By the ancient law of France, no perſon could be arreſted, or confined in priſon, on account of any private debt[26].—If any perſon was arreſted upon any pretext, but his having been guilty of a capital crime, it was lawful to reſcue him out of the hands of the officers who had ſeized him[27].—Freedom of arreſt, on account of debt, ſeems likewiſe to have been enjoyed in other countries[28].—In ſociety, while it remained in its rudeſt and moſt ſimple form, debt ſeems to have been conſidered as an obligation merely perſonal: men had made ſome progreſs towards refinement, before creditors acquired a right of ſeizing the property of their debtors in order to recover payment. The expedients for this purpoſe were all introduced originally in communities, and the gradual progreſs of them may be eaſily traced by an accurate obſerver:—1. The ſimpleſt and moſt obvious ſpecies of ſecurity was, that the perſon who ſold any commodity ſhould receive a pledge from him who bought it, which he reſtored upon receiving payment. Of this cuſtom there are veſtiges in ſeveral charters of community[29].—2. When no pledge was given, and the debtor became refractory or inſolvent, the creditor was allowed to ſeize his effects by force, and by his own private authority; the citizens of Paris are warranted by the royal mandate "ut "ubicumque, et quocumque modo poterunt, tantum capiant, unde pecuniam

[19] D'Acher. Spicil. tom. xi. p. 344, &c. [20] Id. x, 643, 644; xi. 343. [21] Idem. xi. p. 362—Miræi Opera Diplomatica, tom. i. p. 292. [22] Miræus, ibid.—D'Ach. xi. 375, 349.—Ordon. tom. iii. p. 265. [23] D'Ach. xi. 346. [24] Robertſon. [25] Etabliſſement de St. Louis, liv. i. chap. 28, ap. Du Cange, Vie de St. Louis, p. 15. [26] Ordon. des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 72—80. [27] Ordon. iii. p. 17. [28] Gudenus Sylloge Diplom. 473. [29] D'Ach. ix. p. 185; xi. 377.

"ſibi

"ſibi debitam integrè et plenariè habeant, et inde ſibi invicem adjutores exiſtant[30]." This rude practice, ſuitable only to the violence of a ſtate of nature, was tolerated longer than one can conceive to be poſſible in any ſociety where laws and order were, in any degree, known. The ordonnance authorizing it was iſſued in the year 1134; and that which corrects the law, and prohibits creditors from ſeizing the effects of their debtors, unleſs by a warrant from a magiſtrate, and under his inſpection, was not publiſhed until the year 1351[31].—It is probable, however, that men were taught, by obſerving the diſorders which the former mode of proceeding occaſioned, to correct it in practice long before a remedy was provided by a law to that effect.—New cuſtoms are not always to be aſcribed to the laws which authorize them[32]. Theſe ſtatutes only give a legal ſanction to ſuch things as the experience of mankind has previouſly found to be proper and beneficial.—3. As ſoon as the interpoſition of the magiſtrate became requiſite, regular proviſion was made for attaching or diſtraining the moveable effects of a debtor; and, if his moveables were not ſufficient to diſcharge the debt, his immoveable property, or eſtate in land, was liable to the ſame diſtreſs, and was ſold for the benefit of his creditors[33].—As this regulation afforded the moſt complete ſecurity to the creditor, it was conſidered as ſo ſevere, that humanity pointed out ſeveral limitations in the execution of it. Creditors were prohibited from ſeizing the wearing apparel of their debtors, their beds, the door of their houſe, their implements of huſbandry, &c.[34]. Upon the ſame principles, when the power of diſtraining effects became more general, the horſe and arms of a gentleman could not be ſeized[35].—As hunting was the favourite amuſement of martial nobles, the emperor Ludovicus Pius prohibited the ſeizing of a hawk, on account of any compoſition or debt[36]. But if the debtor had no other moveables, even theſe privileged articles might be ſeized.—4. In order to render the ſecurity of property complete within a community, every perſon who was admitted a member of it was obliged to buy or build a houſe, or to purchaſe lands within its precincts, or, at leaſt, to bring into the town a conſiderable portion of his moveables *per quæ juſticiari poſſit, ſi quid forte in eum querelæ evenerit*[37].—5. That ſecurity might be as perfect as poſſible, in ſome towns, the members of the community ſeem to have been bound for each other[38]. —6. All queſtions with reſpect to property were tried within the community, by magiſtrates and judges, which the citizens elected or appointed. Their deciſions were more equal and fixed than the ſentences which depended on the capricious and arbitrary will of a baron, who thought himſelf ſuperior to all laws[39].—7. No member of a community could be burdened by any arbitrary tax; for the ſuperior lord, who granted the charter of community, accepted of a fixed cenſus, or duty, in lieu of all demands[40]. Nor could

[30] Ordon, &c. tom. i p. 6. [31] Idem, tom. ii. p. 438. [32] Robertſon. [33] D'Ach. tom. ix. p. 184, 185; xi. p. 348—380. [34] Idem, ix. p. 184; xi. 377. [35] Id. ix. 185. [36] Capitul. lib. iv. 21. [37] D'Ach. ix. p. 326—Ordon, i. 367. [38] Idem, x. p. 644 [39] Id. x. p. 644, 646; xi. 344 et paſſim; Ord. iii. 204. [40] Ordon. tom. iii. 204; Libertates de Calma—Hiſt. de Dauphiné, tom. i. p. 19; Libert. St. Georgii de Eſperanchia, ibid. p. 26.

the

the members of a community be diſtreſſed by an unequal impoſition of the ſum to be levied upon the community. Regulations are inſerted in the charters of ſome communities concerning the method of determining the quota of any tax to be levied on each inhabitant[41]. Saint Lewis publiſhed an ordonnance concerning this matter, which extended to all the communities[42].—Theſe regulations are extremely favourable to liberty, as they veſt the power of proportioning the taxes in a certain number of citizens, choſen out of each pariſh, who were bound by a ſolemn oath to decide according to juſtice.—That the more perfect ſecurity of property was one great object of thoſe who inſtituted communities, we learn, not only from the nature of the thing, but from the expreſs words of ſeveral charters, of which we ſhall only mention that granted by Eleanora, queen of England and ducheſs of Guienne, to the community of Poitiers, "ut "ſua propria melius defendere poſſint, et magis integrè cuſtodire[43]."—Such are ſome of the capital regulations eſtabliſhed in communities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries! Theſe may be conſidered as the firſt rudiments of law and order; and contributed greatly to introduce regular government among all the members of ſociety. As ſoon as communities were inſtituted, high ſentiments of liberty began to appear. When Humbert, lord of Beaujeu, upon granting a charter of community to the town of Belleville, exacted of the inhabitants an oath of fidelity to himſelf and ſucceſſors, they ſtipulated, on their part, that he ſhould ſwear to maintain their franchiſes and liberties; and, for their greater ſecurity, they obliged him to bring twenty gentlemen to take the ſame oath, and to be bound together with him[44]. In the ſame manner the lord of Moirens in Dauphiné produced a certain number of perſons, as his ſureties for the obſervation of the articles contained in the charter of community to that town. Theſe were bound to ſurrender themſelves to the inhabitants of Moirens, if their liege-lord ſhould violate any of their franchiſes; and they promiſed to remain in cuſtody until he ſhould grant them redreſs[45]. If the mayor, or chief magiſtrate of a town, did any injury to a citizen, he was obliged to give ſecurity for his appearance in judgment, in the ſame manner as a private perſon; and, if caſt, was liable to the ſame penalty[46]. Theſe are ideas of equality uncommon in the feudal times. Communities were ſo favourable to freedom, that they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *libertates*[47]. They were at firſt extremely odious to the nobles, who foreſaw what a check they muſt prove to their power and domination. Guibert, abbot of Nogent, calls them execrable inventions, by which, contrary to law and juſtice, ſlaves withdrew themſelves from that obedience which they owed to their maſters[48]. The zeal with which ſome of the nobles and powerful eccleſiaſtics oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of communities, and endeavoured to circumſcribe their privileges, was extraordinary. A ſtriking inſtance of this occurs in the conteſts between the archbiſhop of Rheims and the inhabitants of that community. It was the chief buſineſs of every

[41] D'Ach. xi. 350, 365. [42] Ordon. tom. i. 186. [43] Du Cange, Voc. Communia, tom. ii. p. 863.
[44] D'Ach. ix. p. 183. [45] Hiſt. de Dauphiné, tom. i. p. 17. [46] D'Ach. ix. 183. [47] Du Cange, t. ii. p. 863
[48] Du Cange, ibid. p. 862.

archbiſhop,

archbiſhop, during a conſiderable time, to abridge the rights and juriſdiction of the community; and the great object of the citizens, eſpecially when the ſee was vacant, to maintain, to recover, and to extend their own juriſdiction [49].

Theſe obſervations concerning the ſtate of cities, and the condition of their inhabitants, are confirmed by innumerable paſſages in the hiſtorians and laws of the middle ages. It is not improbable, however, that ſome cities of the firſt order were in a better ſtate, and enjoyed a ſuperior degree of liberty. Under the Roman government, the municipal government eſtabliſhed in cities was extremely favourable to liberty: the juriſdiction of the ſenate in each corporation, and the privileges of the citizens, were both extenſive [50]. There is reaſon to believe, that ſome of the greater cities, which eſcaped the deſtructive rage of the barbarous nations, ſtill retained, their ancient form of government, at leaſt in a great meaſure. They were governed by a council of citizens, and by magiſtrates whom they themſelves elected. Very ſtrong preſumptions in favour of this opinion are produced by M. l'Abbé de Bos [51].—It appears from ſome of the charters of community to cities, granted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that theſe only confirm the privileges poſſeſſed by the inhabitants previous to the eſtabliſhment of the community [52]. Other cities claimed their privileges, as having poſſeſſed them without interruption from the times of the Romans [53]. But the number of cities which enjoyed ſuch immunities was ſo ſmall as by no means to diminiſh the importance of thoſe charters granted by Lewis the Groſs, as meritorious innovations.

The kingdom ſoon felt the advantages ariſing from this beneficial change; the towns encreaſed in population; the arts, the ſciences, and commerce began to flouriſh; new villages were built; lands hitherto uncultivated were rendered fertile; and the emancipated hind took farms on his own account, and laboured for himſelf. The cities, at length, became ſo powerful and opulent [54] that, in order to engage them to contribute to the neceſſities of the ſtate with leſs repugnance than they uſually evinced, it was judged proper to admit their deputies into the general aſſemblies. They appeared there for the firſt time in 1302; but merely for the purpoſe of repreſenting their wants, and explaining their reſources. The communities acquired greater honours, in proportion as they furniſhed a greater number of forces in time of war. Inſenſibly they formed a third body in the kingdom, who enjoyed in the national diets an equal or even ſuperior authority to the nobility and clergy. It was denominated *The Third Eſtate* (Tiers-Etat) an appellation unknown in preceding times [55], when the nobles and eccleſiaſtics alone enjoyed the privilege of voting in the aſſemblies or Parliaments. Every thing then

[49] Hiſtoire Civile et Politique de la Ville de Rheims par M. Anquetil, tom. i. p. 287, &c. [50] Robertſon. [51] Hiſt. Crit. de la Mon. Franc. tom. ii. p. 18, &c.—tom. ii. p. 524. Edit. 1742. [52] D'Acher. Spicileg. vol. xi. p. 345. [53] Hiſt. Crit. de la Mon. Franc. t. ii. p. 133. [54] Le Gendre, Mœurs des François, p. 109. [55] Id. ib

experienced

experienced a change; as well the name of the aſſemblies, which were henceforth denominated *States-General*, or *Aſſemblies of the Three Eſtates* [56], as their power and privileges, which were no longer the ſame as in early times. They never aſſembled but when the king pleaſed; they never deliberated on queſtions of peace and war; they were only permitted to repreſent the people's grievances, to regulate ſubſidies and the mode of levying them, or to appoint a regent, when the deceaſed monarch had neglected to name one himſelf.

There is no point with reſpect to which (as an Engliſh hiſtorian of eminence has juſtly remarked) the French antiquaries are more generally agreed, than in maintaining that the States-General had no ſuffrage in the paſſing of laws, and poſſeſſed no proper legiſlative juriſdiction. The whole tenor of the French hiſtory confirms this opinion. The form of proceeding in the States-General was this. The king addreſſed himſelf to the whole body aſſembled in one place, and laid before them the affairs on account of which he had ſummoned them. The deputies of each of the three orders, of nobles, of clergy, and of the third eſtate, met apart, and prepared their *cahier* or memorial, containing their anſwer to the propoſitions which had been made to them, together with the repreſentations which they had thought proper to lay before the king. Theſe anſwers and repreſentations were conſidered by the king in his council, and generally gave riſe to an ordonnance. Theſe ordonnances were not addreſſed to the three eſtates in common. Sometimes the king addreſſed an ordonnance to each of the eſtates in particular. Sometimes he mentioned the aſſembly of the three eſtates. Sometimes mention is made only of the aſſembly of that eſtate to which the ordonnance is addreſſed. Sometimes no mention at all is made of the aſſembly of eſtates, which ſuggeſted the propriety of enacting the law [57]. Thus the States-General had only the privilege of adviſing and remonſtrating; the legiſlative authority reſided in the king alone.

It was at this period that a taſte for ſophiſtry was introduced into the ſchools, where it paſſed from philoſophy to theology, and gave riſe to the diſcuſſion of a thouſand perplexing queſtions, not leſs dangerous than ſubtle. There was not a ſingle maſter or profeſſor who taught any of the uſeful ſciences, or the belles-lettres; all that laid pretence to wit, or that boaſted of their underſtanding, puzzled their brain with abſtract ſpeculations, and loſt themſelves in the labyrinths of metaphyſics. The firſt who gave leſſons in this kind of new logic was Roſcelin of Compiégne, a man rendered famous by the numbers and magnitude of his errors. The celebrated Abelard, who was not leſs diſtinguiſhed for the ſplendour of his genius, the elegance of his diction, the ſuavity of his manners, and the graces of his perſon, than for his ardent love and unparalleled miſ-

[56] The ancient name of parliament was transferred to thoſe companies which were eſtabliſhed in the kindom for the better adminiſtration of juſtice. Le Gendre, p. 112.

[57] Preface au Tom. iii. des Ordon. p. 20.

fortunes,

fortunes, was his diſciple and ſucceſſor. The high reputation which Abelard acquired excited the envy of his contemporaries, and the ſubtilty of his arguments procured his condemnation by the council of Soiſſons[58]. He was accuſed by ſome of teaching that there were Three Gods; and by others of not enforcing a neceſſary diſcrimination between the three perſons of the Trinity. In vain did he requeſt the pope's legate to order a juridical examination of his work; in vain did he offer to correct whatever might be deemed reprehenſible;—it was decided that the book ſhould be condemned without any farther examination, and the unfortunate author was compelled to commit his own work to the flames. In order to juſtify the irregularity of this proceeding, it was ſaid that the doctor's audacity, in reading his treatiſe in public before it had been approved by the pope, was a ſufficient reaſon for condemning it—as if any fault of the author could vitiate the work.

Abelard had alſo ſtudied under Anſelm of Laon, one of the greateſt theologians of the age; and under William de Champeaux, afterwards biſhop of Châlons-upon-Marne, who was called *The Column of the Doctors*. William for a long time taught rhetoric, logic, and theology in the cloiſter of the cathedral at Paris; he then retired to an old chapel dedicated to Saint Victor, where he founded a community of regular canons, which eſtabliſhment was confirmed by letters patent from Lewis the Groſs, in 1113, who was alſo liberal in his benefactions to it[59].

There were two other celebrated orders likewiſe inſtituted during this reign; one in the deſert of Voſage, in the environs of Laon; the other in a retired ſpot near Muret, in the dioceſe of Limoges. The firſt aſſumed the title of Prémontrés, from a part of the deſert, and the white dreſs, then worn by clerks; the ſecond took the appellation of Grandmont, with the black habit worn by recluſes. The Prémontrés wore nothing but woollen, eat only one meal a day, obſerved a perpetual ſilence, and were very charitable to the poor[60]. Their founder was a German gentleman, named Norbert, of illuſtrious birth, and highly favoured at the court of Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany. The Grandmontains[61] were, at firſt, neither prieſts, monks, nor hermits, but a ſimple community of penitents, who were often obliged to interrupt their devotions, in order to beg the common neceſſaries of life. They lived in a ſtate of ſuch extreme mortification, that when the pope confirmed their inſtitution, he was obliged to moderate its auſterity. Stephen, viſcount of Thiers, in Auvergne, was the founder of this order; and Grandmont, in the Limouſin, the chief place of its reſidence.

[58] Tom x. Concil. p. 885. [59] Dubois, Hiſt. Paris, l. x. c. 7, 9. [60] Vita S. Norb. apud Boll. t. xix, p. 862,
[61] Vita S. Stephani, apud. Boll, t. iv, p. 205,

LEWIS THE SEVENTH,

SURNAMED THE YOUNG.

A. D. 1137.] LEWIS was in Guienne, when he received the news of his father's death. He immediately repaired to the capital; and on his way thither inflicted an exemplary puniſhment on the rebellious citizens of Orleans. When he arrived at Paris, he convened an aſſembly of the prelates and nobles, in which ſuch effectual meaſures were taken for repreſſing that ſpirit of ſedition which was ſo frequent at the commencement of a reign, that the national tranquillity remained wholly undiſturbed.

A. D. 1138.] The kingdom, indeed, had not enjoyed ſo perfect a calm as it now experienced for ſome time. This was principally owing to the fatal diviſions which prevailed in Germany and England. The emperor, Henry the Fifth, having died without heirs, the Germans, to the number of ſixty thouſand, aſſembled to appoint a ſucceſſor. The diet being unable to come to any concluſion, on account of the difference of opinion which obtained, choſe ten electors, who elected Lothaire, duke of Saxony [1]. It is pretended that this election was influenced by Suger the monk, who is ſaid to have been the firſt French miniſter that gave riſe to civil wars in Germany. He repaired to Mayence with the retinue of a ſovereign prince, and, by a ſucceſsful exertion of his talents for intrigue, ſucceeded in his efforts to promote the excluſion of

[1] Hiſt. Ludovic. vii. Duch. t. iv. p. 412, 413.

Frederick

Frederick, duke of Suabia, who was nephew to the late emperor [a]. That young prince, urged by ambition, as well as reſentment againſt France, proteſted againſt the elevation of ſo formidable a rival. A bloody war enſued, which laſted till the death of Lothaire, and the coronation of Conrad, brother to the duke of Suabia.

England and Normandy were equally convulſed. On the death of Henry the Firſt the throne of England was uſurped by Stephen, count of Boulogne, nephew to Henry, and brother to Thibaud, count of Champagne, to the prejudice of Matilda and her infant ſon. The clergy, profiting by the precarious ſituation of the uſurper, annexed this condition to their oaths of allegiance, viz. that they were only bound to obſerve it ſo long as the king defended the eccleſiaſtical liberties, and ſupported the diſcipline of the church. The barons, in return for their ſubmiſſion, exacted terms of a ſtill more pernicious tendency, equally deſtructive of public peace and of regal authority. Many of them inſiſted on the right of fortifying their caſtles, and of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence; and the king found himſelf in no condition to withhold his conſent from this exorbitant demand. The fatal effects of his compliance were ſoon viſible; the whole kingdom was immediately filled with thoſe fortreſſes, which the barons either garriſoned with their own vaſſals, or with licentious hirelings, who flocked to them from every quarter. The moſt ſhameful extortions were practiſed upon the people for the maintainance of theſe troops; and domeſtic feuds and private animoſities now raged with unbounded violence, and rendered England a continued ſcene of riot and diſorder. The nobles were conſtantly engaged in wars with each other; the barons even aſſumed the diſtinguiſhing marks of royalty, the right of coining money, and of exerciſing, without appeal, every act of juriſdiction; while the inferior gentry, as well as the common people, finding the laws inadequate to their defence, during this annihilation of ſovereign power, were compelled, for their own immediate ſafety, to court the protection of ſome neighbouring chieftain, by conſenting to ſubmit to his exactions, and to aſſiſt him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one caſtle cauſed the building of another; and even thoſe who had not obtained the king's permiſſion, thought that they were entitled, by the grand principle of ſelf-preſervation, to put themſelves on a footing with their neighbours, who were generally their enemies and rivals. Theſe cruel diſorders which prevailed in the neighbouring ſtates were favourable to the tranquillity of France, which was, at this time, agitated only by theological diſputes, that were not carried to a ſufficient heighth to diſturb the national repoſe.

Abelard, though he had been compelled to burn his book upon the Trinity, ſtill, perſevered in the ſame ſentiments which he had there promulgated. He conſequently

[a] Annal. de l'Empire, tom. i. p. 195.

continued to teach the ſame doctrine; and even ventured to propagate in his writings many bold propoſitions, which hitherto he had contented himſelf with explaining to his pupils. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in the county of Champagne, inſtigated by William, abbot of Thierri, accuſed him of following the example of Arius, in making diſtinctions between the three perſons of the Trinity; of imitating Pelagius, in preferring free-will to grace; and of agreeing with Neſtorius, in dividing the perſon of Chriſt. A council was accordingly aſſembled at Sens, for the purpoſe of taking theſe charges into conſideration, at which the king and the count of Champagne were both preſent. The abbot of Clairvaux opened the buſineſs of the day, and diſplayed a fund of eloquence that ſeduced his audience. By the applauſe which he received from the aſſembly Abelard was convinced that his condemnation would be pronounced. The embarraſſment occaſioned by this idea almoſt deprived him of the uſe of his faculties; it did not, however, prevent him from thinking of his perſonal ſafety, by making an appeal to the pope. The council, therefore, though they proceeded to condemn his doctrine, were prevented from inflicting any puniſhment on him.

Abelard ſet out for Rome in order to purſue his appeal, and to juſtify himſelf to the ſovereign pontiff; but the abbot of Cluni prevented him from proceeding, and undertook to reconcile him to Bernard. Then the face of affairs totally changed, and the doctrine of Abelard was no longer called in queſtion. He died two years after this reconciliation, overwelmed with infirmities. He was doubtleſs the brighteſt genius of the age in which he lived; his misfortunes were owing to an exceſs of ſenſibility, and to the ſplendour of his reputation. His wife Heloiſe ſurvived him near twenty years, and, at her death, was interred in the ſame tomb with her huſband, at the abbey of Paraclete, which ſhe had founded.

A. D. 1140.] Such was the ſtate of France, when the king was led into a quarrel with the pope, on the election of a prelate to the ſee of Bourges. On the death of Alberic, the chapter of Bourges had elected, without waiting the approbation of their ſovereign, Pierre de la Châtre, a man of illuſtrious birth, to the vacant archiepiſcopal ſee. The indignant monarch, determined to vindicate his inſulted authority, commanded the chapter to proceed to a new election; but the clergy firmly maintained their choice. The Roman pontiff eſpouſed the cauſe of Pierre de la Châtre, obſerving, that *the king was a young man who ſtood in need of inſtruction, and ſhould be taught not to accuſtom himſelf to ſimilar attempts*;—an obſervation equally indiſcreet and indecent in a prelate, who was indebted for his elevation to the protection afforded him by France againſt the faction of Anaclete. The new archbiſhop, fortified by the ſuffrage of the court of Rome, haſtened to take poſſeſſion of his dioceſe; but the inhabitants of Bourges, faithful to the orders of their ſovereign, refuſed him admiſſion into their city; he was therefore conſtrained to take refuge with the count of Champagne, under whoſe protection he launched the thunders of the church againſt that part of the royal domain, which was compriſed within the limits

limits of his archbiſhoprick. The torch of diſcord was kindled by this haſty ſpark, and the deſtructive flame was fed by another incident, which equally diſplayed the dangerous and encroaching ſpirit of the court of Rome, nouriſhed the arrogance of the count of Champagne, and provoked the reſentment of the king of France.

A. D. 1141, 1142.] Rodolph, count of Vermandois, who had ſucceſſively preſided over the councils of Lewis and his father, had divorced from his bed, on the common and convenient plea of conſanguinity, his wife, the near relation of the count of Champagne[3]; and had eſpouſed Petronilla, the daughter of the late duke of Aquitaine, and the younger ſiſter of Eleonora, queen of France. The mind of Thibaud was deeply wounded by the indignity offered to his family; the Roman pontiff readily embraced the cauſe of the protector of Pierre de la Châtre, he declared the marriage of Petronilla void, and denounced the penalty of excommunication againſt Rodolph, unleſs he recalled to his bed the wife whom he had unjuſtly repudiated. But Lewis, doubly intereſted in the fate of his kinſman, was not to be diſmayed by the terror of ſpiritual cenſure; with a formidable army he entered the territories of Thibaud, and compelled that haughty chief to ſue for peace. As the means of obtaining it, he promiſed to intercede with the pope to revoke the excommuication of the count of Vermandois, and the interdict which Pierre de la Châtre had pronounced againſt the royal domain in the archbiſhoprick of Bourges. Yet the king had no ſooner retired within his own dominions, than he was again aſſailed by the hoſtile weapons of the apoſtolic chair; and, enraged at the deceit of Thibaud, the ſincerity of whoſe ſubmiſſion he juſtly ſuſpected, he determined to avenge, on the innocent inhabitants of Champagne, the perfidy of their turbulent prince. He laid waſte the country with indiſcriminate rage, and, having taken the town of Vitry by ſurprize, ſet fire to the pariſh church, in which thirteen hundred perſons had taken refuge, all of whom miſerably periſhed in the flames.

But ſhame and repentance ſoon ſucceeded thoſe emotions of youthful rage and impetuous reſentment, which had urged the youthful mind of Lewis to the commiſſion of ſo inhuman a deed. Impreſſed with the deepeſt ſentiments of remorſe he reconciled himſelf to the count of Champagne, acknowledged Pierre as the archbiſhop of Bourges, and made a vow to undertake an expedition to Paleſtine, which, in thoſe days, was deemed a ſufficient expiation of the moſt enormous crimes.

A. D. 1144, 1145.] The diſtreſs of the Chriſtian warriors in Paleſtine called for immediate aſſiſtance from Europe; and the falling fortunes of the Latins could only be propped by the immenſe preparations for the ſecond cruſade. The city of Edeſſa had been recovered from the Chriſtians by the valour of Zenghi, a Turkiſh chief, who ruled with

[3] Spicil. p. 400.

independent

independent authority the Aſiatic kingdoms of Aleppo and Moſul; and the conqueſt which had been atchieved by the father was protected by the fame and fortune of the ſon. The name of Noureddin *(the Light)* ſtill gleams through the darkneſs of Aſiatic hiſtory; and its meridian glory eclipſed the faint luſtre of the unworthy ſucceſſors of Godfrey. The throne of Jeruſalem was then occupied by the inexperienced youth of Baldwin the Third, whoſe tender years were protected by the councils of his mother, Mileſenda; while the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli obeyed the authority of the two Raymonds, counts of Poitiers and Toulouſe.

Bernard, who had been employed to preach this ſecond cruſade, and whoſe fervent eloquence had arouſed the fanatical zeal of the Germans and Flemings, was earneſt in his exhortations to Lewis to fulfil, with ſpeed, the ſolemn vow he had made. Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, on the contrary, exerted his utmoſt efforts to diſſuade the king from an enterprize, from which there was every thing to fear, and nothing to hope, and which he might effectually aſſiſt, by a contribution of men and money, while his preſence was requiſite at home to ſecure the tranquillity of his hereditary dominions. The king's eſteem was ſo equally divided between theſe two eccleſiaſtics, that he long heſitated between the different counſels which they, with equal eagerneſs, enforced. They are both, indeed, repreſented by hiſtorians as worthy of his confidence by the extent of their merit. The firſt had, rather by a reputation for ſanctity, richly deſerved and fully confirmed, than for any ſolidity of underſtanding or brilliancy of wit, enſured a reſpect and conſideration for his perſon, which have frequently more weight than authority itſelf; the laſt, by a ſuperiority of genius, ſtrengthened by comprehenſive talents and incorruptible probity, had acquired that degree of public confidence which does honour even to virtue. The abbot of Clairvaux, with the air and enthuſiaſm of a prophet, had a prophet's inflexibility; the abbot of Saint Denis, with a greater knowledge of the world, was more modeſt in his addreſs, more inſinuating in his manners, and his firmneſs was never carried to extremes. They were alike directed by important views, though of a different nature; Bernard was earneſt in his endeavours to promote, *excluſively*, the intereſts of religion—at leaſt what he deemed ſuch; whereas Suger, exempt from fanaticiſm, though rationally devout, wiſhed to make the proſperity of the church coincide with the welfare of the ſtate: but the enthuſiaſm of the prophet overcame the wiſdom of the politician; and Lewis, ſtricken with remorſe for his cruelty at Vitry, determined to aſſume the croſs, and repair to Paleſtine.

A. D. 1146.] A parliament[a] was accordingly aſſembled at Vezelai in Burgundy, and it was ſo numerouſly attended, that no building was found ſufficiently ſpacious to contain the members, who therefore met in an open field. The eloquence of Bernard was

[a] This is the firſt time that the term Parliament is applied, by French hiſtorians, to an aſſembly of the nobles and prelates

here

here ſucceſsfully employed, who depicted, in glowing colours, the meritorious piety, and the eternal rewards, which attended the holy warfare. The king received, from his hands, a croſs, which the pope had ſent him from Rome; and his example was followed by the queen and a numerous train of nobles, prelates, and gentlemen of inferior quality.

The holy infection ſoon paſſed from theſe to the people; and "*The croſs! the croſs!*" reſounded on every ſide, Such was the enthuſiaſtic ardour to engage in this pious enterprize, that the towns and villages were ſo far ſtripped of their inhabitants, that, in many of them, none but women and children were left behind. It ſeemed as if the French, diſguſted with the rich country which their anceſtors had conquered, were deſirous of ſeeking a new eſtabliſhment in a different quarter of the globe[5]. A ſpindle and diſtaff were ſent to all who had the ability to join the cruſaders, but who wanted the will. Even the women were ambitious to aſſume the croſs; and the generality of wives followed their huſbands in this long and dangerous pilgrimage.

A. D. 1147.] The forces which aſſembled under the *oriflamme* of Saint Denis have been computed at more than two hundred thouſand men. The reins of government were, during the abſence of the king, entruſted to Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and to Suger abbot of Saint Denis, whoſe counſels he had rejected, but whoſe prudence and judgment he eſteemed. At the head of this unwieldy hoſt, Lewis traverſed ſucceſsfully the plains of Hungary, and encamped under the walls of Conſtantinople, where he was received with all poſſible honours by the emperor Manuel Comnenus. That prince was in the flower of his youth, poſſeſſed of every perſonal accompliſhment, endued with prudence ſuperior to his years, with ſeducing eloquence, and inflexible courage. But theſe endowments were greatly counterbalanced by his numerous vices. Indeed it has been juſtly obſerved by a modern hiſtorian, that the court of the more early Greek emperors ſeems to have reſembled thoſe of Eaſtern monarchs, both in magnificence, and in corruption of manners. Manuel Comnenus rioted in every kind of luxury, and wantoned in every ſpecies of debauchery. He openly ſhared his bed with his mother, the princeſs Theodora; he ſupported his vices with ſuch exceſs of prodigality, that his ſubjects were overwhelmed with the moſt oppreſſive impoſts; and the well-earned fruits of their induſtry and labour were applied to gratify the inſatiate avidity of his eunuchs, and of the baſe miniſters of his guilty pleaſures. Perfidious in the extreme, while he loaded the cruſaders with careſſes, he left no artifice unemployed to promote their deſtruction. Had this portrait of the emperor been drawn by a French or by a German writer, we might have been tempted to call its juſtice in queſtion, and to have ſuſpected that the features had been diſguiſed by prejudice and partiality; but as it comes from the pencil of

[5] Abregè de l'Hiſt. Univerſ. part ii. p. 7.

Nicetas

Nicetas Choniatas, a Greek writer, contemporary with Manuel[6], we can have no reaſon to doubt its truth; particularly as, far from being partial to the cruſaders, he inveighs againſt them with extreme violence: ſpeaking of the Franks, he deſcribes them as barbarians, fierce, illiterate, impetuous, and ſavage; and he gives an account of the ferocity and devaſtations of the cruſaders in general, in terms not unlike thoſe which preceding hiſtorians had employed in deſcribing the incurſions of the Goths and Vandals[7].

From the ſame author we learn, that Manuel aſſigned guides to the cruſaders, who, were privately inſtructed, by the emperor himſelf, to lead them into defiles, where they were attacked by troops ſtationed for that purpoſe; that he cauſed the gates of all the towns in his dominions to be ſhut againſt them, and they could obtain no proviſions, till they had previouſly depoſited their money in baſkets let down from the walls to receive it, by which means they were expoſed to inceſſant impoſitions, as the Greeks frequently diſappeared with the caſh, and brought them nothing in return; that lime was mixed in the flour diſtributed to the troops, which proved the deſtruction of thouſands; that the natives had fabricated a baſe coin, with which they always paid the cruſaders; whenever they purchaſed any thing from them, and refuſed to take it in payment for their own articles; "that there was no wicked artifice, in ſhort, which the emperor did "not employ, or cauſe to be employed, againſt them, to ſerve as an example to their "deſcendants, that might deter them from entering on the Greek territories[8]."

A. D. 1148.] But during the ſtay of Lewis at the court of Conſtantinople he experienced from the artful emperor every mark of reſpect, friendſhip, and eſteem. The French monarch, ever mindful of his own dignity, refuſed to grant precedency to the Greek; but preſerved, on all occaſions, a perfect equality. Of this becoming jealouſy a ſtriking inſtance is mentioned by Odo de Deuil, a monk of Saint Denis, who was ſecretary and chaplain to the king: he had already paſſed the Boſphorus, with his army, when he received a meſſage from Manuel, deſiring a conference at Conſtantinople; but Lewis ſent him word, that, if he had any thing to communicate, he muſt either come to him, or, at leaſt meet him half way on the ſea, that they might treat on *equal* terms; a propoſal with which the emperor found himſelf obliged to comply.

At Nice, Lewis met Conrad, emperor of Germany, his rival in the pious warfare, returning wounded from a glorious, but unfortunate combat, in the defiles of mount Taurus, into which he had been betrayed by the perfidy of Manuel; aud ſeeking for ſome veſſels to carry him to Paleſtine by ſea. The king of France, however, unwarned by his misfortunes, preſſed forwards to the banks of the Mæander, which he paſſed in ſight of the Turks, whom he afterwards attacked in their camp. and defeated, with great

[6] Nicet. Chon. in Manuel. l. i. p. 397. [7] Idem, ap. Byz. Script. vol. iii. p. 302, &c. [8] Idem, in Manuel. l. i. p. 41.

ſlaughter.

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Singleton delt. Jones sculpt.

Louis VII. Singly repulsing a band of Saracens.

Publish'd as the Act directs, by C. Lowndes. June. 25. 1791.

ſlaughter[9]. But, in a few days, he experienced a reverſe of fortune, and, by the negligence of his officers, was expoſed to an attack that had nearly proved fatal to his cauſe.

It was an eſtabliſhed rule in the French army, that two of the principal nobles ſhould command, alternately, the van and rear guards, and fix on the ground where the troops ſhould encamp. Geoffrey de Rançon, a powerful baron of Poitou, led the van that day, carrying the royal ſtandard, and preceded by the *Oriflamme* of Saint Denis. It had been ſettled that he ſhould fix his camp on the ſummit of a mountain, in order to command the defiles; but finding neither forage nor water at the deſtined ſpot, he deſcended into a pleaſant vale at the foot of the hill. The Turks, taking advantage of this imprudent ſtep, attacked the rear-guard with ſuch impetuous fury, that the firſt rank was broken in an inſtant. The ſecond diſplayed greater firmneſs, but, oppreſſed by numbers, and overcome with ſurprize, the whole army muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed but for the friendly intervention of night.

The king was retiring with precipitation, after having ſignalized his valour in the field, when his golden ſpurs attracted the notice of a band of Saracens, who reſolved to ſeize the glittering prize. They accordingly purſued Lewis, who unable to effect his eſcape, placed his back againſt a large tree, where he defended himſelf with ſuch vigour againſt his numerous aſſailants, that he had ſoon an opportunity of climbing to the top. The Saracens plied him with their arrows, but were unable to penetrate his armour, they next attempted to aſcend the tree, but the king uſed his ſabre with ſuch ſkill and ſucceſs, that ignorant of his quality, and intimidated by the oppoſition they experienced, they at length left him, in ſearch of plunder that could be acquired with greater facility. He then left his poſt, and mounting a ſtray horſe, was lucky enough to find the defiles of the mountain, and to attain the camp of his van-guard, who having recovered their ſovereign, whom they imagined to be killed or taken, conſoled themſelves for the loſs of one half of the army.

After this diſaſter, Lewis proceeded to the ſmall ſea-port of Attalia, on the coaſt of Pamphilia, where he procured veſſels to convey himſelf and a part of his troops to Antioch. There he was received with kindneſs and diſtinction by his uncle, Raymond of Poictiers. But to public calamity ſucceeded the pangs of domeſtic miſery; the charms of his wife had made a deep impreſſion on the prince of Antioch; and Eleanora, frail as ſhe was fair, returned the affection of her kinſman, and baſely diſhonoured her lord and ſovereign[10]. Indeed ſhe was prodigal of her favours: a youthful Turk, named Saladin, loaded her with preſents, and received her careſſes in return[11]; the warmth of

[9] Geſt. Ludov. vii. chap. xi. p. 398. Duch. tom. iv. [10] Guil. Tyr. l. xvi. c. 7. [11] Frag. de Rebus Ludov. vii. Duch. t. iv. p. 140.

her paſſions overcame the dictates of honour; and ſhe ſuffered her beauteous perſon to be polluted by the promiſcuous embraces of her numerous admirers [12].

From Antioch, Lewis, accompanied by his reluctant queen, ſet ſail for Jeruſalem, where he was joined by the emperor Conrad. Reinforced by the troops of Baldwin the Third, king of Jeruſalem, they determined to form the ſiege of Damaſcus; that city was ſtrong both by art and nature, but the vigorous attacks of the Chriſtians overcame every obſtacle, and their efforts muſt have been finally crowned with ſucceſs, had not the jealouſies that prevailed among themſelves proved more fatal than the arms of their enemies. The report that Damaſcus, when reduced, was to be given to the count of Flanders, diſguſted the Chriſtians who were eſtabliſhed in Syria; and, induced by envy to betray the cauſe in which they had embarked, they maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the Turks: in conſequence of which the convoys were ſurprized, the works were inſulted, and Conrad and Lewis were at length compelled to relinquiſh the hopeleſs enterprize, and, having given ſufficient proofs of their piety and courage, they embarked at a port in Syria, and returned to their reſpective dominions.

The French, in the mean time, bewailed with bitter lamentations the miſguided zeal of their monarch, and the fatal effects of an expedition that had drained the kingdom of its wealth, and greatly diminiſhed the number of its inhabitants. But the abbot of Clairvaux was the chief object of their indignation; they accuſed him of being a falſe prophet, and cenſured him loudly for interfering in matters that did not concern him, inſtead of confining himſelf to the duties of his ſtation. The widow and the orphan reproached him with their loſſes, with the ſplendour of his promiſes, and the magnitude of their diſappointment. In vain did he attempt to juſtify himſelf by the example of Moſes, who, like him, had promiſed the children of Iſrael, on the part of the Lord, to conduct them into a Land of Bleſſing, and who ſaw the firſt generation periſh in the deſerts. Like them, he obſerved, the cruſaders had, by their own abominations, forged the thunder that deſtroyed them; but the grief of the people was too poignant to bear with remonſtrance where they expected excuſe, and the eloquence of Bernard having once ſo fatally deceived them, had now loſt its wonted effect. But while the ears of Bernard were thus aſſailed by the curſes of his countrymen, all France was unanimous in beſtowing its benedictions on the abbot of Saint Denis, who had governed the ſtate, during the abſence of his ſovereign, with a degree of wiſdom and prudence that merited the higheſt commendations.

A. D. 1150, 1151, 1152.] Lewis, on his return from Paleſtine, found the flames of civil war raging in England and Normandy, where the pretenders to the ſovereignty

[12] Mat. Paris, Ann. 1150, p. 112.

aſſerted

aſſerted their ſeparate claims with equal vigour, though not with equal ſucceſs.—— Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and his ſon Henry Plantagenet, repaired to his court, and claimed his protection againſt an uſurper who had deprived them of their lawful inheritance. Policy coinciding with juſtice, the king liſtened to their ſuit, and, having reſolved to eſpouſe their cauſe, raiſed a powerful army, with which he invaded Normandy; and having reduced that duchy, reſigned it to prince Henry, who paid him homage for it, and as a reward for a ſervice ſo important, ceded to him that diſtrict of country which lies between the rivers Epte and Andelle, and is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Vexin Normand.

The count of Anjou died ſoon after, leaving three ſons; Henry, who ſucceeded to his dominions; Geoffrey, to whom be bequeathed Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau; and William, who was inveſted with the county of Mortain. Nor was it long before the king experienced a ſeverer loſs, in the death of his two virtuous miniſters, Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and Suger, abbot of Saint Denis. And theſe were ſoon followed by the pious enthuſiaſt, Saint Bernard; who, during his life, had founded no leſs than ſeventy-ſeven convents of his own order; thirty-five in France; eleven in Spain: ſix in the Low Countries; five in England; five in Ireland; five in Savoy; four in Italy; two in Germany; two in Sweden; one in Hungary; and one in Denmark; and theſe abbies had given riſe to as many more in the different countries in which they were ſituated.

The coolneſs that had ſubſiſted between the king and queen, ever ſince the diſcovery of Eleanora's infidelity at Antioch, daily increaſed; and the contrariety of their diſpoſitions at length produced ſo dreadful an antipathy between them, that they were unable to ſupport each other's company. Lewis lamented in ſecret the licentious conduct of a wife who neither reſpected his rank nor perſon; while the queen affected to bewail the cruelty of her own fate, in having married a prince who was better adapted to a cloiſter than a throne. When they were thus mutually prepared for a ſeparation, a divorce was reſolved on; but the king, though deeply offended, was willing to ſpare the reputation of his wife, and inſtead of founding his pretenſions on her adulterous behaviour, cauſed her relations to prefer the more honourable and convenient plea of conſanguinity[13]. This being examined by a council aſſembled at Beaujenci, was declared to be valid, and the ſentence of divorce was accordingly pronounced. With Eleanora, Lewis reſtored her ample inheritance, the fertile and important counties of Guienne and Poitou; though his conduct, in thus eaſily parting with theſe wealthy provinces, has been loudly cenſured by hiſtorians, as impolitic and unwiſe; it was certainly dictated by honour, and ſanctioned by juſtice.

[13] Geſta Ludov. vii. c. 29, p. 411. Hiſtor. ejuſd. p. 415.

Eleanora was no ſooner at liberty than ſhe was addreſſed by a variety of ſuitors, whom the charms of her perſon, and the extent of her poſſeſſions, induced to overlook the defects of her mind, and the frailty of her conduct. Thoſe who, from their birth and pretenſions, had the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs, were Thibaud, count of Chartres and Blois; Geoffrey, count of Chinon; and his brother, Henry Plantagenet duke of Normandy and count of Anjou. The two firſt, deſpairing of ſucceſs, formed ſeparate plans for taking off the princeſs by force on her road to Guienne; but ſhe had the good fortune to eſcape the ſnares that were laid for her, and to reach her own dominions in perfect ſafety. The moment ſhe arrived there, ſhe diſpatched a faithful meſſenger to the duke of Normandy, with the offer of her hand and fortune. The alliance was equally ſuitable to both parties; it gave to Henry the fineſt duchy in France; while it ſecured to Eleanora—to uſe the words of the reverend father Daniel—"a prince in the "bloom of youth, full of fire, gallant, brave, and vigorous; equally capable of defend-"ing her dominions, and ſatisfying her deſires[14]." Henry accordingly accepted with joy the proffered prize, and heedleſs of thoſe imperfections in his bride which, it is probable, either his vanity or his ambition taught him to overlook, haſtened to the completion of that ceremony which put him in full poſſeſſion of the perſon and domains of Eleanora, within ſix weeks after her divorce from Lewis[15].

A. D. 1153.] This marriage was highly diſpleaſing to the French, who could not ſee, without alarm, the extenſive and important countries of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Guienne and Poitou, united under the domination of a prince whoſe perſonal merit encreaſed the conſequence he derived from the extent of his territories. The king, in particular, was greatly incenſed, and not without reaſon, for, by her marriage contract with Henry, Eleanora had diſinherited the two daughters which ſhe had by Lewis. He began to repent his facility in having inveſted Henry with the duchy of Normandy, and, in order to humble the pride of that prince, he entered into a league with the king of England; his ſon Euſtace; the count of Blois; and Geoffrey, brother to Henry[16], who all ſwore that they would not lay down their arms till they had ſtripped the duke of Normandy of a power, that at once excited their envy and alarmed their fears.

But this confederacy was attended with no bad conſequences to Henry, who by his timely ſubmiſſion regained the friendſhip of Lewis; and the death of the count of Boulogne about the ſame time called the attention of Stephen to another quarter. Henry had recently made a deſcent upon England, where his progreſs was rapid, and his party powerful. After taking ſeveral important fortreſſes, he threw ſuccours into Wallingford, which the king had advanced to beſiege with a ſuperior force. At this place the two armies lay oppoſite to each other three days, in continual expectation of

[14] P. Daniel, t. ii. p. 605. [15] Le Gendre, t. ii. p. 356. [16] Chron. Norm.

a deciſive

a decisive action, when the nobility of either party, alarmed at the prospect of farther bloodshed, and the confusion that must inevitably result from a general engagement, for whichever side victory might chance to declare, interposed their good offices, and offered terms of accommodation to the rival princes. A negociation was accordingly commenced, the conclusion of which was greatly facilitated by the death of Eustace. The terms of this treaty were, that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life; that justice should be administered in his name, even in those provinces which had acknowledged the sovereignty of Henry: that Henry should, on the demise of Stephen, succeed to the kingdom; and that William, Stephen's son, should inherit Boulogne and his patrimonial estate. Lewis, dreading the consequences of this accommodation, renewed his incursions into Normandy, and laying siege to Vernon, reduced that town to the necessity of capitulating.

A. D. 1154, 1155.] Such was the state of affairs, in the rival kingdoms of France and England, when king Stephen died at Dover, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. Henry succeeded to the throne without opposition; and the English nobles were happy to be governed by a monarch, whose personal merits they had witnessed, and the extent of whose foreign possessions would, they conceived, afford additional security to the crown. Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Saintonge, Poitou, and Guienne, acknowledged the authority of Henry, who, with the addition of power he had recently acquired, might have continued the war with Lewis with the fairest prospect of success; but, impressed with the spirit of moderation, he forebore to profit by the flattering advantage, and proposed terms of accommodation to Lewis. These the French monarch accepted, and a peace was accordingly concluded between them, on condition that Henry should pay two thousand marks of silver, in order to defray the expences incurred by Lewis during the war, and renew his homage for all the territories he possessed on the continent. The treaty was religiously observed on both sides for five or six years. during which time Henry paid frequent visits to Lewis, and the most friendly intercourse subsisted between the two monarchs.

About this time Lewis married Constance, daughter of Alphonso the Eighth, king of Leon and Castile, who was accordingly crowned at Orleans by the archbishop of Sens. Soon after the celebration of his nuptials, the king undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint James, at Compostella, the capital of Gallicia [17]; and during this devout expedition he had an interview with his father in law, and with Sancho the Fifth, who filled with reputation and ability the throne of Navarre. On his return, Lewis assembled a splendid council at Soissons, distinguished by the presence of the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Flanders, Troyes, Nevers, and Soissons, and a long train

[17] Marian. l. xi. c. 2.

of noble and powerful vaſſals[18]; but ſtil more memorable by the influence of the ſovereign, who engaged the haughty barons to ſwear to a ten-year's peace, and to ſubmit their differences, during that ſpace, to the deciſion of juſtice, inſtead of appealing to the ſword.

A. D. 1156, to 1160.] The king of England was engaged in a war with his brother Geoffrey, who had advanced pretenſions to the territories of Maine and Anjou, and had actually made incurſions into thoſe provinces, and obtained poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of them; but, on the approach of Henry, he was compelled to forego his claims, on condition of retaining a part of his lands, and of receiving an annuity of a thouſand pounds in lieu of thoſe which his brother obliged him to relinquiſh. After this accommodation, Geoffrey retired to Nantes in Brittany, the inhabitants of which, having revolted from their lawful ſovereign, invited him to aſſume the government of their diſtrict. On the death of this prince, which ſoon occurred, Henry, as his heir laid claim to the territory, and repaired to the continent, to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms[19]. Conan, duke of Brittany, who claimed Nantes as belonging to his dukedom, from which it had been lately ſeparated by rebellion, had, immediately after the deceaſe of Geoffrey, taken poſſeſſion of it. Henry's firſt care, on his arrival in Normandy, was to ſecure the friendſhip of Lewis, whoſe interpoſition in the controverſy he had reaſon to apprehend; he therefore paid him a viſit, in which it was ſettled that prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, and heir to his crown, ſhould be affianced to the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Lewis, by Conſtance of Caſtile; though the former was only five years of age, and the latter ſtill in her cradle. This alliance procured Henry an invitation to Paris, where he was entertained with the utmoſt magnificence for ſeveral days; and he ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of Lewis, that he granted him a commiſſion, as Count of Anjou and Seneſchal of France, to decide the important controverſy which had ſubſiſted for ſome time between Eudes, count of Ponliévre, and Conan, duke of Brittany, about the right to that dukedom.

Conan was no ſooner informed of the power with which Henry was entruſted, than he waited upon him, and made a voluntary reſignation of Nantes, in order to purchaſe a favourable ſentence, which he accordingly obtained[20]. Nor was this the only advantage which the king of England derived from this unexpected incident. The duke of Brittany, haraſſed with the turbulent diſpoſition of his fellow ſubjects, and deſirous of ſecuring to himſelf the protection of ſo powerful a monarch, betrothed his daughter, and only child, who was yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third ſon, who was in his infancy likewiſe. Conan died about ſeven years after this tranſaction, and Henry, being

[18] Epiſt. Ludov. vii. 57, apud Duch. t. iv. p. 583. [19] Robert de Monte. [20] Gervas Chron. Ann. 1158—Chron. Norman. p. 994.

meſne-

meſne-lord, and alſo natural guardian to his ſon and daughter-in-law, took poſſeſſion of that principality, and annexed it, for the preſent, to his other extenſive dominions.

Henry's ſucceſs in all his undertakings, and the additional power which he daily acquired, could not fail to excite the apprehenſions, and to rouſe the jealouſy of Lewis, who ſuffered no opportunity to eſcape that could tend to ſtrengthen his authority, or to extend his influence. His wife Conſtance dying in child bed, he complied with the entreaties of his nobles, ſeconded by his own concern for the tranquillity of his kingdom, and his deſire to perpetuate the ſceptre in the hands of his poſterity—to contract a third marriage. Adelaide, the daughter of Thibaud, count of Champagne, was the object of his choice: and his alliance with that princeſs firmly attached to his intereſt the different branches of that powerful family. In order to ſtrengthen the more this prudent connection, he married his two daughters by Eleanora to two ſons of the count of Champagne: Mary, to Henry the Firſt, count of Troyes; and Alix, to Thibaud, count of Blois.

The king of England, in the mean time, not yet ſatisfied with the acceſſion of power which he had recently obtained by the acquiſition of Nantes, now determined to revive the pretenſions of his queen, Eleanora, to the county of Toulouſe. Theſe were founded on the right of her grandmother, Phillippa, ducheſs of Guienne, who was the only iſſue of William the Fourth, count of Toulouſe; and who muſt have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, from an anxiety to preſerve the ſucceſſion in the male line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de Saint Gilles, whoſe grandſon of the ſame name was now count of Toulouſe. But when Lewis the Seventh married Eleanora, he maintained that the conveyance was a mere colluſion between the two brothers to defraud the lawful heir; and that the conſent of William the Ninth, count of Poitiers, the huſband of Philippa, which had been obtained by a ſum of money, was inſufficient to render it valid: he therefore alledged, that the whole tranſaction was illegal, and conſequently null; and that his conſort, Eleanora, was entitled to the inheritance of her grandmother, Philippa, on reimburſing the ſum which had been paid to the count of Poitiers for the confirmation of the fictitious conveyance[21].

Raymond, who was then in poſſeſſion of the county, in vain pleaded preſcription; Lewis was ſufficiently powerful to enforce his pretenſions, and he threatened to invade the count's territories: but a negociation was entered into, which terminating in the marriage of Raymond with Conſtance, the ſiſter of Lewis, and widow of Euſtace, the ſon of Stephen, induced the king to deſiſt from his claims. Theſe pretenſions, however, Henry, by his marriage with Eleanora, thought himſelf authorized to renew;

[21] Neubr. p. 387; Chron. W. Hemming, p. 494.

and

and, finding that Raymond was determined to oppoſe them, and had engaged Lewis to ſupport him, he impoſed a tax on his ſubjects, whereby he was enabled to raiſe an army of foreign mercenaries, with which he reſolved to invade the county of Toulouſe. He accordingly repaired to the continent, and, being aſſiſted by Berenger, count of Barcelona, and Trincaval, count of Niſmes, whom he had gained over to his party, made an incurſion into Quercy, and took the town of Cahors. He then directed his march toward Toulouſe; and, having taken Verdun, Caſtlenau, and many other places of importance, prepared to inveſt the capital; but Lewis advancing before the arrival of the main body, threw himſelf into the town with a ſmall re-inforcement of troops. Henry was adviſed by his miniſters, and particularly by the celebrated Thomas à Becket, who was then chancellor of England, to proſecute the ſiege with redoubled vigour; that, by making Lewis priſoner before the approach of his army, he might be enabled to impoſe his own terms of accommodation. But the ſtrict attention which intereſt prompted him to afford to the principles of the feudal government, to which he was indebted for the ſecurity of his own extenſive poſſeſſions, compelled him to reject advice replete with political prudence, and to declare, in the moſt poſitive terms, that no conſideration ſhould induce him to attack a place that was defended by his ſuperior lord in perſon. Purſuant to this declaration, he deſiſted from beſieging the capital, and marched into Normandy, to protect that province from the incurſions of Robert, count of Dreux, whom his brother, Lewis, had ſent to invade it, in order to divert the attention of Henry from his deſigns upon the city of Toulouſe[22].

Henry now proſecuted the war with equal vigour and ſucceſs. Having entered the Beauvoiſin, he took and demoliſhed the ſtrong fortreſs of Gerberoy, and reduced ſeveral towns and villages to aſhes. He obtained poſſeſſion of all the caſtles of Simon de Montfort, count of Evreux, and ſupplied them with numerous garriſons, which extended their ravages to the vicinity of the metropolis; and, by laying waſte the intermediate country, cut of the communication of Paris with Orleans and Etampes; ſo that Lewis was obliged to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, that was ſoon followed by a peace, which ſecured to Henry the poſſeſſion of all the places he had ſubdued in the county of Toulouſe; while his eldeſt ſon did homage to the king of France for the duchy of Normandy[23].

A. D. 1161, 1162, 1163.] A circumſtance ſoon occurred to interrupt the tranquillity which this accommodation was intended to eſtabliſh. It had been ſtipulated in the marriage contract between prince Henry and Margaret of France, that the towns of Giſors, Neauffle, and Neufchâtel, which were conſigned to the cuſtody of two knights-templars, Toſte de Saint Omer, and Robert de Pirou, as the dowry of that princeſs, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the king of England, immediately after the celebration of the

[22] Fitz-Stephen, Vita S. Thom. Cantuar. p. 22, Joann. in Quadrilogo, c. 9 et 10; W. Newbrigen. l. ii. p. 10.
[23] Chron. Norman. p. 997.

nuptials:

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Singleton del. J. Jones fecit.

The Condescension of the French & English Monarchs to the Pope.

Publish'd as the Act directs, Oct.r 15. 1791, by C. Lowndes.

nuptials; Henry, fearing that the French monarch might change his mind, and being eager to obtain poſſeſſion of the dowry of his daughter-in-law, prevailed on the pope's legate to celebrate the marriage, though the prince was only ſix years of age, and the princeſs ſtill younger. As ſoon as the ceremony was performed, the knights-templars, in compliance with the ſtipulations of the treaty, delivered up the three towns to Henry; which ſo incenſed Lewis, that he baniſhed them his dominions, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the king of England [24].

No event of any importance occurred during the operations of this war, which was ſpeedily terminated; for, after the two monarchs had been ſome time in ſight of each other, without diſcovering the ſmalleſt inclination to decide their quarrel by a general engagement, the reſtoration of tranquillity was effected by the interpoſition of mutual friends, who perſuaded them to renew the terms of the late treaty, which were accordingly confirmed [25].

The eſtabliſhment of peace afforded the kings of France and England an opportunity of attending to the affairs of the church; and particularly to the violent conteſt for the papacy, that had taken place after the death of Adrian the Fourth, which happened on the firſt of September, in the year 1159. The cardinals being divided in their choice, had nominated two different perſons to the papal dignity; Octavian, who aſſumed the appellation of Victor the Fourth, was choſen by one party; while the other gave their voices in favour of Roland, who took the name of Alexander the Third.

Lewis and Henry after much deliberation, agreed to acknowledge the latter [26], who had lately eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Clermont, in Auvergne. This pontiff had an interview with the two kings in the autumn of the year 1162, at the caſtle of Torcy on the Loire; and they treated him with ſuch marks of condeſcenſion and reſpect, that both diſmounted to receive him; and, each of them holding a rein of his bridle, walked by his ſide, and in that ſubmiſſive manner conducted him into the fortreſs [27].—"A ſight," exclaims Baronius in an extacy, "worthy the attention of gods, angels, and men! and ſuch a one as the world had never before experienced!"

The jealouſy that continued to ſubſiſt between Lewis and Henry, notwithſtanding the friendſhip and eſteem they profeſſed for each other, proved an effectual bar to the continuation of peace. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed that in this diſpoſition of their minds every caſual offence was magnified into an intentional inſult; and that, more anxious to irritate than to ſoothe, juſtification was frequently attempted where redreſs ſhould have been

[24] W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 24.---R. Hoveden, p. 282.---M. Paris, p. 68.---Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, Anno 1160.
[25] Chron. Norman. p. 998. [26] W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 9. [27] Chron. Norm. p. 998.

offered. The firſt circumſtance that led to an open rupture was the protection afforded by Lewis to the celebrated Thomas à Becket.

A. D. 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165.] This extraordinary man was the ſon of a citizen of London, at which place he was born in the year 1119. Being of an active diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed of ſome talents, he attracted the notice of Theobald, primate of England, who obtained for him ſome office and preferments, the profits of which enabled him, after the completion of his ſtudies at Oxford, to travel for improvement in France and Italy. He reſided ſome time at the univerſity of Paris, from whence he repaired to Bologna[28], where he applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the civil and the canon law; and, on his return to his native country, the proficiency he had made in thoſe branches of learning, induced his patron to promote him to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of great truſt and emolument. Being peculiarly qualified for the tranſaction of buſineſs at the court of Rome, he was employed in ſeveral negociations of great intricacy, which he conducted with ſuch ſkill and addreſs as endeared him ſtill more to Theobald; who, on the acceſſion of Henry the Second, recommended him to that monarch as a perſon worthy of farther preferment. In conſequence of this recommendation, and of the king's knowledge of his ſpirit and ability, he was appointed chancellor of England, in 1158[29].

This was an office not leſs important from the power it conferred, than the wealth it enſured; and, to encreaſe both his influence and fortune, Becket received in addition the place of provoſt of Beverley, and the deanery of Haſtings; he was alſo created conſtable of the tower, and put in poſſeſſion of the honours of Eye and Berkham, extenſive baronies, comprehending together three hundred knights' fees, which had eſcheated to the crown. To complete the grandeur of this aſpiring ſubject, the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, and heir to the throne, was entruſted to his care[30]. But his expences encreaſed in proportion to the honours that were thus laviſhed on him; and his revenue, though immenſe, was inadequate to ſupport his prodigality. His magnificence, as deſcribed by Fitz-Stephens, his hiſtorian and ſecretary, was almoſt incredibly great; his dreſs, his furniture, and his retinue beſpoke the pomp of ſovereignty; he retained a prodigious number of knights in his ſervive; noblemen of the firſt rank ſent their ſons to be educated as pages in his family; and he employed two and fifty clerks to keep the accounts of vacant prelacies, and of his own eccleſiaſtical preferments. His leiſure hours were devoted to the ſports of the field, and the martial amuſements of the age; expert in military exerciſes, while he ſerved in Normandy, he unhorſed a French chevalier of approved proweſs, and led off his courſer in triumph. When he croſſed the channel, he was conſtantly at-

[28] J. Brompt. apud x, Script. Col. 1052.—Gervas, ib. Col. 1668. [29] J. Brompt. Col. 1057, 1058. [30] Fitz-Stephens, p. 15.—Quadrilog. p. 9, 14.

tended

tended by five veſſels; and when Henry undertook the expedition to Toulouſe, Becket attended him with ſeven hundred knights, whom he maintained at his own charge. In the ſubſequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he ſupported, during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thouſand of their train [31]; and when he was ſent on an embaſſy to Paris, to negociate the marriage of the princeſs Margaret, he aſtoniſhed the French court by the number and magnificence of his retinue, which conſiſted of more than a thouſand perſons.

Such was the man whom Henry, on the death of Theobald, promoted to the primacy, in oppoſition to the ſtrenuous ſolicitations of his mother, the empreſs Matilda, and the earneſt remonſtrances of many of his miniſters, ſeconded and confirmed by the clergy and prelates of England [32]. No ſooner was Becket in poſſeſſion of this dignified ſtation than his whole deportment and mode of life underwent a change the moſt rapid and complete. He immediately quited the luxurious gaiety of a courtier for the auſtere ſolemnity of a monk, determined to acquire that character of ſanctity to which his paſt life could afford him ſuch ſlender pretenſions. He ſent the ſeals to the king, who had not yet returned from the continent, under the ſpecious pretext of appropriating his whole time to the diſcharge of his ſpiritual duties; but, in reality, with the view to eſtabliſh his independence, by breaking off all immediate connections with his ſovereign. That pomp and magnificence which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed him were now laid aſide as foreign from his purpoſe, or were only to be ſeen in his retinue, which he retained in their ancient ſplendour, as being well adapted to ſtrike the minds of the vulgar with awe. With the ſame view he practiſed all the ſeverities of church diſcipline, and ſubjected himſelf to the moſt rigid mortification. He wore ſackcloth next his ſkin; and, by a ſtudied affectation to conceal it, was careful to render it an object of remark to all the world. He changed his garment ſo ſeldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His uſual diet was bread, and his drink water, which he made unpalatable by the infuſion of unſavory herbs. His back was torn with ſtripes, which he inflicted on himſelf. He daily waſhed, on his knees, in imitation of our Saviour, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents [33]. By his munificence to the convents and hoſpitals, he ſought to gain the affections of the monks; and that his humility and devotion might become the ſubject of public commendation, he received all ſuch as made the ſmalleſt profeſſions of ſanctity, endeavouring by his converſation to impreſs their minds with a deep ſenſe of his own merits. His time ſeemed to be ſolely devoted to purpoſes of religion, to the recital of prayers and pious exhortations, or the peruſal of religious diſcourſes. His aſpect wore the appearance of deep reflection and ſecret devotion. In ſhort, the whole tenour of

[31] Fitz-Steph. p. 19, 20, 22, 23. [32] Epiſt. Divi Thomæ, l. i.—Epiſt. cxxvi. p. 190. [33] Fitz-Steph. p. 25. Quadril. p. 19.

his conduct convinced every man of penetration that he was meditating ſome deep deſign; and that his ambition, diverted from its primitive courſe, had taken a more dangerous direction.

Nor was it long before his deſigns became manifeſt; though, previous to his elevation to the primacy, he was well acquainted with the king's intentions[34] of retrenching, or rather confining within the ancient bounds, all eccleſiaſtical privileges, and had always ſhewn a ready diſpoſition to comply with them[35], he now ſtood forth the determined champion of clerical immunities, and encouraged a dangerous ſtruggle between the crown and the mitre. In enforcing an exemption of the clergy from all civil juriſdiction, he was particularly ſtrenuous; and, by thus renouncing all immediate ſubordination to the civil magiſtrate, he ſtrove to eſtabliſh an independence that muſt have proved wholly deſtructive of every principle of good government. The conſequence of this doctrine was a dreadful augmentation of crimes; on enquiry, it had been found that, in the firſt nine years of Henry's reign, no leſs than a hundred murders had been perpetrated by eccleſiaſtical ruffians, who, ſcreened from the penalties of the law, were ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed[36]. A clerk having debauched the daughter of a gentleman in Worceſterſhire, proceeded to murder the father. A crime of ſuch magnitude exciting univerſal indignation, the king was induced to attempt the remedy of an abuſe that had now become intolerable, and accordingly inſiſted that the criminal ſhould be delivered to the civil magiſtrate, that he might receive the puniſhment annexed by law to his offence[37]: but Becket refuſed to yield him up, and even ſent him to the biſhop's priſon, to ſcreen him from the purſuit of the king's officers; maintaining, at the ſame time, that no greater puniſhment than degradation could be inflicted on him[38]. Another prieſt, who had committed ſacrilege, by ſtealing a ſiver chalice from a church in London, was alſo demanded by the king, and refuſed in a ſimilar manner by the primate.

Enormities like theſe arouſed the nation to a ſenſe of its danger; and in the ſtruggle which enſued between Henry and Becket, that turbulent prelate betrayed a degree of arrogance and preſumption that rendered him an object of dread and deteſtation. After repeated evaſions and denials, he at length ſwore to obey the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, as expreſſed and defined in *The Conſtitutions of Clarendon*[39]. But he ſoon repented of his condeſcenſion, and being abſolved from the obligation he had formed by the *omnipotence* of the ſovereign pontiff[40] he loudly retracted his oath, and again declaring war againſt his king, retired for protection to the court of Flanders, where his rebellious principles were ſtrengthened by the exhortations of the pope, and where he was honoured by a

34 Fitz-Steph. p. 17. 35 Ibid. p. 23.—Epiſt. St. Thom. p. 232. 36 Neubr. p. 394. 37 Fitz-Steph. p. 33. Quadril. p. 32. 38 Fitz-Steph. p. 29.—Quadr. p. 33, 45.—Hoveden, p. 492.—M. Paris, p. 72.—Diceto, 536, 537. Brompton. p. 1058.—Gervaſe, p. 1384.—Epiſt. St. Thom. p. 208, 209. 39 Vita St. Thomæ, l. i. c. xxi. p. 39. 40 M. Paris. p. 71, 72.

viſit

viſit from Lewis, who afforded him a ſafe retreat in the monaſtery of Saint Columbe, at Sens, after he had been driven, by the menaces of Henry, from the convent of Pontigny, whither he had retired.

Lewis at this time was in high ſpirits at the birth of a ſon, who was chriſtened by the name of Philip, to which the appellation of *Dieu-donne* (given by God) was annexed. This was the prince who afterwards acquired the title of *Auguſtus*; "A title" ſays Rigord, a contemporary writer, "which was conferred on ſuch of the "Roman emperors as had encreaſed the imperial power; from the word *Augeo*; who "then can have better claims to this title than Philip, from the augmentation which "he made in his finances, from his extenſion of the limits of his kingdom, and laſtly "from his birth, which occurred in the month of *Auguſt*, when plenty reigns in every "quarter?"

A. D. 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169.] A war now broke out between Lewis and Henry, whoſe minds had been mutually irritated by the affair of Becket, to whom the former extended his protection and encouragement. In conſequence of ſome controverſy in which Henry was engaged with the count of Auvergne, a vaſſal of the duchy of Guienne, he had invaded the territories of that nobleman, who had recourſe to Lewis as his ſuperior lord for protection, and thereby engaged the two monarchs in hoſtilities. But this war was, as uſual, no leſs feeble in its operations, than frivolous in its cauſe and object: armies were, indeed, raiſed on both ſides, and ſome towns and fortreſſes taken and demoliſhed. Theſe mutual depredations were, however, ſuſpended by a truce which was ſigned in the month of Auguſt, 1167, and was to continue till the following Eaſter; but before the truce was expired Lewis excited the factious barons of Poitou and Guienne to revolt, and, in order to ſecure their fidelity, he exacted from them a number of hoſtages. They ſoon, however, had reaſon to repent of their temerity; for Henry marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army, took their caſtles, deſtroyed their towns, and, in ſhort, reduced them to the neceſſity of declaring their willingneſs to ſubmit to his authority, provided he could reſcue their hoſtages from the hands of Lewis. In order to remove this obſtacle Henry, having placed ſtrong garriſons in the fortreſſes which he had taken, held a conference with the king of France between Mante and Pacey; but his attempts to recover the hoſtages were ineffectual, Lewis peremptorily refuſing to reſtore them; and all Henry could obtain was a prolongation of the truce till Midſummer. In the mean time the barons of Poitou had again revolted; and Henry was marching to reduce them, when his attention was called to Brittany, where the nobles, in imitation of thoſe of Poitou, ſtimulated by the king of France, to whom they alſo had delivered hoſtages, had proceeded to open rebellion. But this revolt was as unſucceſsful as the former, as feebly ſuſtained, and as eaſily quelled. The conſequence of its ſuppreſſion was a ſecond interview between Lewis and

and Henry; in which the former again refuſing to deliver up the hoſtages, the truce was ſuffered to expire without any attempt to prolong it; and the war being in conſequence renewed, was continued for ſeveral months; during which time no action occurred worthy hiſtorical notice. The two monarchs being, at length, equally tired of a conteſt from which neither honour nor advantage could be derived, a peace was concluded between them at Montmirail, on the ſixth of January, in the year 1169. On this occaſion prince Henry, eldeſt ſon to the king of England, did homage to the king of France for the territories of Anjou and Maine, which his father had ceded to him, as he had formerly done for Normandy, and Richard, his ſecond ſon, did homage for the duchy of Aquitaine. At the ſame time his third ſon, Geoffrey, did homage to his elder brother Henry, for Brittany, as a fief of the duchy of Normandy. Prince Henry was alſo reſtored to the office of grand ſeneſchal, which had been hereditary in the counts of Anjou.

At this laſt interview, the imperious primate of England was induced to attend, by the perſuaſions of two abbots, and a monk named Bernard de Corillo, to whoſe interpoſition and influence the peace there ſigned is in a great meaſure to be attributed. To promote the reconciliation they were ſo anxious to effect between Becket and his ſovereign, they took infinite pains to perſuade the primate to conduct himſelf with that humility and reſpect which appeared to them abſolutely neceſſary to be obſerved to a monarch he had ſo groſsly offended; and theſe worthy prieſts, being now ſeconded by Lewis, and by all the princes and prelates who were preſent, in their efforts to facilitate an accommodation, at length prevailed upon the primate to liſten to their remonſtrances. Accordingly, when he was introduced to Henry, he fell upon his knees and offered to make his ſubmiſſions, but with a ſalvo to the honour of God and the liberties of the church[41], expreſſed in ſuch ambiguous terms as would admit of any interpretation which, in future, he might find it moſt convenient to adopt. This could not eſcape the penetration of the Engliſh monarch, whom experience had rendered cautious; he therefore expreſſed his diſpleaſure at the form of ſubmiſſion, and inſiſted that the primate ſhould, without equivocation or ſubterfuge, promiſe obedience to thoſe laws and cuſtoms which former archbiſhops of Canterbury had obeyed in the reigns of his predeceſſors, and which Becket himſelf had alſo ſworn to obey when he was raiſed to that dignity. With this condition he at firſt refuſed to comply; but, the king refuſing to diſpenſe with it, and being ſtrongly urged by many of the nobles and prelates, he at length conſented to include in his ſubmiſſion, the promiſe required of him, though ſtill clogged with his favourite ſalvo to the honour of God, and the rights of his order. Henry provoked at his obſtinacy, addreſſed Lewis in words of the fol-

[41] Epiſt. St. Thomæ, l. iv. Ep. 8.

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lowing import:—" I am convinced, by the ſalvo on which this prelate inſiſts with ſo " much pertinacity, that it is his intention to render the honours of God ſubſervient to " his own caprice, and to conſtrue every attempt to reſtrain him within the bounds of " decency and moderation into a violation of the rights of his order. But, to demon- " ſtrate the duplicity of his conduct, and the ſincerity of my own, I think it ne- " ceſſary to make this public declaration—there have been many kings of England, " before me, ſome of greater, ſome of leſs authority than myſelf; there have alſo " been many archbiſhops of Canterbury, diſtinguiſhed for their piety and goodneſs, and " entitled to univerſal reſpect and eſteem: let Becket but obſerve to me the ſame obe- " dience which the greateſt of his predeceſſors has paid to the moſt inſignificant of " mine, and I ſhall be ſatisfied[42]."

Lewis and the whole aſſembly were ſo ſtricken with the candour of this propoſal, that they could not refrain from declaring that the conceſſions of the king were as great as could poſſibly be expected; and they earneſtly exhorted the primate to accept the terms now offered to him; but Becket, with a determined obſtinacy, that neither the threats of his enemies, nor the remonſtrances of his friends, could induce him to depart from, adhered to his ſalvo, and thereby rendered the conference itſelf ineffectual. This conduct inſpired many of the French nobility with ſuch unfavourable ideas of Becket, that they did not ſcruple publickly to condemn his pride as intolerable; and to declare, that, ſince he choſe to reject ſuch reaſonable terms, he was undeſerving of protection, and ought to be expelled from the dominions both of France and England. Even Lewis himſelf withdrew his confidence and friendſhip from him for a time, though his jealouſy of the Engliſh monarch ſoon induced him to renew their former friendly intercourſe.

A. D. 1170.] At length, however, a reconciliation was effected between Henry and Becket, by the united efforts of the king of France, and pope Alexander the Third, when the primate returned to England, and, once more, occupied the ſee of Canterbury. But, his arrogance being unſubdued by adverſity, he launched forth the thunders of the church againſt his former opponents; ſuſpended the archbiſhop of York, and excommunicated the biſhops of London and Saliſbury. Reginald de Warrene, and Gervaſe de Cornhill, two of the king's miniſters, who were employed on their duty in Kent, aſked him, on hearing of this audacious attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and ſword into the kingdom. But the primate, heedleſs of the reproof, proceeded to exert that tyranny which was congenial to his ſoul; and the ſhameful manner in which he broke the terms of his reconciliation, (by his numerous acts of violence and ſedition) openly violated the laws, and bade defiance to the royal authority, fully juſtified the ſpirit of reſentment that evinced itſelf in every part of the kingdom. Aware of the indignation

[42] Vita S. Thomæ, l. ii. c. 25.

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he had excited, he at length retired to Canterbury, where he paſſed about a week in great ſolitude; and, if the accounts of his biographers may be credited, he received daily intelligence of freſh inſults offered to his friends, and depredations committed on his eſtates, which induced him to remark to one of his chief confidants, that he was convinced the conteſt would not end without effuſion of blood; and that he was determined to die for the liberties of the church[43]; a declaration which plainly demonſtrated, that he preferred the gratification of his favourite paſſions, even to the preſervation of his life; and that his vanity extended its views beyond the limits of his exiſtence. On Chriſtmas-day he mounted the pulpit of the cathedral, and delivered a ſermon evidently compoſed for the rebellious purpoſe of inflaming the minds of his congregation, and exciting them to revenge againſt all ſuch as had oppoſed his meaſures: thus rendering, by a ſhameful degradation of his ſacred character, the duties of religion ſubſervient to his own infamous views, and baſely proſtituting, to the promotion of diſcord and gratification of pride, that place whence the benevolent precepts of peace and humility ſhould alone be delivered. At the end of his ſermon he is ſaid to have predicted the near approach of his diſſolution: but his conduct was ſtrangely inconſiſtent with ſuch a belief; for, inſtead of having recourſe to thoſe preparatory acts of piety which a mind impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of futurity muſt deem eſſentially requiſite at that awful period, he proceeded to thunder out his anathemas againſt the principal adherents of Henry, and to pronounce a formal ſentence of excommunication againſt Ranulph de Broc, his chief enemy, and his brother, Robert de Broc, who had been guilty of no other offence, than that of having, the preceding day, cut off the tail of one of his ſumpter-horſes; and theſe cenſures were pronounced with the moſt violent expreſſions of anger, both in his voice and countenance[44].

We cannot but aſcribe theſe pernicious meaſures of the primate (as we have elſewhere had occaſion to remark) to his imperious and vindictive diſpoſition, notwithſtanding the adverſe opinion of a celebrated hiſtorian, who is willing to impute them to his ſagacity, which enabled him to foreſee the intentions of Henry to enforce the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and to attempt to prevent their execution by theſe violent proceedings[45].—To trace the ſecret operations of the human mind, even when their effects are immediately before our eyes, is a taſk of extreme difficulty; but when we are deprived, by a conſiderable lapſe of time, of thoſe collateral circumſtances, which are ſo materially neceſſary to aid our obſervation, how much muſt the uncertainty of our inveſtigation be enhanced! Fortunately, however, the preſent inſtance is not one of thoſe which demand any uncommon exertion to develope, as we conceive the opinion of the author we allude to to have originated ſolely in his marked partiality to ſpeculative wiſdom, and in that ſtrange deſire, ſo frequently to be obſerved in philoſophical writers, to

[43] Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 78. [44] Vita S. Thomæ, l. iii. c. 10. p. 118.
[45] Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 414.

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aſcribe the actions of a diſtinguiſhed perſonage, to ſome extraordinary cauſe, as if ſuch perſonages were exempted, by their ſituation, from the frailties of human nature, and, by their rank, from the failings of their inferiors. Had Becket in this inſtance deviated from the general tenour of his conduct, we might, indeed, have been led to impute it to ſome particular motive, and, perhaps, have been induced to admit that he was rather guided by his knowledge, than influenced by his paſſions; but his conduct, from the firſt commencement of hoſtilities between him and his ſovereign, had been invariably the ſame: he had conſtantly betrayed an averſion from pacific meaſures; impeded every attempt that had been made to promote a reconciliation; ſyſtematically ſacrificed duty, moderation, nay, even intereſt itſelf, to the gratification of pride, vanity, and revenge; and when, at laſt, he was compelled to accept the conceſſions of Henry, which, though leſs than his ambition had urged him to hope for, was greater than his penetration could ſuffer him to expect, inſtead of evincing an anxiety to cement the peace by the adoption of mild and conciliatory meaſures, his thoughts were ſolely employed on the moſt effectual means of ſatiating his vengeance. On his arrival in England, he embraced the earlieſt opportunity of putting his baleful projects in execution; nay, even previous to his embarkation, he had found means to convey the ſentences of excommunication to the prelates; and thoſe cenſures, which he now iſſued, proceeded from the ſame polluted ſource: they were links of one continued chain, unbroken, uninterrupted. It is evident, therefore, that Becket in this, as in almoſt every circumſtance in the whole courſe of his conteſt with Henry, had ſuffered his paſſions to overcome his reaſon; nor can we, indeed, conceive any poſſible diſplay of ſagacity in an attempt to deter his ſovereign from the purſuit of a favourite object by a frequent repetition of inſults, Firmneſs and reſolution may ſometimes intimidate; but inſults and injuries can only excite a deſire of revenge.

Advice of Becket's violent proceedings being ſent to the king, who then reſided at Bayeux in Normandy (where the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of London and Saliſbury had previouſly arrived), and, probably, aggravated by the repreſentations of his courtiers—if meaſures of ſo pernicious a tendency could admit of aggravation—he burſt forth into one of thoſe paſſionate exclamations to which he was peculiarly addicted. The preciſe words of this effuſion of anger have been variouſly related by different hiſtorians and biographers; they all, however, appear to agree in the more eſſential point of their import, viz.—that they were ſtrongly expreſſive of his indignation at the ingratitude of the primate, whom he had raiſed from a ſtate of obſcurity to the moſt elevated ſtation; and demonſtrative of the lukewarm zeal of his courtiers and ſervants, who had ſo long ſuffered him to be inſulted with impunity by a factious and turbulent prieſt[46].

[46] Gervaſe, p. 1414; Parker, p. 207; Vita S. Thomæ, p. 119.

Henry, having thus given vent to the firſt impulſe of his rage, thought no more of what he had ſaid; but, unfortunately, the words of a ſovereign are never ſuffered to fall diſregarded: every trivial expreſſion is eagerly watched by thoſe courtly panders, whoſe officious zeal, ſcorning the tamer principles of *paſſive* obedience, is ever on the wing to ſupply food for the caprice of the monarch, to *anticipate* his wiſhes, and to ſacrifice his honour to his frailty. Though this conſideration muſt inevitably lead to the moſt melancholy reflections on the unhappy ſtate of royalty, it cannot be too firmly impreſſed on the minds of princes, as it affords the moſt powerful motives to prudent circumſpection, inculcates the neceſſity of continual reſtraint; teaches, that, to the enjoyment of a ſuperior ſtation, the diſcharge of ſuperior duty is invariably attached; and, finally, enforces the ſtrong diſcrimination that muſt ever ſubſiſt between the monarch and the man.

The king's paſſionate exclamation being miſinterpreted by four of the barons who attended on his perſon, they immediately formed the reſolution, either to awe Becket into ſubmiſſion by threats; or, if thoſe ſhould prove ineffectual, which they were unwilling to believe, to free their ſovereign from inquietude by putting him to death [47]. Having thus laid their plan, without imparting their intentions to any one, they withdrew from court at different times, and took different roads, in order to avoid ſuſpicion. On their arrival in England, they haſtened to Canterbury, where they waited on Becket *unarmed*, and endeavoured to perſuade him to recall the ſentences of excommunication he had unjuſtly iſſued, and to make proper ſubmiſſion for the violence and illegality of his conduct. The primate, however, remained inflexible; alike deaf to entreaties and callous to threats, he rather ſought, by taunts and abuſe, to irritate, than by argument and reaſon to ſoothe, theſe hoſtile barons, whoſe fatal deſigns he more than ſuſpected; in ſhort, it appears probable, from his behaviour in this inſtance, when compared to his previous conduct, that his mind was inflated by the vain hope of procuring a place on the honourable liſt of martyrs.—Provoked by his reproofs, and enraged at his obſtinacy, the barons at length completed their dreadful purpoſe; the altar of the cathedral was ſtained with the blood of the primate, and his aſſaſſins, conducted by a blind and impious rage, clove his ſkull with repeated blows, and beſmeared the hallowed pavement with his brains [48].

Such was the tragical end of Thomas à Becket. Of his murder there could be but one opinion; but his conduct and character have been as variouſly repreſented as any hiſtorical event of the moſt doubtful complexion. That he was a man of extenſive abilities we are not permitted to doubt, as the concurring accounts of all the hiſtorians

[47] M. Paris, p. 86; Brompton, p. 1065; Benedict Abbas, p. 10. [48] Vita S. Thomæ, l. iii. c. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.

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of thoſe times evidently tend to confirm the fact; but the actions of his life moſt certainly afford not the ſmalleſt proof of ſuperior wiſdom. If we believe that, during his enjoyment of the high office of chancellor, his oſtentatious diſplay of extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his avowed fondneſs for ſcenes of diſſipation, were wholly affected, and that he had adopted a regular ſyſtem of hypocriſy, in order to attain to that elevated ſtation to which he was afterwards promoted, we muſt, indeed, allow him to have been poſſeſſed of acute penetration and conſummate art: but if from thence we are induced to admit the ſincerity of his conduct as primate; to believe that he was truly of opinion the cauſe of religion could be promoted by the encouragement of clerical uſurpations, the protection of eccleſiaſtical culprits, a contempt for the laws of the realm, a violation of ſolemn oaths, and an attempt to excite a rebellion; if we are led to ſuppoſe that Becket could really entertain ſuch ſentiments, notwithſtanding the prevalent ſpirit of ſuperſtition, we muſt ſtrenuouſly maintain that he betrayed a weakneſs of mind incompatible with thoſe endowments which his eulogiſts have, with indiſcriminate profuſion, conferred on him. On the other hand, if we transfer his hypocriſy from the chancellor to the primate—for the ſuſpicion to which every ſudden and violent tranſition is juſtly expoſed, renders it impoſſible to exempt him wholly from the charge of diſſimulation—we are equally at a loſs to diſcover any veſtige of his wiſdom. In either caſe, we find that Thomas à Becket was deſtitute of the grand requiſite in every miniſter, but more eſpecially in the chief miniſter of religion; that is, virtue. He was, however, poſſeſſed of thoſe inferior qualities which, too frequently, cauſe the want of it to be overlooked. His perſonal accompliſhments were great: he was deeply ſkilled, like moſt of the dignified clergy of that age, in the theological chicanery of the ſchools, in all the inſidious arts of ſophiſtry, which being decorated with the ſpecious embelliſhments of erudition, wore the appearance, and had too often the effect, of ſolid argument. He was endued with a conſiderable portion of native cunning; his ſpirit was lofty and imperious; his courage no dangers could daunt: his deſigns, though ſeldom adopted with prudence, were, from his inflexible perſeverance in their proſecution, ſometimes crowned with that ſucceſs which ſhould be ſolely confined to the exertions of wiſdom and integrity. His favourite ſchemes were of a moſt pernicious tendency, being calculated to emancipate the miniſters of religion from the neceſſary reſtraints of law, and to ſubject his king and country to the domination of a foreign power. His vanity was exceſſive; he was obſtinate and implacable, equally unmoved by the entreaties of his friends, and the threats of his enemies. His conduct was invariably marked by a ſpirit of violence, revenge, and ambition, ſtrangely derogatory to his ſacred character, as it evinced a more anxious ſolicitude in the purſuit of terreſtrial objects, than in the attainment of religious conſolation. Among the numerous vices of this extraordinary man, his ſignal ingratitude to his royal benefactor holds a conſpicuous place, and has fixed an indelible ſtain upon that character which, ſtripped of the vain garb in which the weak ſons of ſuperſtition and prejudice had arrayed it,

now ſtands expoſed to poſterity in its native colours, and diſcovers the ſinner in the ſaint [49].

A. D. 1172, 1173.] The aſſaſſins of Becket eſcaped the puniſhment due to their crimes; and Henry, having averted the formidable thunders of the vatican, by a timely ſubmiſſion to the pope, more politic than honourable, directed his attention to the conqueſt of Ireland. Lewis, in the mean time, ſpared no pains to interrupt his repoſe, and to diſturb his government. Henry had cauſed his eldeſt ſon to be crowned in England, while Margaret, wife to the prince, and daughter to Lewis, was in France; and the French monarch, to avenge the affront, turned his arms againſt the duchy of Normandy. But the prudence of the king of England extinguiſhed this ſpark of hoſtility almoſt as ſoon as it was kindled; he promiſed that the ceremony of the coronation ſhould be repeated; and Margaret was ſolemnly crowned at Wincheſter with her huſband, by the archbiſhop of Rouen, aſſiſted by the biſhops of Evreux and Wincheſter. On the return of the young couple to Normandy, they were permitted to viſit the court of France, where Lewis firſt poiſoned the mind of his ſon-in-law with that ardent degree of independence, the origin of equal affliction to his father and himſelf. He perſuaded him that by the ceremony of his coronation, he had acquired a title to ſovereignty; and that his father could not, without flagrant injuſtice, refuſe to cede to him the whole, or at leaſt a part of his dominions.

[49] The abbé Velly obſerves, (t. iii. p. 197.) that "when the church canonized the virtues of the Saint, it did not "pretend to conſecrate the defects and vices of the Man." This remark appears to be tinctured with that ſubtilty of diſtinction which prevailed in the ſchools, and which marked the diſputations and writings of the divines, of the middle ages. We can eaſily diſcriminate between the Monarch and the Man, ſince we know that there are various actions for which man, in his individual capacity, is entitled to commendation, and which, nevertheleſs, incur cenſure when committed by a monarch. But what commendable action can a man commit that would diſgrace a ſaint? On the contrary, do not the virtues of the man conſtitute the ſaint? In other words---is not the juſtice of a man's pretenſions to ſanctity, as diſplayed in the tenour of his life, the only motive (independent of miracles) which is ſuppoſed to influence his canonization? And are not defects and vices incompatible with ſanctity? But Becket did not become a ſaint till after his death---what then, in the name of common ſenſe, can the good abbé mean, by ſaying that the virtues of the ſaint were the object of canonization with the church? Does he by virtues mean Miracles? But we know that the miracles ſaid to be performed by Becket were never ſubmitted to a formal examination; and that, without the uſual proceſs, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules, he was canonized two years after his death, on the ſame principle, probably, that the execution of certain criminals is accelerated. Admitting, too, for a moment, that for Virtues we are to read Miracles---let us aſk how the miracles of the ſaint could be canonized, when he could be no ſaint till the ceremony of canonization had been performed? But virtues are, in this caſe, evidently oppoſed to vices, and therefore muſt either mean the virtues of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or nothing at all. The abbé appears to have been conſcious that the church ſtood in need of excuſe for canonizing ſuch a man as Becket, and was, therefore, willing for once to ſacrifice the candour of the hiſtorian to the zeal of the divine. Many authors have eſcaped cenſure by rendering themſelves unintelligible; it is poſſible the abbé might, in this inſtance, be tempted to make a ſimilar effort.

Lewis

Lewis was aſſiſted in his attempt to inculcate theſe extravagant ideas into the mind of young Henry by queen Eleonora, the mother of that prince, (who was enraged at her huſband on account of his gallantries), by her uncle Ralfe de Faye, and, in ſhort, by almoſt every one who attended on the perſon, or partook of the favour of the prince. A conſpiracy was formed by theſe inſidious agents of rebellion, to dethrone the king of England, and inveſt his ſon with regal authority. The plot was conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and ſeveral foreign princes were engaged, by promiſes of extravagant grants from young Henry, to promote its execution. When the plan was finally arranged, he left the court of Lewis, and, on his return, deſired his father to reſign to him the immediate poſſeſſion, either of the crown of England, or of the duchy of Normandy, together with the territories of Anjou and Maine. On the king's refuſal to comply with this inſolent demand, he openly expreſſed his diſcontent, ſpoke of him in the moſt undutiful terms, and took the earlieſt opportunity of effecting his eſcape into France, where he hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion. He was ſpeedily joined by his brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, and by a conſiderable number of the factious barons of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine [50].

Though ſenſibly affected by the ingratiude of his children, and the revolt of many of his ſubjects, who were indebted to his liberality for the affluence they enjoyed; though preſſed on all ſides by a multitude of foes, and almoſt deſtitute of friends, Henry did not ſuffer his courage to be diminiſhed by the depreſſion of his ſpirits, but ſought to oppoſe the dangers that threatened him, by an adequate exertion of wiſdom, activity, and valour. He diſpatched ambaſſadors to the French court to remonſtrate with Lewis on the impropriety of his conduct, in encouraging and ſupporting the unnatural rebellion of his ſons. He wrote accounts of his ſituation to all the princes in Europe; and even ſolicited the pope to iſſue the cenſures of the church againſt his undutiful children, and their infamous accomplices; he ſent orders to all the governors of his towns and fortreſſes to be upon their guard, and to prepare for an attack; and enjoined all his barons, in whom he could repoſe any degree of confidence, to be ready to attend him with their followers. He likewiſe engaged in his ſervice an army of twenty thouſand Brabançons [51], a kind of mercenary banditti, who infeſted all the European ſtates, ſubſiſted upon plunder, and, like the modern Swiſs, were ready to engage in the ſervice of any prince who would pay them with punctuality. The event ſoon evinced the ſagacity of theſe precautions; for, early in the ſpring of 1173, hoſtilities commenced, and attacks were made on many different places at the ſame time. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne began their operations on the frontiers of Normandy, by laying ſiege to Aumale, which was ſurrendered into their hands by the treachery of its governor, the count of Aumale. They next beſieged and took Neufchâtel and Driencourt; but the count of Boulogne, having received a mortal wound in the knee at the laſt of theſe places, his brother, the count

50 W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 27. 51 R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 306, 307; P. Bleſins, Epiſt. 153; W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 27.

of

of Flanders, was ſo much affected with his loſs, which he was inclined to regard as a puniſhment for having engaged in an unjuſt enterprize, that he immediately withdrew all his troops from Normandy [52].

During this time the factidus barons of Anjou, Maine, Aquitaine, and Brittany, had openly revolted, and laid waſte the royal demeſnes in their reſpective provinces. Lewis had entered Normandy, with young Henry, at the head of a powerful army, and laid ſiege to Verneuil, then a ſtrong town in the Perche. Nor was England undiſturbed during this general commotion: The king of Scotland invaded Cumberland, beſieged the city of Carliſle, and deſolated the adjacent country; while the vaſſals of the earl of Leiceſter, and other rebellious noblemen, appeared in arms in the centre of the kingdom [53].

Henry, having checked the progreſs of the Flemings, now marched to the relief of Verneuil, which had been vigorouſly defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors: but, after a month's ſiege, the garriſon had been compelled to capitulate through want of proviſions; and had engaged, if not relieved within three days, to ſurrender the town, and retire to the citadel. On the laſt day the king of England appeared with his army on the height above Verneuil; which induced Lewis, who had believed him to be at a conſiderable diſtance, to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with ſuch precipitation, that his camp was left a prey to the Engliſh. The vaſſals of the crown being diſguſted with the ill ſucceſs they had experienced, and their time of ſervice being now expired, diſbanded, and retired into their ſeveral provinces [54].

After the retreat of Lewis, Henry diſpatched a body of Brabançons to ſuppreſs the inſurrections in Brittany, where the revolt had been more general, and attended with greater miſchief, than in the other provinces: theſe overtook the rebel army near Dol, when an action enſued, in which the inſurgents were completely defeated, fifteen hundred of them being killed on the ſpot, and their leaders, the earl of Cheſter and the count de Fougeres, compelled to take ſhelter in the town of Dol.

On the reception of this pleaſing intelligence the Engliſh monarch left Rouen, and, marching all night, arrived at Dol the next morning, and preſſed the ſiege of that place with ſo much ardour, that he obliged the governor and garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion [55]. By the adoption of theſe vigorous meaſures the inſurrections in Brittany were entirely quelled, and Henry, in the courſe of a few months, found the inſidious projects of his numerous enemies totally diſconcerted.

[52] R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 306; W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 28. [53] Benedict. Abbas, p. 54. [54] R. Hoveden; W. Neubrig. ubi ante citat. [55] Idem, ibid. l. ii. c. 29.

Theſe

Theſe conſiderations induced Lewis to propoſe a conference, to which Henry, hoping that the advantages he had obtained would, at leaſt, enſure him reaſonable terms, willingly conſented: and the two monarchs accordingly met between Trie and Giſors, where the king of England had the mortification to ſee his three ſons in the retinue of his rival and his foe. As Lewis had no other pretence for war than that of ſupporting the claims of the young princes, Henry made them ſuch offers as children ought to be aſhamed to inſiſt on, and as nothing but exceſs of parental affection could poſſibly have extorted from him. He inſiſted only on maintaining the ſovereign authority in all his dominions; and offered to young Henry half the revenues of England, with ſome places of ſtrength in that kingdom, or, if he rather choſe to reſide in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all thoſe of Anjou. To Richard he propoſed to cede half the revenues of Guienne, with four important fortreſſes; and to Geoffrey he promiſed to reſign Brittany; and, if theſe conceſſions were not deemed ſufficient, he offered to make ſuch additions as the pope's legates, who were then preſent, ſhould think requiſite [56].

The earl of Leiceſter, who attended the conference, either from the impetuoſity of his temper, or—which is more probable—from the fear that propoſals ſo generous would not be rejected, and that his own perſonal ſafety or intereſt might be effected by a reconciliation between the Engliſh monarch and his ſons, broke forth into the moſt violent reproaches againſt Henry, and even put his hand to his ſword, as if he intended to make an attempt on the life of his ſovereign; which threw the aſſembly into ſuch confuſion, that it immediately broke up, and put an end to the negociation [57].

A. D. 1174.] Henry, by this means, being once more expoſed to the dangerous combination of his foes, thought it neceſſary to remove every ſhadow of doubt from the minds of his clergy, and from thoſe of his ſubjects in general, as to the ſincerity of that violent grief which he had evinced on the murder of Becket. For this purpoſe he repaired to Canterbury, and, when he came in ſight of the cathedral, at the diſtance of three miles, diſmounted, and walked barefoot towards it, in a road that was ſo full of ſharp-pointed ſtones, that his feet were ſoon ſtained with blood. On his arrival, he proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the reputed ſaint, ſubmitted his bare ſhoulders to the ſcourge of the monks, and paſſed a day and a night in abſtinence and prayer, near the tomb of Becket. It is difficult to ſay whether the conduct of Henry, in this particular, was influenced by motives merely political, or by a ſpirit of unaffected though miſtaken piety. Strong reaſons might certainly be adduced, in ſupport of either conjecture. As he was indiſputably a prince of conſummate wiſdom, he could not be inſenſible to the deſpotic influence of ſuperſtition over the weak minds of the multitude; and, as he found a ſpirit of rebellion prevail throughout his dominions, he might be

[56] Hoveden, p. 539.—Brompton, p. 1088. [57] Hoveden, p. 536.

juſtly

juſtly apprehenſive that his enemies had availed themſelves of the only circumſtance of his reign that had excited a ſingle murmur of diſcontent, to promote a general diſaffection; and that the minds of his people being poiſoned by their artful inſinuations, they had been induced to miſtruſt the ſincerity of his ſorrow on the death of the primate, and to entertain ſtrong doubts of his innocence. At this critical conjuncture it was eſſentially requiſite to remove ſuſpicions ſo pregnant with danger; and the mode he adopted for that purpoſe would afford the moſt complete demonſtration of his political wiſdom. If, however, we believe him to be ſolely influenced by motives of policy, we muſt certainly think him obnoxious to cenſure; as an affectation of piety, for whatever purpoſe it be aſſumed, is an inſult to the Deity.

But, in the prevalence of ſuperſtition, in the times we are now delineating, which not only infected the minds of the vulgar, but ſhed its dreary influence over all ranks of men, we might find great reaſon to believe, that the conduct of Henry originated in a ſpirit of unaffected devotion. Thus influenced, though innocent of the murder of Becket, he might deem it neceſſary to impoſe ſome exemplary penance on himſelf, as a puniſhment for yielding to that impulſe of paſſion which occaſioned his death. In this caſe, though the luſtre of his wiſdom might be ſomewhat tarniſhed, he would be exempt from the more ſerious cenſure of religious profanation. Whatever might be the effect of the interceſſion of Saint Thomas, Henry ſoon triumphed over his numerous enemies; in England he defeated and took the king of Scots; and the rebellious earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter experienced a ſimilar fate; nor were his efforts on the continent leſs ſucceſsful.

Lewis, at the head of a numerous army, had made an irruption into Normandy, and formed the ſiege of Rouen [58], where he was joined by prince Henry and the count of Flanders, with a powerful body of Flemings, that had been collected for the purpoſe of invading England. The place was defended with great vigour by the inhabitants [59], and by ſeveral of the Norman barons, who having preſerved their fidelity to the king of England, had thrown themſelves into the city, with their vaſſals; and Lewis, deſpairing to take it by open force, had recourſe to a ſtratagem that was juſtly deemed diſhonourable:—on the eve of Saint Laurence, he proclaimed a ceſſation of arms in his own camp for the next day, under pretence of celebrating that feſtival; and the citizens of Rouen, glad to procure a ſhort reſpite from the incredible fatigues they had experienced during the ſiege, obſerved it in perfect ſecurity, in full confidence of the ſincerity of the French monarch. While they were enjoying this temporary relaxation, by diverting themſelves with tilts and tournaments, on the ſouth ſide of the river, in ſight of the enemy, ſome prieſts had aſcended the tower where the alarm-bell hung,

[58] Brompton, p. 1026. [59] Diceto, p. 578.

in

in order to indulge their curioſity with a view of the enemy's camp. The ſtillneſs that prevailed over all their quarters firſt excited their ſurprize; but ſoon perceiving detachments moving from different places to one particular ſpot, they began to ſuſpect ſome act of treachery; and their ſuſpicions were ſpeedily confirmed by diſcovering a number of ladders, and other neceſſary implements for an aſſault. They immediately rang the alarm-bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their ſeveral ſtations. The French, who on hearing the alarm haſtened their attack, had already applied their ladders, and mounted the walls in different places; but being repulſed by the enraged citizens, were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs[60].

This ſcheme was probably concerted in order to anticipate the diligence of Henry, who, having quelled the inſurrections in England, haſtened to the relief of his continental dominions. He landed at Barfleur in the month of Auguſt, with his Brabançons and a thouſand Welſh troops, and entered the city of Rouen in triumph, to the great joy of the inhabitants. The morning after his arrival he ſent out a ſcouring party, which intercepted a conſiderable convoy of proviſions deſtined for the French camp. Lewis, now deſpairing to reduce the city, and finding himſelf in an enemy's country, deſtitute of ſupply, began to be anxious for his own ſafety; and, in order to extricate himſelf from the danger that menaced him, had recourſe to a ſecond artifice, ſtill leſs juſtifiable than the firſt:—he ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a conference at Malauny, and a truce of two days, as preparatory to the adjuſtment of a general peace, which he knew Henry was anxious to obtain. The propoſals being accepted, Lewis, under the protection of the truce, marched his army through the Green Foreſt; but, inſtead of halting at Malauny to attend the conference, purſued his march with great precipitation into his own territories[61].

Though Lewis had eſcaped from a perilous ſituation by this diſhonourable ſtratagem, he began to be apprehenſive of the effects of Henry's reſentment; who, being now victorious in every quarter, and abſolute maſter of his extenſive dominions, might exact a ſevere vengeance for the dangers and diſquietudes, to which the arms and intrigues of France had expoſed him. Henry on his ſide was anxious to terminate an unnatural conteſt, in which he had been ſo long engaged with his own children. Thus the neceſſity of an accommodation being felt by both parties, a conference was propoſed by Lewis, and accepted by Henry: a ceſſation of arms was the immediate conſequence; and the two monarchs repaired to the appointed place, between Tours and Amboiſe, on the twenty-ninth of September; where a peace was concluded, by which the formidable conſpiracy againſt the king of England was diſſolved, and all thoſe who had been engaged in it releaſed from their oaths. The terms which that monarch,

[60] Brompt. p. 1396. W. Neub. p. 417. Heming p. 503. [61] R. de Diceto, p. 579.—Brompton, p. 1098.

granted to his ſons, though leſs advantageous than thoſe he had formerly offered, were ſtill more favourable than their conduct had given them reaſon to expect. He aſſigned them ſtipulated penſions for their ſupport, and ſome caſtles for their reſidence; and granted them an indemnity for all their adherents, who were reſtored to their eſtates and honours, except the king of Scots, and the earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter, who were detained till the concluſion of a ſeparate peace. A mutual oblivion of injuries was agreed on; and prince Henry conſented to confirm all the grants which had been made by his father during the war[62].

Thus finiſhed a war the commencement of which had threatened deſtruction to the power of Henry, but in the conduct whereof he had diſplayed the prudence of a ſage, and the courage of a hero. The peace now concluded produced a ſincere reconciliation between the two monarchs; the one was averſe from war as well by inclination, as by the dread with which the diſobedient conduct of his children had inſpired him; the other, whoſe health was daily declining, earneſtly wiſhed to leave his dominions in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, as the tender age of his ſon was ill adapted to the tumult of arms. What trifling diſputes afterwards occurred between them were amicably ſettled by arbitration. One, indeed, of a more ſerious complexion, took place; which muſt inevitably have produced a rupture, had not the dictates of reſentment been ſilenced by the ſuggeſtions of policy.

A. D. 1177]. Alice, the youngeſt daughter of Lewis, was betrothed to Richard, the ſecond ſon of the king of England. One of the conditions of the marriage-treaty was, that the princeſs ſhould be brought up at the court of her father-in-law till ſuch time as ſhe arrived at years of maturity. Having now attained that period, Lewis inſiſted that the conſummation of their marriage ſhould no longer be protracted. Henry, however, who had already experienced the evil effects of an alliance with France, in the conduct of his eldeſt ſon, evinced a reluctance to comply with the requeſt of Lewis, which no motives of prudence nor policy could induce him to forego. The king, finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, made application to the pope, who interpoſed his authority, by threatening to lay all the dominions of Henry under an interdict, if he did not allow the marriage to be immediately conſummated. To avert the impending danger, he thought it neceſſary to repair to the continent; and embarking at Portſmouth in the month of Auguſt, arrived ſafe in France. A conference took place between the two monarchs, in the following month, at which a legate from the pope was preſent; and Henry found means to prevent the interdict, and likewiſe to elude the immediate conſummation of his ſon's marriage, on condition that he ſhould aſſume the croſs, and accompany Lewis in an expedition to the Holy Land. The reluctance

[62] Rymer. Fœdera, t. i. p. 39, 40.—Bened. Abb. p. 88. Hoveden, p. 540. R. de Diceto, p. 583. Brompton. p. 1098. Heming. p. 505. Chron. Dunſt. p. 36.

evinced

evinced by the king of England to fulfil this article of the treaty has been aſcribed by ſeveral hiſtorians to an affection which he is ſaid to have himſelf conceived for the deſtined conſort of his ſon; and moſt of them intimate that the young princeſs was ſeduced to comply with the king's criminal deſires. But he had ſo many motives, founded in juſtice and policy, to influence his conduct in this particular, that it is needleſs to ſeek for an extraordinary cauſe; beſides, his advanced age and conſummate prudence render it highly improbable that he ſhould have been guilty of an action that muſt have expoſed him to univerſal deteſtation.

A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between Lewis and Henry at this interview, the preamble of which is remarkable—"We wiſh all the world to know, "that ſuch is, and ſuch in future ever will be, our friendſhip, that each of us will de- "fend the life, the limbs, the dignity, and the poſſeſſions of the other. I Henry, will "aſſiſt Lewis, king of France (my lord) with all my forces:—I Lewis, will aſſiſt "Henry, king of England (my man and my vaſſal) with all my power; ſaving, never- "theleſs, the faith which we reciprocally owe to our vaſſals, ſo long as they ſhall re- "main faithful[63]." The two monarchs afterward adopted ſuch meaſures as they thought neceſſary, not only to enſure ſucceſs to their expedition againſt the Infidels of Paleſtine, but to protect from inſult their reſpective dominions during their abſence. Neither of them, however, embarked in the perilous undertaking; the ardour of Lewis was cooled by his former misfortunes, and the nobility of France ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the hazardous and unprofitable enterprize; while the embarraſſed ſituation of his affairs rendered the preſence of Henry neceſſary in his own kingdom.

A. D. 1179.] An anxious regard for the ſucceſſion of his crown, and the tranquillity of his kingdom, had induced Lewis to beſtow his hand on his preſent conſort; and the birth of his ſon Philip had crowned his hopes and wiſhes. But his fears were ſoon alarmed for the ſafety of the young prince, whoſe horſe ran away with him, as he was purſuing the chace in the foreſt of Compiégne[64]. Sequeſtred from the ſearch of his attendants, the heir of France was condemned to paſs a tedious night, oppreſſed by ſolitude and deſpair. His feeble mind was incapable of ſuſtaining the horror of his ſituation; and when found in the morning, a dangerous fit of illneſs was the effect of his fright.

The king, in the midſt of his grief, recollected his good friend Thomas à Becket, at whoſe tomb he was aſſured numbers of miracles were daily performing. He therefore determined to ſolicit the interpoſition of a ſaint who had experienced his earthly protection; and accordingly repaired to England, accompanied by Philip, count of Flan-

[63] Hoveden, apud Ducheſne, t. iv. p. 433. [64] Rigord, apud Duch. t. v. p. 5.

dets; Baldwin, count of Guines; Henry, duke of Louvain; William, count of Mandeville; and by ſeveral other noblemen. He was received at Canterbury by Henry with royal hoſpitality and magnificence; and he there ſought to conciliate the favour of Becket, not only by humiliation and prayer, but by ſplendid gifts and princely offerings. He left at his ſhrine a cup of gold of admirable workmanſhip, and granted to the cathedral an annual tribute of a *hundred hogsheads of wine*, to be ſent from the royal manſion of Poiſſy, at his own expence. He alſo granted an exemption to the monks belonging to the church from all duties on whatever articles they might purchaſe in France; which was confirmed by a charter, to which he made his chancellor, Hugh de Puteaux, affix the great ſeal.

On the return of Lewis to France, finding his health materially affected by the agitation he had experienced, he reſolved to haſten the coronation of his ſon, who had perfectly recovered from his late illneſs. He was diſabled, however, from attending the ceremony, by a ſudden ſtroke of apoplexy; which was followed by a paralytic affection in his right ſide, that announced his ſpeedy diſſolution. Philip nevertheleſs was crowned in the preſence of Henry, ſon to the Engliſh monarch, who, as duke of Normandy, bore the royal diadem; of the count of Flanders, who carried the ſword of ſtate; and by the other great vaſſals and officers of the crown. It is ſaid that Lewis, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing better order and greater regularity at the ceremony, choſe twelve peers of the realm to attend it, who afterwards formed that body ſo celebrated in hiſtory under the appellation of the Twelve Peers of France, and who compoſed the chief council of the nation; and had, in the ſequel, the excluſive right of ſitting in the parliament, or chief court of juſtice, of attending the *beds of juſtice*, and all other public ceremonies. At the ſame time the archbiſhop of Rheims had ſufficient influence to ſecure, for his church, the excluſive right of anointing the kings of France; a prerogative which was confirmed by a bull of pope Alexander the Third.

The coronation of Philip was ſucceeded by the celebration of his marriage with Iſabella, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainault. That princeſs was deſcended, in a direct line, from Ermengarde, the eldeſt daughter of the unfortunate Charles, duke of Lorraine, brother to Lothaire the Second, and uncle to Lewis the Fifth. The French ſtill revered the memory of the Carlovingian princes, whom they generally diſtinguiſhed by the honourable appellation of *The Great Kings*. This re-union of the royal families, this alliance of the blood of Charlemagne with the blood of Hugh Capet, gave them inexpreſſible pleaſure. Philip of Alſace, count of Flanders, uncle to the new queen, ceded to her huſband the county of Artois, together with all his pretenſions to that of Hainault.

A. D.

A. D. 1180.] The tranquillity of Lewis was eſtabliſhed too late, and the progreſs of diſeaſe could not be checked by the proſpect of happineſs. He died at Paris, in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth year of his reign; and was interred, in his royal robes, at the church belonging to the abbey of Barbeau, two leagues from Melun, which he had founded and richly endowed.

The character of this prince has been variouſly repreſented by different hiſtorians: by ſome he is ſaid to have been juſt and upright in his conduct, but in genius below mediocrity; bold in conception, but irreſolute in execution; in danger timid, even to cowardice; and in manners ſimple, even to meanneſs [65].—Others repreſent him as a king devoid of malice, a ſuſpicious huſband, a turbulent neighbour, and a too-credulous man [66].—But the more ancient writers give him a very different character; one, in particular [67], aſſigns him all the valuable qualities of an honeſt man, united to the prudence and moderation of a ſage; little ſkilled in literature, but generous, beneficent, and juſt; the protector of the laws, and the father of his people.—The reſtoration of Eleanora's dower, though mentioned by ſome as a mark of imbecility, was certainly a ſtrong proof of his juſtice. But his conduct, with regard to Henry, whoſe tranquillity he diſturbed, by exciting his ſons to rebel, appears to be a well-founded ſubject of cenſure and reproach; though it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the fact is not mentioned by any of the French hiſtorians. Upon the whole, his virtues greatly overbalanced his defects; nor can that character be regarded as doubtful, in which humanity and piety form the leading features.

Lewis had three wives: Eleanora of Guienne, whom he repudiated; Conſtance of Caſtille, who died in child-bed; and Adela, or Alice, of Champagne, who ſurvived him. By the firſt he had two daughters: Mary, wife to Henry the Firſt, count of Champagne; and Alice, married to Thibaud, count of Blois, and brother to Henry. The ſecond gave birth to two princeſſes: Alice, who died in her infancy; and Margaret, who firſt married Henry, ſon to the king of England, and afterward Bela, king of Hungary. By his third wife, he had Philip, who ſucceeded to the throne; and two princeſſes, Adela, or Alice, betrothed to Richard, ſon to the Engliſh monarch, but married to William, count of Ponthieu; and Agnes, who was firſt affianced to Alexis Comnenus, emperor of the Eaſt, afterwards married to Andronicus, who murdered that prince, and uſurped his throne; and laſtly wife to a private gentleman, named Theodore Branas, with whom ſhe firſt lived, during a conſiderable time, as his miſtreſs.

[65] Pere Daniel, tom. i. p. 654, 655. [66] Le Gendre, tom. ii. p. 363. [67] Chron. Anon. apud Duch. tom. iv. p. 444.

PHILIP

PHILIP THE SECOND,

SURNAMED AUGUSTUS.

A. D. 1181.] WHEN Philip assumed the reins of government he was but in his fifteenth year. The count of Flanders, the uncle of his queen, was suffered to enjoy the name and honours of regent; but, although his counsels might influence, his authority was never permitted to controul the inclination of the youthful monarch, who soon displayed the most evident symptoms of an unbounded thirst for dominion, and a zealous desire to extend the royal prerogative. From his birth, which established the peaceable succession to the crown of France, Philip attained the expressive surname of *The Gift of God.* As he advanced in life, his vanity was gratified by the appellation conferred on him by his courtiers, of *Conqueror*, and the *Magnanimous*; and, after his death, the surname of *Augustus* was added to his other titles. The first and last of these names might be due to the auspicious moment in which he entered the world, and the manner in which he conducted himself through it; but his rage for *conquest* was opportunely checked by the personal valour of Richard of England; and his *magnanimity* is but ill-attested by the envious perfidy, with which he deserted that prince on the hostile shores of Palestine.

Lewis imagined he had taken every necessary precaution for the prevention of disorders in the kingdom on the accession of his son; but the jealousy and ambition of the nobles rendered those precautions fruitless. The princes of Champagne, uncles to the young monarch, were envious of the influence and authority of the count of Flanders; the queen-mother joined

joined in their complaints, and loudly inſiſted that her claims to the regency were infinitely preferable to thoſe of a foreigner, whoſe intereſt in the welfare of her ſon ſhe repreſented as feeble and doubtful. The count of Sancerre was the firſt to hoiſt the ſtandard of rebellion; but the youthful ardor of Philip gave a timely check to his progreſs, by reducing his caſtles, ravaging his eſtates, and laying waſte his poſſeſſions with fire and ſword.

The queen-dowager next diſplayed her reſentment, and, by her retreat to Normandy, involved the whole kingdom in confuſion. She experienced a favourable reception from the Engliſh monarch, who willingly conſented to grant the aſſiſtance ſhe required, and, repairing to Normandy, advanced with a numerous army to ſecond her demands. But Philip was already prepared to encounter a prince, whom he regarded as his hereditary foe; and the king of England, either doubtful of the event, or influenced by thoſe ſentiments of equity and moderation, by which his conduct was generally actuated, conſented to liſten to terms of accommodation. Even in the arts of negociation, Philip diſplayed a degree of caution, vigour, and wiſdom, far beyond his years: averſe from either extreme, he rejected the preſumptuous claims of the rebels, and the advice of the count of Flanders, to decide the diſpute by the ſword. Though, to his mother, he profeſſed a proper degree of duty, as a ſon; he aſſerted, nevertheleſs, the independent authority of a ſovereign; he offered a free pardon to the nobles who had engaged in the revolt; and Henry urging them to ſubmit, an accommodation took place, in which the former peace between the crowns of France and England was confirmed.

The return of the queen-dowager to Paris proved fatal to the authority of the regent; that princeſs, ſeconded by two of the king's favourites, the lords of Couci and Clermont, inceſſantly remonſtrated with her ſon, on the impropriety of entruſting the reins of government to a nobleman, whoſe power was already ſo extenſive, by the poſſeſſion of ſo many rich and fertile provinces: they repreſented him as a prince of a violent diſpoſition, incapable of reſtraint in the gratification of his paſſions, either by the duties of religion, or the dictates of honour. In ſhort, ſuch was the impreſſion which their calumnious aſſertions made on the mind of the young monarch, that the count ſoon perceived a very ſenſible change in his conduct; but, far from ſeeking to ſtem the torrent, he prudently withdrew from the ſcene of contention, and retired to his own dominions, without uttering a ſingle expreſſion of reſentment.

The management of affairs was then entruſted to Robert Clement, of Metz, to whom the education of Philip had been confided by the late king. He is ſpoken of, by hiſtorians, as a man of ſtrict integrity, and poſſeſſed of every quality that could fit him for a ſituation ſo arduous and delicate; great hopes were conſequently formed of his adminiſtration; but theſe were ſpeedily deſtroyed by his ſudden death. He was ſucceeded in his office and dignities by his brother, Gilles Clement; but he too died in a few months

months after his elevation, and made way for the cardinal of Champagne, brother to the queen-dowager, who was appointed to the presidency of the council, and the post of prime minister. The commencement of this prelate's administration was marked by an act of rigour, which has been alternately commended as prudent and politic, and censured as cruel and unjust—this was the banishment of the Jews.

That people, in whose disposition industry and avarice were inseparably blended, had, by oppressive usury, acquired, if ancient authors may be credited, one third of the landed property throughout the dominions of Philip. The improbability of this circumstance is considerably diminished, when we consider that the nobles themselves were not ashamed to encourage their practices, and to partake their profits[1]. The protection they had thus acquired, emboldened them in the pursuit of their infamous traffic, and encreased their insolence to such a degree, that when a debtor was unable to pay their exorbitant demands, they compelled him to renounce his liberty, and become their slave. Philip, willing to relieve his subjects from such oppression, had recourse to a hermit named Bernard, who resided in the wood of Vincennes; by whose advice he resolved to expel all the Jews from his territories. He accordingly issued an edict, by which they were ordered to quit the kingdom in three months; all their real property was confiscated, and the debts that were due to them declared null, on condition that the debtors should pay a fifth part of the sum they owed *to the king*. Their moveable effects and ready money they were permitted to take with them; but even this indulgence was in a great measure rendered futile, by the short time allowed them to profit by it. After the expiration of the term prescribed by the edict, every species of violence was exercised against them. Their synagogues were all converted into churches.

Though the conduct of the Jews indisputably required correction, both speedy and effectual, yet surely it was not necessary to substitute cruelty and oppression for rigid and impartial justice. The severity of the decree admits not of excuse; it was evidently dictated by fanaticism, and the circumstances attending its execution afford the most incontestible evidence that the severity of Philip was influenced by motives of interest. To exonerate debtors who had long groaned beneath the oppressive exactions of avarice might be proper; but to appropriate to his own use a fifth part of the debts that were due to others, was to sanction that injustice which he pretended to condemn. In a political point of view too his conduct was highly censurable, since he deprived himself of a number of subjects, whose labours, when directed into a proper channel, and submitted to the salutary restraints of law, might have proved highly beneficial to the state. Confined must be the comprehension, shallow the judgment, and feeble the talents of

[1] Rigord, apud Duch. t. v. p. 2.

that

that politician, who knows not how to convert the channel of abuſe into a ſource of utility, and who prefers deſtruction to reformation.

A. D. 1182, 1183.] The other regulations which Philip adopted at this period, are more worthy of commendation. He enlarged his capital, by encloſing within its walls the neighbouring villages, ſtrengthened its fortifications, encreaſed its buildings, and eſtabliſhed rules, not leſs wholeſome than neceſſary, for the preſervation of order and cleanlineſs. He diminiſhed the number of thoſe unfortunate women who infeſted the ſtreets, and made places the moſt ſacred the ſcene of their proſtitutions. A worthy prieſt, named Peter de Roiſſi, undertook to convert them, and by the piety of his precepts, and the ardour of his exhortations, he ſo far ſucceeded as to render many of them uſeful members of ſociety—numbers were afterwards married, and diſcharged the duties of wives and mothers with a ſtrictneſs and propriety that beſpoke the ſincerity of their converſion; while not a few of them took the veil in the convent of Saint Anthony at Paris, which was founded about this time, for the purpoſe of affording them a ſafe and comfortable retreat. Nor was Philip leſs attentive to the welfare and proſperity of the provinces: the mercenary ſoldiers, who had ſerved in the wars of his father, had ſpread themſelves over the defenceleſs country, and indulged in every ſpecies of wanton outrage; the king ſent a numerous army to repel theſe marauders, and his orders were executed ſo effectually, that not one of them eſcaped the fury of the troops.

A. D. 1184.] Such was the ſituation of affairs, when a ſerious diſpute aroſe between the king and the count of Flanders. That prince had married Elizabeth, granddaughter to Hugh the Great, in whoſe right he enjoyed the counties of Vermandois, Valois and Amiens. The princeſs dying without children, Philip ſummoned the count to reſtore thoſe rich domains: "offering to prove by the teſtimony of the archbiſhops, "biſhops, counts, viſcounts, and other princes, that theſe three counties belonged to "him by right of ſucceſſion[2]." The count, on the contrary, maintained that the late king had given him a ſimple and unconditional grant of them, which grant had been confirmed by Philip himſelf. But the king replied that no monarch of France could alienate the poſſeſſions of the crown; and that as the count only enjoyed the territories in queſtion, in virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth of Vermandois, his right of courſe ceaſed on the death of that princeſs. It was not likely that a matter of ſuch importance could be decided by argument or reaſon; recourſe was accordingly had to the *lex ultima regum*; and the count of Flanders in vain endeavoured to allure the barons to his ſtandard, by repreſenting the injury as general, and the cauſe as common. Almoſt alone and unſupported, his efforts were impotent and unſucceſsful; and after a ſhort ſtrug-

[2] Rigord, p. 12.

gle, diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable occurrence, and in which he neither gained honour nor advantage, he liſtened to the voice of prudence; ſubmitted to the king, and reſtored the counties of Vermandois and Amiens, together with that of Sancerre, which were accordingly re-annexed to the crown.

The queen, during this conteſt, influenced by motives of gratitude, in oppoſition to conjugal duty, had imprudently expreſſed a wiſh, that her uncle, the count of Flanders, might ſucceed in his attempts. The king, enraged at her conduct, peremptorily commanded her to quit his court; and gave orders to aſſemble a ſynod, that his marriage might be diſſolved, on the uſual pretext of conſanguinity. Every thing ſeemed favourable to his wiſhes; both prelates and courtiers, with a ſervile adulation, repeated the reaſons urged by their ſovereign, and were loud in their cenſure of the unfortunate Iſabella. The biſhop of Sens was the only perſon who had ſufficient virtue and reſolution to ſtem the torrent of invective, and to oppoſe the raſh reſolution of the monarch; a witneſs to the virtue of the princeſs, he undertook to eſpouſe her cauſe, and, by his interpoſition, the ſentence of divorce was impeded. The count of Hainault, informed of the misfortune that threatened his daughter, haſtened to Pontoiſe, where ſhe was confined, and, by his paternal remonſtrances perſuaded her to write an affectionate and ſubmiſſive letter to the king. A reconciliation accordingly took place; Iſabella was reſtored to favour; and her charms and her virtues ſpeedily effaced the remembrance of her paſt miſconduct, and recovered the affections of her offended huſband.

A. D. 1185, 1186, 1187.] During theſe tranſactions in France, the king of England had ſtrictly obſerved the late treaty, and forbore to interfere in the domeſtic diſputes of a rival, whoſe tranquillity he might have diſturbed, and whoſe authority he might have ſhaken. The turbulence of his children was a continual ſource of trouble and affliction to the aged monarch; prince Henry had renewed his pretenſions to the duchy of Normandy, but, on receiving an augmentation of his income, withdrew his claims, and ſubmitted to his father. After this accommodation, Geoffrey, by the king's deſire, did homage to his elder brother, for the duchy of Brittany; Richard was requeſted to do the ſame for Aquitaine, but he rejected the propoſal with ſuch evident marks of diſdain and reſentment, as occaſioned an immediate and moſt violent animoſity between him and young Henry. Equally impetuous, they had recourſe to arms to decide their diſpute; and the conteſt was purſued with ſuch malevolent fury, that no quarter was ſhown on either ſide. Their father, at length, with great difficulty, compoſed this difference, and prevailed on the contending parties to ſign a treaty of peace, near Limoges; but he ſoon found that his eldeſt ſon was engaged in a conſpiracy, and preparing to take arms againſt himſelf.

While young Henry was planning theſe criminal projects, he was ſeized with a fever at Martel, a caſtle in the vicinity of Turenne; and, when his phyſicians informed him that they entertained not the ſmalleſt hope of his recovery, he was ſtricken with that deep

deep remorſe for his ungrateful conduct to the beſt of fathers, which repeated acts of generoſity and indulgence had never proved ſufficient to excite. He immediately ſent a meſſage to the king of England, expreſſive of his repentance, and earneſtly entreating a viſit. Henry, greatly affected with his ſon's ſituation, was about to comply with his requeſt; but his friends repreſenting the danger of truſting his perſon to thoſe flagitious conſpirators, who attended on the ſick prince, he took from his finger a ring well known to his ſon, and ſent it to him by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, as a token of his forgiveneſs. The prince received it with great emotion, and, preſſing it to his lips, ſoon after expired. His widow, the daughter of the late king of France, by his ſecond wife, Conſtance, having no children by him, Philip now claimed Giſors, and ſome other dependencies in Normandy, which had been allotted as the dowry of Margaret; but Henry, unwilling to part with them, offered to conclude the marriage between Richard, now become heir to the crown, and Alice, the ſiſter of Philip, provided he was ſuffered to retain the diſputed territory: the propoſal was acquieſced in, and the two monarchs parted with mutual profeſſions of eſteem and friendſhip.

This interval of tranquillity was employed by Philip in the internal regulation of his dominions, and in repreſſing the formidable enterprizes of the duke of Burgundy. But the calm produced by the late peace was of ſhort duration, and the ſubjects of Philip and Henry were again expoſed to the horrors of war. The marriage of Alice with Richard was ſtill ſtudiouſly delayed; Geoffrey, the ſecond ſon of Henry, and duke of Brittany, had revolted from his father, and acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of France; but his undutiful deſigns were interrupted by death, and he expired of a fall from his horſe at a tournament. Philip, however, retained from Henry, his widow, Conſtance; his infant daughter, Eleanor; and a poſthumous ſon, named Arthur; and aſſerted his claim to protect and watch over the offspring of his vaſſal. Richard had alſo refuſed to yield homage to the king of France, for the counties of Guienne and Poitou.

Philip, enraged at this proof of diſobedience in the prince, and diſpleaſed with Henry for delaying the promiſed union, declared war againſt father and ſon, and, entering Berry, took Iſſoudun, Creſſac, and ſeveral other ſtrong places; after which he laid ſiege to Châteauroux, on the banks of the Indre. The ſpirits of the garriſon were animated by the preſence of Richard and John, the ſons of the Engliſh monarch; and Henry himſelf, alarmed for the ſafety of the princes, haſtily collected his forces, and advanced to their relief. The hoſtile armies awaited, in anxious ſuſpence, the ſignal of battle; but the conflict was averted by the legates of pope Urban the Third, who threatened with the penalty of excommunication whoever ſhould begin the engagement. This menace had the deſired effect; the monarchs laid down their arms, and a truce for two years was concluded between them.

The joy which the kingdom experienced at this unexpected accommodation was conſiderably

ſiderably heightened by the birth of a prince, on the fifth of September, 1187. The hopes of ſeeing the blood of Charlemagne once more eſtabliſhed on the throne of France inſpired the people with the moſt enthuſiaſtic pleaſure. The biſhop of Tournay performed the ceremony of baptiſm, and gave to the royal infant the name of Lewis; while Philip found, in the birth of an heir, a new cauſe for eſteeming a princeſs, who had the beſt title to his affections.——But the rejoicings occaſioned by this happy event were ſuddenly interrupted by the reception of ſome diſmal intelligence from the Chriſtians in Paleſtine.

After the departure of Lewis the Seventh from the Holy Land, the cruſaders experienced a ſucceſſion of calamities that reduced them to the laſt extremity. But the frequent repetition of diſaſters, which had nearly depopulated the weſtern world, and exhauſted its treaſures, were yet inſufficient to check the folly of theſe ſpiritual knights-errant; and a new occurrence, rekindling the torch of fanaticiſm, inſpired the adventurers, both eccleſiaſtical and military, among the Latin Chriſtians, with additional fury.

Saladin, a prince equally diſtinguiſhed for perſonal courage and greatneſs of ſoul, having, on the death of the caliph Alad, eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conqueſts over the eaſt. After the reduction of Syria, Arabia, Perſia, and Meſopotamia, finding the ſettlement of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine an invincible impediment to the progreſs of his arms, he exerted all his valour and political ſkill to ſubdue that territory, which, though barren, and of little extent, was, to him, of the utmoſt importance. Profiting by the defection which prevailed among the champions of the croſs, and having corrupted the fidelity of the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with an army of fifty thouſand men. A deſperate action enſued at Tiberiade, which was diſputed with great obſtinacy for two whole days, when Saladin obtained a complete victory, that totally annihilated the force of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, whoſe monarch, Guy de Luſignan, was taken priſoner. After this celebrated battle, in which the Chriſtians had to lament the loſs of the real croſs on which our Saviour was crucified, that fell into the hands of the Infidels, the city of Jeruſalem ſurrendered to the victorious Saladin. The kingdom of Antioch was almoſt entirely reduced; and, except a few maritime towns, but little remained of thoſe boaſted acquiſitions which, near a century before, it had required the efforts of all Europe to obtain[3].

This dreadful reverſe of fortune threw all the weſtern Chriſtians into the utmoſt conſternation and alarm. Pope Urban the Third was ſo much affected with the news, that he is ſaid to have died of grief; and his ſucceſſor, Gregory the Eighth, employed

3 M. Paris, p. 100.

the

the whole time of his ſhort pontificate in urging all the Chriſtians, who acknowledged his authority, to take up arms, and haſten to repair the diſgrace they had ſuſtained. The general cry was, that thoſe were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in Heaven who did not reſcue from the domination of the Infidels the inheritance of God upon earth, and deliver from ſervitude that country which the preſence of their Redeemer had rendered ſacred.

A. D. 1188.] William, archbiſhop of Tyre, ambaſſador from the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, having procured a conference between Philip and Henry near Giſors, on the twenty-firſt of January, enforced theſe various topics; gave a pathetic deſcription of the ſtate of the eaſtern Chriſtians; and employed every argument that could rouze the ruling paſſions of the age, ſuperſtitious zeal, and the ſpirit of chivalry. The two kings immediately took the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop; the counts of Flanders and Champagne, with many other powerful noblemen, followed the example; and, as the emperor, Frederick the Firſt, joined the confederacy, ſome well-grounded hopes of ſucceſs were entertained; and men flattered themſelves that an enterprize which had failed through the diſcord of independent leaders, or the temerity of imprudent princes, might, at laſt, by the joint efforts of monarchs ſo potent, be brought to a happy termination.

Philip, without loſs of time, convened an aſſembly at Paris, at which ſeveral ordinances were enacted, as well for the purpoſe of providing for the expences of the war, as for preventing thoſe diſorders which had occaſioned the failure of the laſt cruſade. It was decreed that all thoſe who ſhould not aſſume the croſs, whether eccleſiaſtics or laics [4], ſhould contribute the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects towards the relief of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine. The only exceptions were in favour of the Ciſtertian and Carthuſian monks, the monks of Fontevraud, and the hoſpital for the reception of Lepers [5]. This tax was called Saladin's tythe, from its being exacted for equipping an armament againſt that ſultan. Some regulations alſo with regard to diſcipline were here adopted; the ſoldiers were forbidden to blaſpheme, or to play at dice; the knights to wear gaudy habiliments; men of opulence to have more than two bought diſhes on their table at a meal; and women to follow the army, except a few waſherwomen, advanced in years, and pure in reputation. No intereſt was to be paid, during this expedition, for money borrowed; and all the cruſaders, even the eccleſiaſtics, were authorized to receive three years of their revenue in advance, that every perſon might be enabled to ſupport the expence of the voyage.

A.D. 1189.] Every thing was ready for the expedition to Paleſtine, when the flames of war again burſt forth in Europe, and induced the rival monarchs of France

4 Rigord. 5 Tom. x. Concile, p. 1763.

and

and England to turn thoſe arms againſt each other which had been deſtined to oppoſe their mutual enemy. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private conference with young Richard; and, working on his ambitious and impatient temper, perſuaded him, inſtead of ſupporting and aggrandizing that monarchy which he was one day to inherit, to ſeek preſent power and independence, by diſturbing and diſmembering it. In order to afford a pretext for hoſtilities between the two kings, Richard invaded the territories of Raymond, count of Toulouſe, who immediately complained of this violence to the king of France, as his ſuperior lord. Philip remonſtrated with Henry, but received for anſwer, that Richard had confeſſed to the archbiſhop of Dublin, that his enterprize againſt Raymond had been undertaken by the approbation of Philip himſelf, and was conducted by his authority. Philip, who might have been covered with ſhame and confuſion by this detection of his perfidy, ſtill proſecuted his deſign, and invaded the provinces of Berry and Auvergne, under colour of revenging the quarrel of the count of Toulouſe[6]. Henry retaliated by making inroads upon the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war, which deſtroyed all hopes of ſucceſs in the projected cruſade, gave great ſcandal, the two kings held a conference between Trie and Giſors, in order to find means of accommodating their differences. But this interview only ſerved to encreaſe their enmity; and Philip, to ſhew his diſguſt, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences had been uſually holden, to be cut down[7]; as if he had renounced all deſire of accommodation, and was determined to carry the war to extremities againſt the king of England. But his own vaſſals refuſed to ſerve under him in ſo inſidious a cauſe[8]; and he was obliged to have a ſecond conference with Henry, and to offer terms of peace. Theſe terms were ſuch as entirely opened the eyes of the king of England, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his ſon, and of his ſecret alliance with Philip, of which he had before only entertained ſome ſuſpicion. The king of France required that Richard ſhould be crowned king of England in the life-time of his father, ſhould be inveſted in all his continental dominions, and ſhould immediately eſpouſe Alice, Philip's ſiſter[9]. Henry had experienced ſuch fatal effects, both from the crowning of his eldeſt ſon, and from that prince's alliance with the royal family of France, that he rejected theſe terms; and Richard, in conſequence of his ſecret agreement with Philip, immediately revolted from him[10], did homage to the king of France for all the dominions which Henry held of that crown, and received the inveſtitures, as if he had already been the lawful poſſeſſor. This unexpected occurrence being naturally productive of infinite confuſion, the conference broke up.

Cardinal Albeno, who had been ſent by the pope to effect a peace between the two monarchs, excommunicated Richard, as the chief obſtacle to the treaty; and this prelate

[6] Bened. Abb. p. 508. [7] Ibid. p. 517, 532. [8] Ibid. p. 519. [9] Idem. p. 521.—Hoveden, p. 652.
[10] Brompton. p. 1149.—Neubrig. p. 437.

dying,

dying, the ſovereign pontiff, who was anxious to accelerate the expedition to Paleſtine, inveſted the cardinal Anagni with the legatine power, and gave him inſtructions to promote a reconciliation; but the unprincipled obſtinacy of Richard rendered all conciliatory endeavours ineffectual. The chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Normandy and Anjou, being attached to the young prince, and finding that he had now received the inveſtiture from their ſuperior lord, declared for him, and made inroads into the territories of ſuch as ſtill adhered to Henry, who, diſquieted by the daily revolts of his mutinous ſubjects, and dreading ſtill worſe effects from their turbulent diſpoſition, had again recourſe to papal authority; and engaged the cardinal Anagni to threaten Philip with laying all his dominions under an interdict. But Philip deſpiſed the menace, and told the legate, that it belonged not to the pope to interpoſe in the temporal diſputes of princes, much leſs in thoſe which ſubſiſted between him and his rebellious vaſſal. He even proceeded ſo far as to reproach him with partiality, and with receiving bribes from the king of England [11]; while Richard, ſtill more outrageous, offered to draw his ſword againſt the legate, and was only prevented by the interpoſition of the company, from committing violence upon him [12].

The war was now renewed with additional vigour; Ferté-Bernard was firſt reduced by the victorious arms of the French; Mons was next taken by aſſault, and the king of England, who had thrown himſelf into that place, eſcaped with ſome difficulty [13]. Amboiſe, Chaumont, and Chateau-de-Loire, opened their gates on the appearance of Philip and Richard; Tours was menaced; and Henry, who had retired to Saumur, and had daily inſtances of the cowardice or treachery of his governors, expected the moſt unfavourable iſſue to all his enterprizes. While he was in this ſtate of deſpondency, the count of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbiſhop of Rheims interpoſed with their good offices; and the intelligence which he received of the taking of Tours, made him fully ſenſible of the deſperate ſituation of his affairs, and ſo ſubdued his ſpirit, that he ſubmitted to all the rigorous terms which were impoſed upon him. He agreed that Richard ſhould marry the princeſs Alice; that he ſhould receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his ſubjects both in England, and his tranſmarine dominions: that he himſelf ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to Philip towards defraying the expences of the war; that his own barons ſhould engage to make him obſerve this treaty by force; and, in caſe of his violating any of the articles it contained, ſhould promiſe to join Philip and Richard againſt him; and that ſuch of his own vaſſals as had ſupported the cauſe of Richard, ſhould be indemnified for the offence [14].

But

[11] M. Paris, p. 104. Bened. Abb. p. 542. Hoveden, p. 652. [12] M. Paris, p. 104. [13] Idem. p. 105. Bened. Abb. p. 543. Hoveden, p. 653. [14] M. Paris, p. 106; Bened. Abb. p. 545, Hoveden, p. 653.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the French hiſtorians give a very different account of the motives which gave riſe to this war; they deny all colluſion between Richard and Philip, and repreſent the hoſtilities between the former and the count of Toulouſe as the conſequence of a real diſpute, in order to juſtify Philip from the imputation of perfidy

But the mortification which the king of England, who had been accuſtomed to give the law in moſt treaties, experienced from being obliged to ſubmit to ſuch humiliating conditions, was the leaſt he felt on this occaſion. When he demanded a liſt of thoſe barons whom he had conſented to pardon for their treaſonable connections with Richard, he was aſtoniſhed to find, at the head of them, the name of his ſecond ſon, John, who had always been his favourite; whoſe intereſts he had ever been anxious to promote; and who had even, on account of his aſcendant over him, often excited the jealouſy of Richard. The more his heart inclined to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the ungrateful and barbarous return which his four ſons had ſucceſſively made to his paternal care; and this laſt event, by depriving him of every comfort of life, quite broke his ſpirit, and threw him into a lingering fever.

The day after he had ſigned the treaty, the unhappy monarch was removed in a litter from Saumur to the caſtle of Chinon, where he immediately took to his bed, and ſoon after expired. The next day Richard came to ſee the dead body of his father—which had been conveyed by Geoffrey, natural ſon to Henry, to the nunnery of Fontevraud—and was ſeized with horror and remorſe at the ſight. Theſe, indeed, were conſiderably augmented by an accident which the ſuperſtition of the times conſtrued into a præternatural omen. At his approach, the blood iſſued from the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe [15], which induced him to exclaim that he was the murderer of his father: and to expreſs at the ſame time a juſt, though tardy, repentance for that conduct which had brought ſo indulgent a parent to an untimely grave [16]. He aſſiſted at the funeral with marks of the deepeſt contrition, and, after the obſequies were performed, received from Geoffrey the great ſeal of the kingdom, which had been carefully depoſited under the ſeals of all the barons who were preſent at his father's deceaſe.

perfidy which he deſervedly incurred. But the author, on whoſe ſole authority they found their aſſertions, is by no means worthy to be oppoſed to thoſe writers whom we have had occaſion to quote. The writings of Rigord are ſo ſtrongly tinctured with the Marvellous, that they bear a greater ſemblance of Romance than of Hiſtory. We are aware, indeed, that the monkiſh writers of the dark and middle ages were generally infected with a love of the marvellous, which, though it diſgraced their works, did not impeach their integrity---of this Venerable Bede affords a ſtriking example. But there is a diſcrimination to be made between the marvellous writers of thoſe times, who may be divided into two claſſes---the firſt were influenced by an exceſs of credulity; the ſecond, by a deſire to excite wonder at the expence of truth; one muſt raiſe pity, the other miſtruſt. In the former claſs we muſt place Bede, in the latter Rigord. As a proof that our opinion of this author is well founded, we need only quote two of his aſſertions---After the taking of the croſs by the Infidels, at the battle of Tiberiade, he gravely tells us, all the children who were born throughout Chriſtendom had only twenty, or two-and-twenty teeth, inſtead of thirty or two-and-thirty, which was their former complement. With equal aſſurance, he ſolemnly affirms, That about this period, during his reſidence at the monaſtery of Argenteuil, one moon-light morning, a little before the break of day, the moon, which was then in the full, quitted its ſtation in the firmament; deſcended upon the earth, and, after reſting there ſome time, as if to recover its ſtrength, returned very leiſurely to the place aſſigned it by the Creator!---p. 17. Theſe are not marks of credulity, but impudent deviations from truth, which render any aſſertions of the ſame author---uncorroborated by any kind of proof---juſtly liable to ſuſpicion.

[15] Bened. Abb. p. 547; Brompt. p. 1151. [16] M. Paris, p. 107.

The

The death of the Engliſh monarch had been preceded by that of Iſabella, queen of France, who died in child-bed, after giving birth to two princes. Her loſs was deeply deplored by Philip, who had learned to entertain a juſt ſenſe of her value; and the whole kingdom ſympathized in his ſorrow. The royal infants ſurvived their mother but three days.

Richard's firſt care, after his acceſſion to the throne, was to releaſe his mother from the confinement in which ſhe had been long detained; he then beſtowed on his brother John the moſt unbounded marks of his affection and munificence, by conferring on him the county of Mortaigne, in Normandy, by granting him a penſion of four thouſand marks a year; marrying him to Aviſta, the daughter of the earl of Glouceſter, by whom he inherited all the poſſeſſions of that opulent family; and by other extenſive grants and conceſſions. He then renewed the former treaties of friendſhip and alliance with Philip, to whom he ceded Creſſac, Iſſoudun, and all the fiefs he held in Auvergne, in return for the reſtoration of the two provinces which that monarch had conquered in the late war. The two kings being equally intent on repairing to Paleſtine, Richard aſſembled at Rouen the ſtates of Normandy, who granted him a conſiderable ſuccour both in men and money. It was here that Fulk, curate of Neuilli, a zealous preacher of the cruſade, who thought fanaticiſm an excuſe for inſolence, inveighed againſt his vices, and adviſed him to part with his Pride, Avarice, and Senſuality, which he termed the king's three favourite daughters; "You counſel well;" replied Richard, "I have "already provided huſbands for them all.—I give my Pride to the Templars; my Ava-"rice to the Monks; and my Senſuality to the Clergy."

A. D. 1190, 1191.] Philip and Richard had an interview at Nonancourt, in which the final arrangements for their voyage to Paleſtine were adopted[17]. They ſwore an eternal friendſhip to each other, promiſed mutual aſſiſtance, and agreed that if one of them ſhould die on the voyage, the other ſhould become maſter of his troops and treaſures, to be employed for the relief of the Holy Land. After theſe precautions, they fixed the general rendezvous in the plains of Vezelay, in Burgundy, where they arrived towards the end of June. Here Philip declared that he left the government of his kingdom, and the care of his ſon, to the queen-mother and the cardinal of Champagne. From Vezelay the combined army, which amounted to a hundred thouſand men[18], decamped on the firſt of July, and marched in one body to Lyons; but finding it extremely inconvenient to proceed in the ſame order, the two kings parted at that city: Philip went to Genoa, the place deſtined for his embarkation; and Richard to Marſeilles, whither he had appointed his fleet to meet him. They put to ſea, and nearly about the ſame time arrived at Meſſina, where they wintered: Philip, with

[17] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. i. p. 20. [18] Gaufred. Viniſauf. Iter Hieroſol. l. ii. c. 9.

his army, remained in the city; and the king of England eſtabliſhed his quarters in the ſuburbs.

The laſt king of Sicily and Naples was William the Second, who had married Jane, ſiſter to Richard; and who, dying without iſſue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal aunt Conſtantia, the only ſurviving deſcendant of Roger, the firſt ſovereign of thoſe ſtates who had been dignified with the title of King. Henry the Sixth, the reigning emperor, had eſpouſed this princeſs in expectation of her ſucceeding to this rich inheritance; but Tancred, her natural brother, having acquired the affection and obtained the ſupport of the barons, had, in the abſence of Henry, taken poſſeſſion of the throne, and reſiſted all the efforts of the Germans to depoſe him. The approach of the cruſaders, however, naturally inſpired him with apprehenſions for his unſtable government; and he knew not whether he had moſt reaſon to dread the preſence of the French or of the Engliſh monarch. Philip was engaged in a ſtrict alliance with the emperor, his competitor; and Richard was diſguſted with his ſeverity to the queen-dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo, becauſe ſhe had oppoſed, with all her intereſt, his ſucceſſion to the crown. Tancred therefore determined, if poſſible, to avert the animoſity of theſe powerful monarchs; nor were his endeavours unſucceſsful. He found means to perſuade Philip, that it was highly improper for him to interrupt his enterprize againſt the Infidels, by turning his arms againſt a Chriſtian ſtate. He likewiſe appeaſed the reſentment of Richard by releaſing the queen-dowager; paying twenty thouſand ounces of gold, in lieu of a valuable legacy, bequeathed by the late king of Sicily to his father-in-law, Henry the Second; by contracting one of his daughters in marriage to Arthur, duke of Brittany, whom Richard declared his heir, in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue; and by depoſiting twenty thouſand ounces of gold, as her marriage-portion, to be reſtored provided the marriage ſhould not take effect.

But previous to the arrangement of theſe amicable terms, Richard, equally jealous of Tancred, and of the inhabitants of Meſſina, had, as we have before obſerved, taken up his quarters in the ſuburbs; and he had alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſmall fort which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage at theſe proceedings, which wore an appearance of hoſtility; this produced ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between them, that only tended to augment their mutual animoſity. Philip, anxious to promote an accommodation, held a conference with Richard in the open fields: but while they were converſing on the ſubject the Meſſineſe made a ſudden ſally from the town, and attacked the quarters of Hugh Le Brun, one of Richard's barons, with great impetuoſity. The king of England, enraged at this inſult, returned the attack, drove them into the city, and, entering the gates with them, erected the ſtandard of England on the walls, in token of his victory; though he reſtrained his troops from exerciſing any violence on the defenceleſs inhabitants.

Philip,

Philip, who regarded the whole city as his quarters, exclaimed againſt the inſult which he pretended was offered to him, and ordered ſome of his troops to pull down the ſtandard; but Richard informed him by a meſſenger, that though he himſelf would willingly remove it, ſince it was deemed a ground of offence, he would not ſuffer it to be done by any other perſon; but would oppoſe any attempt to inſult him ſo groſsly with his whole force. Philip, therefore, thought it prudent to countermand his orders; and the diſpute was apparently adjuſted, though the ſeeds of diſcord were thereby implanted in the breaſts of the two ſovereigns.

In order, however, to prevent the multiplication of jealouſies and complaints, they at length propoſed to obviate all future differences by a ſolemn treaty. But this expedient gave riſe to a new ſubject of controverſy, which was more difficult to adjuſt, as the honour of Philip's family was more deeply affected by it. When Richard, in every treaty with his father, had ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on being permitted to conſummate his marriage with the princeſs Alice, he had only ſought a pretence for quarrelling; it having never been his intention to take to his bed a perſon ſuſpected of a criminal connection with his own father. This was evident from his never having mentioned the ſubject after Henry's death: he even took meaſures for eſpouſing Berengaria, daughter to Sanchez, king of Navarre, for whom he had conceived a paſſion during his abode in Guienne[19]; and, when he had ſet out on the preſent expedition, he had prevailed on his mother to accompany that princeſs to Naples, whither they had accordingly arrived in the month of February, 1191, under the eſcort of the count of Flanders, and from that time had taken up their reſidence at Brindiſi, and were now daily expected at Meſſina[20]. When Philip, therefore, renewed his applications to the Engliſh monarch for celebrating his nuptials with his ſiſter Alice, Richard was obliged to give him an abſolute refuſal.

Hoveden, and ſome other hiſtorians[21], pretend that he was able to produce ſuch poſitive proof of the incontinence of Alice, and even of her having borne a child to Henry, that Philip deſiſted from his application; and choſe to conceal the diſhonour of his family, by conſigning the whole tranſaction to oblivion. Whatever were his motives, it is certain from the treaty itſelf, which may be ſeen in Rymer's Fœdera[22], that he conſented to the marriage of Richard with Berengaria, and, having ſettled all farther ſubjects of diſpute with that prince, Philip ſet ſail for the Holy Land, on the thirtieth of March. The day after his departure, the mother of Richard, with the princeſs of Navarre, arrived at Meſſina, at which place the former only remained four days, and then embarked for England; but the latter was committed to the care of the

[19] Vinisauf. p. 316. [20] M. Paris, p. 112. Trivet, p. 102. W. Heming. p. 519. [21] Hoveden, p. 688.
[22] Rymer, vol. i. p. 69. Chron. Dunſt. p. 44.

queen-dowager of Sicily, who had reſolved to accompany her brother in his expedition to Paleſtine[23].

The city of Ptolemais, indiſcriminately called Acre, and Saint John of Acre, had been inveſted two years by the united forces of all the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, and had been defended by the utmoſt efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The remains of a German army, conducted by the emperor Frederic—(who had been killed ſoon after his arrival, by imprudently bathing in the cold ſtream of the Cydnus, during the raging heat of the dog-days)—and the ſeparate body of adventurers who continually poured in from the Weſt, had enabled the king of Jeruſalem to form this important enterprize[24]: but Saladin, having thrown a ſtrong garriſon into the place, under the command of Caracos, his own maſter in the art of war, and moleſting the beſiegers with continual attacks and ſallies, had protracted the ſucceſs of the enterprize, and waſted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inſpired new life into the Chriſtians; and theſe princes, acting in concert, and partaking the glory and danger of every action, gave ſtrong hopes of obtaining a final victory over the Infidels. The plan of operations which they agreed on was this: that one day the king of France ſhould attack the town, and the Engliſh guard the trenches; and the next, the Engliſh monarch ſhould conduct the aſſault, and the French undertake to defend the aſſailants. This ſpirit of emulation between thoſe rival kings, and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour: Richard, in particular, animated with a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic ſpirit of that age, drew to himſelf the general attention, and acquired a great and ſplendid reputation[25]. But this harmony was of ſhort duration, and occaſions of diſcord ſoon aroſe between theſe jealous and haughty princes.

The family of Bouillon, which had been firſt placed on the throne of Jeruſalem, ending in a female, Fulk, count of Anjou, grandfather to Henry the Second of England, married the heireſs of that kingdom, and tranſmitted his title to the younger branches of his family. The Anjevin race ending alſo in a female, Guy de Luſignan, who had married Sibylla, the heireſs, had ſucceeded to the title; and though he loſt his kingdom by the invaſion of Saladin, he was ſtill acknowledged by all the Chriſtians for king of Jeruſalem[26]: But as Sibylla died without iſſue, during the ſiege of Acre, Iſabella, her younger ſiſter, put in her claim to that titular kingdom, and required Luſignan to reſign his pretenſions to her huſband, Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. Luſignan, maintaining that the royal title was unalienable, and indefeaſible, had recourſe to the protection of the king of England, whom he engaged to embrace his cauſe[27]. This

[23] Bened. Abb. p. 644. [24] Viniſauf, p. 269, 271, 279. [25] Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 14.
[26] Viniſauf, p. 281. [27] Trivet, p. 134. Viniſauf, p. 342. W. Heming. p. 524.

was

was a ſufficient inducement to Philip to eſpouſe the party of Conrad; and the oppoſite views of theſe potent monarchs brought faction and diſſenſion into the Chriſtian army, and retarded all its operations: the Templars, the Genoeſe, and the Germans, declared for Philip and Conrad; the Flemings, the Piſans, and the Knights of the Hoſpital of Saint John, adhered to Richard and Luſignan. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſputes, as the length of the ſiege had reduced the Saracen garriſon to the laſt extremity, they ſurrendered the city on the twelfth of July, on the following conditions:—that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march out only in their ſhirts, leaving all their arms and baggage behind them; that Saladin ſhould reſtore the true croſs, with two thouſand five hundred Chriſtian priſoners of the greateſt note; that he ſhould cauſe to be paid to the two victorious monarchs two hundred thouſand pieces of gold, called *Byſantines*, for the ranſom of the garriſon, the whole of which were to be detained as hoſtages till theſe conditions were performed [28].

Thus ended this celebrated ſiege, which had engaged the attention of all Europe and Aſia for two years, and had coſt the lives of three hundred thouſand men; beſides thoſe of ſix archbiſhops, twelve biſhops, forty earls, and five hundred barons [29]. Among the nobles who fell on this memorable occaſion, on the part of the French, was Ralph de Coucy: being mortally wounded, he retired to his tent, wrote a farewel letter to a married lady of the name of Du Fayel, of whom he was deſperately enamoured, though no criminal intercourſe had ever ſubſiſted between them; and, after ordering his faithful eſquire to carry his heart to the object of his love, expired in a few minutes. The gentleman, faithful to the commands of his deceaſed lord, repaired to the caſtle where the lady reſided; at the gates he met the huſband, whoſe jealouſy led him to ſearch the meſſenger, when he found the fatal preſent. Enraged with his wife, he gave the heart of her lover to his cook, and had it placed on the table before her; when ſhe had feaſted on it for ſome time, the ſavage diſcloſed to her the deadly ſecret. Seized with horror inexpreſſible, the lady ſwore that after a meal thus precious, no other nouriſhment ſhould ever enter her lips;—ſhe kept her word, and in a few days expired [30].

After the reduction of this important place, Philip, inſtead of purſuing the hopes of farther conqueſt, and of redeeming the Holy City from ſlavery, which was the chief object of the expedition, began to intimate his deſign of returning to Europe. Though he aſcribed his deſire to quit the ſcene of glory to the ill ſtate of his health, the real motives of his departure were founded on projects of ambition and revenge. The ſuperior ſplendour of Richard's atchievements, which had totally eclipſed his own inferior fame, inſpired him with ſentiments of hatred againſt that monarch; and he expected, by repairing to Europe, to find an opportunity of affording them the moſt ample gra-

[28] Bened. Abb. p. 653, 663. Viniſauf, l. iii. c. 17. [29] Ibid. l. iv. c. 6. [30] P. Anſel. Hiſt. Gen. de France, tom. i. p. 206.

tification.

tification. He likewiſe flattered himſelf with the idea of being able to obtain the ſucceſſion of the count of Flanders, who had died during the ſiege of Acre, and had left no iſſue. Urged by theſe powerful inducements, all efforts to retain him in Paleſtine proved ineffectual: Richard, therefore, conſented to his departure, on his taking a public oath that he would not only abſtain from all hoſtilities againſt his territories, during his ſtay in the Holy Land, but that he would even protect them againſt the attempts of all invaders. It is ſaid, however, that Philip on his return paid a viſit to pope Celeſtine the Third, and requeſted that pontiff to abſolve him from the obligation he had thus contracted, but that his holineſs rejected the requeſt with diſdain[31]. Be that as it may, having left ten thouſand of his troops to co-operate with Richard, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, he embarked at the port of Acre for Naples, then repaired to Rome, and from thence to France, where he arrived about Chriſtmas 1191[32].

Each tranſaction betrayed the animoſity which Philip bore to his royal rival. The marquis of Montferrat had been publickly ſtabbed in the ſtreets of Tyre, by two men, who, for that purpoſe, had enliſted themſelves in his ſervice. They were ſubjects of a petty Saracen prince, whoſe territories lay in the mountains of Phœnicia, and who was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *The old Man of the Mountain*[33]. He was a man of conſummate art, and knew how to render the ſuperſtition of Mahometaniſm ſubſervient to his own private advantage. Being unable to defend himſelf from the encroachments of his powerful neighbours by open force, he adopted a more effectual expedient for revenging, if not averting, their attacks. He had acquired ſuch an aſcendancy over the minds of his fanatical ſubjects, that they paid the moſt implicit obedience to his orders, though fraught with the moſt imminent danger, from a full perſuaſion that, ſhould the execution of them prove fatal to their lives, the joys of paradiſe would be the infallible reward of their devotion[34]. Theſe he occaſionally diſpatched to murder ſuch princes as had incurred his reſentment; and, being influenced by ſuch powerful motives, their invincible perſeverance in the purſuit of their object, rendered the accompliſhment of it certain; ſo that almoſt all the potentates of that part of Aſia ſtood in awe of this prince of the *Aſſaſſins*; for that was the name of his people—whence the word has paſſed into moſt of the European languages.

The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by Conrad, had put to death one of this ſect, whom ſtreſs of weather had compelled to take refuge in the harbour. The prince demanded ſatisfaction of Conrad, who treated his meſſengers with diſdain. In revenge, therefore, for this outrage, which was attended with ſome aggravating circumſtances, the aſſaſſins were diſpatched; and they executed their orders with deliberation and ef-

[31] G. Viniſauf, l. v. c. 1, 2. [32] Bened. Abb. p. 667, 670; W. Neubr. l. iv. c. 22; Heming. l. ii. c. 27.
[33] Viniſauf, l. v. c. 26. [34] W. Heming. p. 532; Brompton, p. 1243.

ſect. When they were apprehended and applied to the torture, they triumphed in the midſt of agony, and expreſſed their joy at being deſtined to ſuffer in ſo juſt and glorious a cauſe.

Every one in Paleſtine knew from what hand the blow came. Richard was entirely free from ſuſpicion; though that monarch had formerly maintained the cauſe of Luſignan againſt Conrad, he had become ſenſible of the bad effects attending thoſe diſſenſions, and had voluntarily conferred on the former the kingdom of Cyprus, on condition that he ſhould reſign to his rival all pretenſions to the crown of Jeruſalem[35]. Conrad himſelf, with his dying breath, had recommended his widow to the protection of Richard[36]. The prince of the aſſaſſins avowed the action in a formal narrative which he ſent to Europe[37]; yet, on this foundation, Philip thought fit to build the moſt egregious calumnies, and to impute to Richard the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, whoſe elevation he had once openly oppoſed. He filled all Europe with exclamations againſt the crime; appointed a guard for his own perſon, in order to defend himſelf againſt a ſimilar attempt[38]; and endeavoured, by theſe ſhallow artifices, to cover the infamy of attacking the dominions of a prince, whom he himſelf had deſerted, and who was engaged with ſo much glory in a war, univerſally acknowledged to be the common cauſe of Chriſtendom.

The king of England, after obtaining as much honour as could poſſibly be derived from the diſplay of extraordinary courage, united with great military ſkill, was prevented from purſuing his victorious progreſs, by the treacherous conduct of the duke of Burgundy, who, in order to ingratiate himſelf with Philip, took all opportunities of mortifying and oppoſing him[39]. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with Saladin, and ſtipulated that Acre, Joppa, and other ſea-port towns of Paleſtine, ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians; and that every one of that religion ſhould have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem unmoleſted. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been deviſed by the Europeans, and which was ſuggeſted by a ſuperſtition well ſuited to the object of the war[40].

The liberty in which Saladin indulged the Chriſtians to perform their pilgrimages to Jeruſalem, was an eaſy ſacrifice on his part; and the wars which he waged in defence of the barren territory of Judea, were not with him, as with the European adventurers, the reſult of ſuperſtition, but of policy. The advantage indeed of ſcience, moderation, and humanity, was, at that time, entirely on the ſide of the Saracens; and this gallant emperor, in particular, diſplayed, during the courſe of the war, a ſpirit and generoſity,

[35] Vinisauf, p. 391. [36] Brompton, p. 1243. [37] Rymer, vol. i. p. 71; Trivet, p. 124; W. Heming. p. 544; Diceto, p. 680. [38] W. Heming. p. 532; Brompton, p. 1245. [39] Vinisauf, p. 380. [40] Hume's Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 21.

which

which even his bigotted enemies were obliged to acknowledge and admire. The Engliſh monarch, equally martial and brave, was more mercileſs and ferocious, and, by his barbarity, tarniſhed the luſtre of his victories. When Saladin refuſed to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the king of England ordered all his priſoners, to the amount of five thouſand, to be butchered; and the Saracens found themſelves obliged to retaliate upon the Chriſtians by a ſimilar cruelty [41]. Saladin died at Damaſcus ſoon after concluding this truce with the princes of the cruſade. It is memorable, that, before he expired, he ordered his winding-ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through every ſtreet of the city; while a cryer went before him, and proclaimed with a loud voice, *This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the Eaſt.* By his laſt will he ordered charities to be diſtributed to the poor, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian or Mahometan.

After the truce was concluded, the king of England, having nothing to detain him in Paleſtine, haſtened to Europe, where his preſence was required. As he dared not to paſs through France, having too much reaſon to dread the perfidy of Philip, he ſailed to the Adriatic; and, being ſhipwrecked near Aquileïa, attempted to traverſe Germany in the diſguiſe of a pilgrim. Purſued by the governor of Iſtria, he was compelled to leave the direct road to England, and paſs by Vienna, when he was diſcovered by Leopold, duke of Auſtria, who, glad of ſo favourable an opportunity to revenge an affront he had ſuſtained from Richard during the ſiege of Acre, and being equally deaf to the dictates of honour, and regardleſs of the ties of humanity, ordered him to be arreſted and thrown into priſon. He afterwards ſold his royal captive to the emperor, Henry the Sixth, for the ſum of fifty thouſand marks [42]. Thus a monarch, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himſelf, during the moſt critical ſtate of his affairs, confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons, in the heart of Germany [43], and entirely at the mercy of his enemy, the baſeſt and moſt ſordid of mankind.

The expedition of Philip had terminated more ſucceſsfully: on his return to France, he found the regents of the kingdom had diſcharged their truſt with honour and diligence; the whole nation was tranquil and flouriſhing; and he had nothing to interrupt his repoſe, but his own ambition and thirſt for conqueſt. The firſt thing that excited his attention was a crime imputed to ſome Jews, who, it was pretended, had, with the permiſſion of the counteſs of Champagne, ſeized a Chriſtian, placed a crown of thorns upon his head, and, having ſeverely ſcourged him, nailed him to a croſs, and there ſuffered him to expire [44]. Philip, on being apprized of this circumſtance, haſtened to the caſtle of Bray-upon-Seine, where the crime was ſaid to be committed, and ordered eighty Jews to be burnt alive. The guilt of theſe unfortunate victims appears to be a matter of doubt, ſince no mention is made of any puniſhment inflicted on the counteſs of Champagne,

[41] Hoveden, p. 697; Bened. Abb. p. 673; M. Paris, p. 115; Viniſauf, p. 346; W. Heming. p. 581. [42] Le Gendre, Hiſt. de Franc. t. ii. p. 377. [43] Chron. T. Wykes, p. 35. [44] Guil. Armor. p. 76.

who

who was certainly an accomplice in the crime, if there was really any crime committed. Philip's next care was to extend his dominions—an object that was ever uppermoſt in his thoughts; for which purpoſe he took the neceſſary meaſures for uniting to the crown not only the county of Artois, his late queen's dower, but the county of Flanders, which he pretended the death of Philip of Alſace, who left no male iſſue, had rendered vacant. In vain did Baldwin the Fifth, who, as nephew and heir to the count, had taken poſſeſſion of the territory in queſtion, prove to him, by a thouſand recent examples, that this province was not ſubject to the Salique law; his ambition was deaf to the claims of juſtice, and he reſolved to ſubſtitute force for right. Both parties were preparing for war, when the interpoſition of ſome mutual friends effected an accommodation which had appeared impracticable [45]. A treaty was ſigned at Peronne, by which Baldwin was acknowledged for count of Flanders, and did homage for his principality to the French monarch. Philip had Artois, and, as that county was his wife's dower, he made his ſon Lewis aſſume the title of count of Artois. But his ambition led him to inſiſt on the ceſſion of the ſovereignty of Boulogne, Guines, Saint Pol, and L'Iſle, which gave riſe to that inveterate animoſity, and thoſe cruel wars, which afterwards prevailed between the French and Flemings.

A. D. 1193.] Philip had no ſooner regulated all neceſſary matters relating to his new acquiſitions, than he received the news of Richard's detention [46]; when, forgetful of his oaths, he determined to ſacrifice his honour to his intereſt, and to convert the misfortune of his rival into a ſource of advantage to himſelf. He made the emperor the moſt flattering offers to induce him to deliver his royal priſoner into his hands, or, at leaſt, to detain him in perpetual captivity [47]. He even formed an alliance with the king of Denmark, by eſpouſing his ſiſter, Ingelburga; deſired that the obſolete claim of the Danes to the crown of England ſhould be transferred to him; and ſolicited a ſupply of ſhipping to enforce it. But the moſt ſucceſsful of his negociations was with prince John, who, on the firſt invitation, ſuddenly left England, had a conference with Philip, and concluded a treaty, the object of which was the ruin of a brother, to whom he was bound by every tie of honour, allegiance, and gratitude: he agreed to cede to the king all the Vexin Normand, a great part of the duchy of Normandy, of Tours, Mont-Trichard, Amboiſe, Loches, Montbaſon, and Châtillon upon the Indre [48]. When this treaty, which fixed an indelible infamy on the contracting parties, was concluded, the king invaded Normandy, took Giſors, Neufle, Neuchâtel, Ivry, Evreux, and Aumale, and proceeded to form the ſiege of Rouen: here, however, he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs; and the check he experienced induced him to liſten to the propoſals of the Norman barons, and, on condition of being paid a large ſum of money to ſign a truce for ſix months.

[45] Monach. Acquicin. [46] Rymer, vol. i. p. 70. [47] W. Neubrigen, l. iv. c. 34; Hoveden, p. 412. [48] Rymer, p. 85.

Philip having diſcovered, ſays Velly, ſome ſecret defect in his bride Ingelburga, the firſt night of their marriage, reſolved to obtain a divorce; and an obſequious council, aſſembled at Compiègne, favouring his views, pronounced the marriage null, on the uſual grounds of conſanguinity. The unfortunate queen appealed to the pope, who moved by her complaints, and the ſerious remonſtrances of her brother, ſent two legates into France, to examine the validity of the divorce; but, to uſe the language of RIGORD, "They were two dumb dogs who feared for their ſkin, and therefore did not dare "to bark."

The king, thinking himſelf authorized, by the forbearance of the legates to annul the ſentence of the council of Compiègne, to contract a new marriage, aſked and obtained the hand of Agnes, daughter to the duke of Dalmatia, a princeſs of great beauty and illuſtrious birth. But the fate of Ingelburga excited the pity of the nation, and, on the acceſſion of Innocent the Third to the papal dignity, the thunders of the church were employed to avenge her cauſe.

The cardinal of Capua, by the pope's orders, convened a council at Dijon, where, notwithſtanding an appeal to Rome, the commiſſaries of the court laid all the dominions of Philip under an interdict. The biſhops who were preſent ſubmitted to the ſentence, although ſome of them had attended the council of Compiègne, and had, conſequently, ſanctioned with their approbation that divorce which was now declared null. Philip, enraged at their conduct, ſeized on their temporalities, confiſcated the poſſeſſions of all the canons and other eccleſiaſtics in their dioceſes, ſent ſoldiers into the parſonage-houſes, and confined queen Ingelburga in the caſtle of Etampes. The murmurs of the laity at the diſcontinuation of divine ſervice were puniſhed by the moſt oppreſſive exactions; the citizens and peaſants were obliged to ſubmit to the moſt onerous impoſts; and a tax of one third of their revenues was impoſed on the nobility. This unprecedented ſeverity only ſerved to increaſe the murmurs of diſcontent; and the kingdom was now in that ſtate of violence which is never of long continuance. No external forms of religion appeared, no ſacrament was adminiſtered, no public devotion performed; the churches were every where ſhut, and the dead remained without burial.

The king, fearful of the conſequences, was at length compelled to ſubmit, on condition that other legates and other judges ſhould be appointed to determine the matter. Innocent accordingly ſent two cardinals, who aſſembled a council at Soiſſons[49], where the queſtion of the divorce was again examined with the moſt ſcrupulous attention. Philip employed ſeveral advocates to ſpeak for him, but not a ſoul dared plead the cauſe of Ingelburga, till a poor curate, whom nobody knew, aroſe, and ſpoke ſo ably and ſo

[49] Tome x. Concil. p. 22.

learnedly

learnedly in her defence, that he excited the admiration of all who were preſent. The council found the pretext of conſanguinity frivolous, and were on the point of annulling the ſentence of divorce, when the king, who was apprized of their ſentiments, put a ſtop to their proceedings, by declaring his conviction of the validity of his former marriage, and his determination to acknowledge Ingelburga for his wife. He accordingly repaired to the place of her confinement, placed her behind him on his horſe, and haſtened with her to Paris. The mind of Agnes was too ſenſible of diſgrace to ſurvive this degradation; and, though her rival enjoyed but the mere title of queen, *without the rights of a wife*[50], and was even ſoon ſent back to her former place of confinement, ſhe ſunk beneath the weight of her grief; but the court of Rome legitimated the two children ſhe had by the king, viz. Philip, count of Clermont in Beauvaiſis, who married the counteſs Mahaut, heireſs of Boulogne and Dammartin; and Mary, firſt married to Philip of Hainault, count of Namur, and afterward to Henry the Firſt, duke of Brabant. It is remarkable, however, that this princeſs was only diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Madame*, inſtead of the title of *Queen*, which had always been enjoyed by the daughters of France, even when married to noblemen of inferior rank. The equivocal birth of the princeſs Mary, it is ſaid, operated a change in the eſtabliſhed etiquette[51]; and, ſince the reign of Philip Auguſtus, the daughters of the French monarchs, and of their eldeſt ſons, have always been called ſimply, *Meſdames*.

Richard, in the mean time, though expoſed to every inſult and indignity in his German priſon, did not ſuffer his courage to be depreſſed by the rigour of his confinement. Though thrown into a dungeon, whence no man had ever eſcaped with his life, loaded with irons, and continually ſurrounded with armed ruffians, he preſerved the ſerenity of his countenance, and the chearfulneſs of his mind[52]. The emperor, in order to do away ſome part of that odium which his injuſtice to Richard had naturally incurred, produced him before the princes and prelates of the empire, in a diet holden at Worms, on the thirteenth day of July; and attempted a juſtification of his conduct, by accuſing that prince of various crimes and miſdemeanours: of having afforded protection to Tancred, the uſurper of the crown of Sicily; of having made war on the emperor of Cyprus, a Chriſtian prince, when his preſence was requiſite in Paleſtine; of having obſtructed the progreſs of the Chriſtian army, by compelling the king of France, by a repetition of injuries, to retire from the Holy Land; of having affronted the duke of Auſtria before the walls of Acre; of aſſaſſinating Conrad, marquis of Montferrat; and of having concluded a truce with Saladin on diſadvantageous terms, and leaving Jeruſalem in the hands of the Saracens[53]. Richard, far from ſinking beneath the weight of his misfortunes, proceeded with firmneſs and preciſion to anſwer theſe calumnious and ill-grounded accuſations, after premiſing that he was exempted, by his dignity, from

[50] Guil. Armor. p. 80. [51] Hiſt. de Phil. Auguſt. t. i. p. 313; du Tillet. [52] M. Paris, p. 121.
[53] Idem, ibid. W. Heming. p. 536.

ſubmitting to any juriſdiction, except that of Heaven. The eloquence and ſpirit of his defence made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the German princes, that they loudly cenſured the conduct of the emperor. The pope, too, threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had been induced to liſten to the baſe propoſals of Philip, and prince John, now found that it would be impoſſible to favour the accompliſhment of their treacherous deſigns by a longer detention of the king of England; he, therefore, agreed to accept one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver for his ranſom; one hundred thouſand marks of which were to be paid before he received his liberty, and ſixty-ſeven hoſtages delivered for the remainder[54]. The emperor, too, to gloſs over the infamy of this tranſaction, preſented to Richard, at the ſame time, the kingdom of Arles, comprehending, among other provinces, Provence, Dauphiny, and Narbonne, over which the empire had ſome antiquated claims; but this preſent the king of England very wiſely neglected.

A. D. 1194.] When the requiſite ſum was collected, queen Eleanora and the archbiſhop of Rouen ſet out with it for Germany a few days before Chriſtmas; paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Auſtria, at Mentz; delivered them hoſtages for the remainder, and freed Richard from captivity, on the fourth of February. His eſcape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the aſſaſſination of the biſhop of Liege, and in an attempt of a ſimilar nature on the duke of Louvain; and theſe flagitious practices having rendered him obnoxious to the princes of the empire, he had determined to ſecure himſelf from the effects of their hatred, by entering into an alliance with the king of France; to detain Richard, the enemy of Philip, in perpetual confinement; and to gratify his own avarice by keeping the money which he had already received for his ranſom, and by the extortions of freſh ſums from Philip and prince John, who had made him an offer of one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver, on condition that he would keep his royal captive only one year longer[55]. For this purpoſe he iſſued orders to purſue and arreſt Richard; but that prince, ſuſpecting his intentions, had travelled with the utmoſt expedition; ſo that when the emperor's meſſengers arrived at Antwerp, he had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheld, and was out of ſight of land.

As ſoon as Philip heard of Richard's deliverance from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John, and expreſſed himſelf thus—"Take care of yourſelf, for the Devil is "unchained[56]." The conduct of the king of England ſhewed the neceſſity of this caution, for after he had regulated his domeſtic affairs, reſumed all the exorbitant grants which he had been neceſſitated to make before his departure for the Holy Land, and taken poſſeſſion of all prince John's eſtates in England, which had been confiſcated

54 Rymer Fœd. t. i. p. 72—78. 55 Hoveden, p. 418. 56 Id. p. 739.

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in a great council of the barons, he prepared to exact a ſevere vengeance for the perfidy of Philip. That monarch apprized of his deſigns, immediately commenced hoſtilities, and had already inveſted Verneuil, when he was alarmed with the intelligence that John had reconciled himſelf to his brother, maſſacred the French garriſon in Evreux, and delivered it into the hands of the king of England; and that Richard himſelf, with a formidable force, had landed at Barfleur, and was rapidly advancing to the relief of Verneuil. Philip, with a band of choſen troops, repaired ſecretly by a forced march to Evreux, which he retook by ſurprize; maſſacred not only the Engliſh garriſon, but the native inhabitants, whoſe habitations and whoſe churches he reduced to aſhes. But this exaction of indiſcriminate vengeance was productive of little advantage: on his return he found that the troops he had left at Verneuil had, on the news of Richard's approach, diſbanded in confuſion; and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped the purſuit of his rival.

The ſpirit of animoſity and revenge which equally prevailed, though from different cauſes, in the breaſts of the hoſtile monarchs, urged them to encreaſe the horrors of war, by needleſs devaſtations, and unprofitable cruelty. After reducing the caſtle of Lochis, the king of England advanced to give battle to Philip. The two armies met in the vicinity of Freteval, between Chateaudun and Vendome; but Philip was ſtill deſirous of avoiding a deciſive battle, and concealed his intentions of a retreat by ſending a defiance to Richard, importing, "That the next morning he might expect his attack." But his rival was not ſo eaſily deceived; he returned a ſpeedy and reſolute anſwer, which was no ſooner delivered than the French were ſurprized by the approach of the Engliſh army. The charge was ſudden and impetuous. The troops of France were ſpeedily diſperſed by the active and intrepid valour of the lion-hearted Richard; and Philip was diſgraced by an ignominious flight. His baggage and his military cheſt were taken, together with his cartulary and records[57], which commonly at that time attended his perſon: theſe laſt, which Richard would never conſent to reſtore, were but imperfectly ſupplied by the memory of his miniſters, and the induſtry of Gauthier, whom he employed to replace them.

A. D. 1195.] Philip ſought to repair his late misfortune by a ſudden invaſion of Normandy; but Richard, ever active and vigilant, was prepared to meet him in all quarters. Near Vaudreuil the hoſtile armies came in ſight of each other, when Philip propoſed a negociation, which he artfully prolonged, to give his troops an opportunity of undermining the walls of that fortreſs. The king of England did not diſcover his treachery till he was ſurprized, during a conference with his rival, by a dreadful noiſe, occaſioned by the fall of a conſiderable part of the caſtle. Inflamed with reſentment, he haſtened to collect his troops, that he might inflict a juſt chaſtiſement on his perfi-

[57] Hoveden, p. 421. W. Neub. l. v. c. 2. Guil. Armor. p. 17.

dious

dious foe; but the French army, having made previous preparations for their retreat, fled with ſuch precipitation, that his utmoſt efforts to overtake them proved fruitleſs [58]. The war was carried on for ſome months after this tranſaction with various ſucceſs, but without producing any general action or important event; and was at length terminated by a treaty of peace, concluded between the two kings, in a perſonal interview, on the fifth of December [59].

A D. 1196, 1197.] But the voice of humanity was again ſilenced by the clamours of reſentment; and, in leſs than ſix months, the peace was broken, and the deſtructive flames of war again raged with unabated violence. Richard ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Toulouſe, Boulogne, Champagne, and other conſiderable vaſſals of the crown of France. But he ſoon experienced the inſincerity of thoſe princes, and the inability of his efforts to make an impreſſion on a kingdom governed by a monarch ſo vigorous and active as Philip. This war, like the laſt, was diſtinguiſhed only by the capture of a few inſignificant towns and fortreſſes, by the devaſtation of the open country, and by acts of unheard-of cruelty. The biſhop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, of the family of Dreux, and couſin-german to the king, being taken in battle, Richard, who hated him for having been the means of encreaſing the rigour of his confinement in Germany, threw him into priſon, and loaded him with irons; and when the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his ſon, the Engliſh monarch ſent to his holineſs the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all beſmeared with blood; accompanied by the words which the ſons of Jacob employed to their father—"This have we found; know whether it be thy ſon's coat or not?"

A. D. 1198.] The interpoſition of a legate from the pope, at length induced the rival monarchs to conſent to a truce for five years; after the concluſion of which, the pope again exerted his mediatory powers in order to effect a laſting peace, that the two kings might be enabled to undertake a ſecond expedition to Paleſtine; but before this ſalutary purpoſe could be accompliſhed, an event occurred that put an end to the negociation. A conſiderable treaſure, conſiſting of ancient coins and medals, had been found in the lands of Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, a vaſſal of the king of England, who claimed it as a *treaſure-trove* which, when found *in* the earth, became the property of the ſuperior lord. His claim being rejected, he prepared to enforce it by an attack on the caſtle of Chalus, near Limoges, where the treaſure was ſuppoſed to be concealed; but during the ſiege of that fortreſs he received a wound from an arrow, which, being unſkilfully treated, put an end to his exiſtence.

A. D, 1199, 1200.] On the death of Richard, his brother John ſucceeded to the throne of England, though Arthur, duke of Brittany, was thereby defeated of his

[58] W. Neub. l. v. c. 15. Chron. J. Brom. col. 1267. [59] W. Neub. l. v. c. 17. Rymer Fœd. t. i. p. 91.

claim,

claim, as, by right of repreſentation, he ſtood in the place of his father Geoffrey, John's eldeſt brother. But the doctrine of repreſentation appears, at this time, to have made a greater progreſs on the Continent than in England. All the prelates and barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, ſupported the pretenſions of Arthur, who was now only in his thirteenth year; acknowledged him as their liege-lord, and, by an act of their aſſembly, eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of the government. The young prince was placed, by his mother Conſtance, under the protection of Philip, to whom he did homage for all the continental dominions of his deceaſed uncle; and Philip, whoſe enmity to the Engliſh was uniformly inveterate, by whatever monarch they were governed, willingly embraced his cauſe, in the hope of embarraſſing John, and diſmembering his dominions [60]. That monarch made an irruption into Normandy, reduced the territory of Evreux, and advanced as far as Mons, where he met the ducheſs of Brittany and her ſon Arthur. From hence he haſtened to Tours; but his progreſs was ſtopped by the approach of John, who inveſted the capital of Maine, and after taking it, razed the fortifications, and demoliſhed the walls of the city.

This war, however, proved of ſhort duration; the two monarchs met between Vernon and Andely, and the terms propoſed by the Engliſh prince appeared ſo advantageous to Philip, that he accepted them without heſitation. To Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of Philip, John offered his niece, Blanche of Caſtille, and with her the baronies of Iſſoudun and Graçai, and other fiefs in Berri; and to Philip himſelf he ceded the Vexin-Normand. Nine barons of the king of France, and as many of the king of England, were guarantees of this treaty; and all of them ſwore that, if their ſovereign violated any article of it, they would declare themſelves againſt him, and embrace the cauſe of the injured monarch [61]. One principal inducement with Philip to the concluſion of a peace with John was the conduct of Conſtance, mother to Arthur, who, jealous of his power and deſigns, had carried her ſon ſecretly off from Paris, put him into the hands of his uncle, reſtored the provinces which had adhered to the young prince, and made him do homage for the duchy of Brittany, which was a rere-fief of Normandy.

The marriage of prince Lewis with Blanche of Caſtille was celebrated in Normandy; becauſe the interdict impoſed on the kingdom of France, on account of the king's ſeparation from Ingelburga, was ſtill in force. The reconciliation between the rival monarchs bore every mark of ſincerity on both ſides; John paid a viſit to Philip at Paris, and during his reſidence at the French court he was treated with all the honours due to his rank, and at his departure was loaded with preſents. But this pleaſing proſpect ſpeedily diſappeared, and the incontinence of John, the ambition of Philip, and the diſ-

[60] M. Paris, p. 138. [61] Norm. Duch. p. 1055. Rymer, vol. i. p. 117. et Sequ. Hoveden, p. 814, Chron. Dunſt. vol. i. p. 47.

content-

content of young Arthur, occaſioned a new rupture. The king of England, during a progreſs he made into Guienne, for the purpoſe of receiving the homage of the barons of that province, became enamoured of Iſabella, the beautiful heireſs of Aymar Tailleffer, count of Angoulême. His queen, with whom he had received the earldom of Glouceſter, and many other extenſive poſſeſſions, was ſtill alive; and Iſabella was married to Hugh le Brun, count de la Marche, and already conſigned to his care; though, by reaſon of her tender years, the marriage had not been conſummated. Theſe obſtacles, however, to a prince of John's diſpoſition, appeared trivial: he found means to perſuade the count of Angoulême to decoy his daughter from her huſband; and having, on ſome frivolous pretence or other, procured a divorce from his own conſort, he was married to Iſabella by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux[62]. This marriage, not leſs imprudent than criminal, created him many enemies, and excited the reſentment of the injured huſband, who ſoon found an opportunity to puniſh his powerful and inſolent rival.

The count de la Marche, and his brother the count D'Eu, excited commotions in Poitou and Normandy; when John marched againſt them, and took from the latter the fortreſs of Driencourt, now called Dancourt. The two counts then applied to Philip for protection, and demanded juſtice on his vaſſal; an application which was favourably received by the court of France, which was eager to embrace any opportunity for humbling its rival.

A. D. 1201, 1202.] At a conference between the two monarchs, Philip, conſcious of his ſuperiority, reprimanded John, in a tone of ſeverity that, by intimidating, induced him to promiſe whatever was required of him. He even engaged to go to Paris, in order to do homage for Poitou, Anjou, and Aquitaine, and to appear before the peers of France to anſwer to the various charges that were exhibited againſt him by the barons; he likewiſe promiſed to ſurrender to Philip the fortreſſes of Tillieres and Boutavant, as a ſecurity for performance; but all theſe engagements he violated. The king then determined to commence hoſtilities; and the war which was now begun, continued with little interruption, for the long ſpace of fifty-ſix years. The two fortreſſes, which ought to have been ſurrendered, were ſucceſsfully attacked, and with Lyons, Arqueil, Mortemer, and Gournay, ſubmitted to the victorious arms of France.

In the mean time Conſtance, ducheſs of Brittany, having died at Nantes, her ſon Arthur repaired to Rennes, took poſſeſſion of the duchy, and received the homage of the nobility. This young prince, who was now riſing to man's eſtate, being animated with a juſt reſentment againſt his uncle, who had not only deprived him of his lawful

[62] Hoveden, p. 457. M. Paris. p. 140.

ſucceſſion,

ſucceſſion, but—if ſome contemporary writers may be credited—had already formed deſigns againſt his life; ſupported the complaints of the barons of Guienne, and demanded juſtice of Philip, with regard to his own pretenſions to that fief, as well as to thoſe of Normandy and Anjou. The king of France, incenſed at the little regard that had been hitherto paid to his remonſtrances, reſolved to puſh John to extremities. He inveſted Arthur with the territories of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and gave him troops to enable him to reduce them. But that young prince, without waiting for the reinforcements which were haſtening to join him from Brittany, Berry, and Burgundy, inveſted the caſtle of Mirebeau, in Poitou, where his grandmother Eleanora, who had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of John, reſided, under the protection of a weak garriſon. The ſiege was preſſed with ſo much vigour, that the queen was compelled to retire into one of the towers, and to ſurrender the reſt of the fortreſs to the victor. John, having received advice of his mother's ſituation, flew to her relief with an army of Engliſh and Brabançons; he attacked Arthur's camp by ſurprize, and, by ſuperiority of numbers, obtained a deciſive victory, every man in the army of that prince being either killed or taken priſoner. Among the captives were Arthur himſelf, the count de la Marche, Geoffrey de Luſignan, and the moſt conſiderable of the revolted barons, who were all loaded with irons, and confined in different priſons in Normandy and England[63]. The unfortunate duke of Brittany was ſent to Falaiſe, and from thence to Rouen, where he ſuddenly diſappeared. Though hiſtorians have differed in their accounts of the manner in which his death was effected, they all agree in aſcribing it to the machinations, if not to the hand, of John[64], whoſe throne was, by the infamous deed, ſhaken to its very foundation

The Bretons, enraged at the murder of their prince, determined to revenge his death; and when John, in conſequence of it, had the inſolence to demand the adminiſtration of Brittany, as guardian of Eleanora, Arthur's ſiſter, whom he had ſeized and carried to England, they received his propoſal with horror. The ſtates of the duchy immediately aſſembled to fix the ſucceſſion of their government, and choſe for their ſovereign, Alice, a younger daughter of Conſtance, by her ſecond huſband, Guy de Thouars; and they appointed that nobleman to be her guardian, and to govern the duchy during her minority.

Finding all their ſolicitations for the releaſe of Eleanora treated with neglect, they proceeded to draw up articles of impeachment againſt John, which they preſented to Philip, as lord paramount of all that monarch's continental territories. The king received this application with pleaſure, and accordingly ſummoned John to appear and

63 M. Paris, p. 144, 145. Annal. Waverlien. p. 167. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 458. 64 Ann. Margan. p. 13. Chron. T. Wikes, p. 36. Chron. W. Heming. l. ii. c. 94. M. Paris, p. 145. Hen. Knighton, p. 2414.

anſwer to the charges; and, on his non-appearance, paſſed a ſentence, with the unanimous concurrence of the peers, couched in the following terms:—"Whereas John, "duke of Normandy, forgetting his oath to king Philip, his lord, has murdered the ſon "of his elder brother, who was an homager of the crown of France, and the king's "kinſman; and perpetrated the crime within the ſeigniory of France; he is found "guilty of felony and treaſon, and adjudged to forfeit all the territories which he holds "by homage[65]."

A. D. 1203.] Philip now prepared to execute his ſentence by force of arms, and having no longer the ſound policy of Henry, nor the martial and active diſpoſition of Richard to contend with, adopted the reſolution of expelling the Engliſh from all thoſe valuable fiefs which had been ſo long diſmembered from his crown. For this purpoſe he aſſembled a powerful army, and directing his march towards Anjou, was joined by almoſt all the barons of that province, as well as by thoſe of Poitou. All the great vaſſals of the crown, whoſe jealouſy might have urged them to obſtruct his progreſs, were either inclined to aſſiſt him from diſguſt to John, or were not in a ſituation to oppoſe him. The counts of Flanders and Blois were engaged in the cruſades; the count of Champagne was an infant, and under the guardianſhip of Philip. The ſtates of Brittany ſeconded all his meaſures with vigour; and the general defection of John's vaſſals rendered every enterprize that was undertaken againſt him eaſy and ſucceſsful. In leſs than ſix months, either by force or ſtratagem, Philip obtained poſſeſſion of moſt of the towns in Upper Normandy; the rapidity of his victorious progreſs was unexampled in the martial atchievements of an age in which the art of war was but little underſtood; Nonancourt and Conches opened their gates at his approach; Andely was compelled to capitulate; Radepont was taken by aſſault; and Vaudreuil, Pont-à-l'Arche, and Montfort ſurrendered after a trifling reſiſtance. Chateau-Gaillard, a caſtle erected by Richard, on the brink of a precipice on the banks of the Seine, near Andely, and ſuppoſed to be impregnable, was alſo reduced, after an obſtinate defence of ſix months.

John, during theſe tranſactions, remained at Caen in a ſtate of inactivity that aſtoniſhed his enemies, and diſpirited his friends; when apprized of the progreſs of the French arms—"Let them proceed," ſaid he, "I will retake more places in a day than "they will have reduced in a year[66]." But, previous to the reduction of Chateau-Gaillard, he made a feeble and ſucceſsleſs effort for its relief, then haſtening to London, left Philip to complete the conqueſt of Normandy at his leiſure. The king did not ſuffer ſo fair an opportunity to eſcape: after a ſiege of ſeven days Falaiſe ſubmitted to his arms; Domfront, Caen, Coutance, Bayeux, Liſieux, and Avranches opened their gates

[65] Ann. de Margan. p. 13. Duch. t. v. p. 764. [66] M. Paris.

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to the conqueror. Rouen, Arques, and Verneuil were the only places that now remained, of all that rich and extenſive duchy, under the domination of the Engliſh. Theſe towns were, indeed, ſtrongly fortified, and ſupplied with numerous garriſons, but, at the approach of Philip, they all engaged to ſurrender, if not relieved before the expiration of thirty days.

A. D. 1204, 1205.] The term being expired, and no ſupplies arrived, the three towns ſubmitted to the victor. Thus was this important territory, the moſt rich and fertile province in all the French dominions, reunited to the crown of France, about three centuries after the firſt ceſſion of it by Charles the Simple. During that time it had been governed by ſixteen dukes. "Rollo the Dane," ſays Mezeray, "who from a Barbarian "became a Chriſtian and a virtuous man, was the firſt; and John, who, from a "Chriſtian, became more wicked than Infidels and Barbarians, was the laſt!" After the reduction of Normandy, Philip ſoon completed the conqueſt of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a part of Poitou—important acquiſitions; which were, however, attained leſs by the courage and conduct of that monarch, than by the indolence and cowardice of his adverſary, and a fortunate combination of unforeſeen events.

A. D. 1206.] Rouſed at length by the clamours of his ſubjects, the puſillanimous king of England made ſerious preparations for the recovery of his captured provinces. Guy de Thouars, who had been appointed to the government of Brittany, became jealous of the vaſt encreaſe of territory acquired by his ally the king of France, who had not only conquered the adjoining provinces, but had alſo formed a ſtrong party among the Bretons. This induced that nobleman to wiſh for the re-eſtabliſhment of John in the dominions he had loſt, that ſome balance might be formed againſt the exorbitant power of Philip. He had conferred on this ſubject with his brother Aimery, viſcount of Thouars, whom Philip had created Seneſchal of the Province; and finding his opinion coincide with his own, they entered into an aſſociation with ſome barons who favoured their views, and invited John to aſſiſt them in the execution of a plan, in which he was ſo materially intereſted. A treaty was accordingly concluded, and the king of England having raiſed a numerous army, landed at Rochelle on the ninth of July[67]. But inſtead of attempting to attain the object of his expedition by a regular plan of judicious operations, he marched to Montauban in Quercy, which belonged to his brother-in-law, the count of Toulouſe, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Philip, and, inveſting the place, took it by aſſault. On this occaſion the Engliſh are ſaid to have ſignalized their valour in an extraordinary manner; and they were rewarded by the acquiſition of a conſiderable booty, and the capture of a great number of priſoners of rank. This enterprize, however, was attended with no beneficial effects; and, after the

[67] M. Paris, p. 149.

reduction of ſome other places of little importance, the approach of Philip inſpired him with fear, and induced him to make propoſals of peace, to which the king acceded, and appointed a place for a perſonal interview, that the terms of accommodation might be ſettled. But John, inſtead of keeping his engagement, privately retreated with his army to Rochelle. Notwithſtanding this affront, Philip was induced, by the mediation of the pope, whoſe interpoſition John had ſolicited, to conſent to a truce for two years, which was accordingly concluded at Thouars, on the twenty-ſeventh of October [68].

One principal motive for the pope's eagerneſs to promote a peace between the rival monarchs, was the deſire he had to engage them in a new ſpecies of cruſade, for the purpoſe of checking the progreſs of hereſy. Infected by the metaphyſics of Ariſtotle, which had been lately tranſmitted from Conſtantinople, Aimery de Chartres, an enthuſiaſt of ſtrong ſenſe, but ſtronger paſſions, became the founder of a new ſect, whoſe principal tenets conſiſted in the rejection of a Heaven and a Hell; in maintaining that the only Paradiſe man could know reſulted from the effects of doing good, and his only puniſhment from ignorance and crime [69]. Being ſummoned to appear before the pope, in order to anſwer for his doctrine, Aimery found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of retractation, and died ſoon after through ſhame and regret; but his principles did not die with him; they were ſucceſsfully propagated by his pupils, who, being joined by many other ſects, formed a numerous body, and were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *The Albigenſes*, either from the council of *Albi*, where their errors were anathematized, or becauſe the inhabitants of that town and its environs were more particularly infected with thoſe errors. They were reproached with being addicted to that deteſtable ſin which cauſed the deſtruction of Sodom and Gomorrah [70]. On the tomb of Alice, counteſs of Bigorre, is an inſcription, by which the reader is informed, that ſhe was the daughter of Guy de Montfort, who died in defending the true faith againſt the B—— and Albigenſes [71].

The idea which contemporary writers give us of the doctrine and manners of this united ſect, has ſomething in it ſo abſurd, and at the ſame time ſo horrid, that we are almoſt tempted to ſuſpect them of exaggeration. We are told [72], that the Albigenſes believed in two gods; one, a beneficent being, author of the New Teſtament, who had two wives, Collant and Colibant, and was father of ſeveral children, and, among others, of Chriſt and the Devil;—the other god was a malevolent being, a lyar, and a deſtroyer of men, author of the ancient law, who, not content with having perſecuted the patriarchs during their lives, had conſigned them all to damnation after death. They alſo

[68] Rymer Fœdera, t. i. p. 141. [69] Rigord, p. 56. [70] P. Daniel, t. xi, p. 109. [71] Id. ib.—The word is expreſſed at full length in the epitaph. [72] Hiſt. Albig. Duch. t. ix. p. 556, 557.

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acknowledged two Chriſts; one wicked, who was born at Bethlehem, and crucified at Jeruſalem, and *who kept as his concubine Mary Magdalen, the woman ſo well known for having been caught in the act of adultery:* the other Chriſt, all-virtuous and inviſible, never inhabited the world, but *ſpiritually* in the body of Paul. They repreſented the church of Rome as the ſcarlet whore mentioned in the Revelations; they regarded the ſacraments as frivolous things, conſidered marriage as a ſtate of proſtitution, the Lord's ſupper as a chimera, the reſurrection of the fleſh as a ridiculous fable, and the worſhip of images as deteſtable idolatry [73]. Had all their tenets been equally rational with the laſt, they would have not have been obnoxious to much cenſure. They were divided into two claſſes—the *Perfects* and the *Believers*. They all openly profeſſed great purity of manners, and ſecretly practiſed the moſt infamous voluptuouſneſs, on the principle, *That from the waiſt downwards man is incapable of ſin.*

The mad zeal with which theſe ſectaries endeavoured to propagate their errors, at length awakened the ſpirit of oppoſition in the clergy. Pope Innocent ſent two ſimple monks, of the Bernardine order, to bring the Albigenſes to trial [74]; to theſe delegates he gave the power not only of excommunicating them, but of conſtraining the barons, under the penalty of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to confiſcate their property, to baniſh them from their territories, and even to puniſh them with death, in caſe they dared to appeal from their deciſions. This was the firſt foundation of the Inquiſition. Theſe delegates, or legates, were Peter de Caſtlenau, and Ralph, both monks of Fontfroide, in the dioceſe of Narbonne. Arnaud, abbot of Citeaux, was afterwards aſſociated to them. They all three began by preaching ſermons that were never attended to, and in the courſe of which they were inceſſantly interrupted by a thouſand invectives againſt the luxury of the clergy. In fact, the miſſionaries had laid themſelves open to ſuch an attack, by the ſplendour of their equipages, the variety of their dreſſes, the number of their ſervants and horſes, and their expenſive way of living [75]. A Spaniſh prelate, named Diego de Azebez, adviſed them, if they wiſhed to convert heretics, to lay aſide this pomp, to travel on foot, to lead a life of auſterity, and to combat the affected virtues of the Albigenſes by a diſplay of true piety. They followed this advice, and made a few converts, but ſtill the majority continued obſtinate under the protection of Raymond, count of Toulouſe.

This nobleman, endued with the true ſpirit of toleration, permitted to every ſect the free exerciſe of their religion, ſo long as they excited no troubles nor commotions in his territories [76]. Such conduct could not fail to diſpleaſe the inquiſitors, and Peter de Caſtlenau, in compliance with the dictates of a blind and impetuous zeal, excommu-

73 Chron. Mag.—Guil. de Pod. c. ix. p. 672, 673. 74 Bolland. Mart. t. vi. p. 411. 75 Hiſt. Albig. p. 558.
76 Journal de Trèv. 1740.

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nicated the count. The monk being aſſaſſinated ſoon after, Raymond was accuſed of the murderous deed: and the pope, not leſs impetuous than his legate, immediately iſſued a new ſentence of excommunication againſt him, without hearing what he had to urge in his defence; abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance[77]; gave his territories to the firſt perſon that could obtain poſſeſſion of them; and finally invited all Chriſtians to take up arms againſt him, promiſing them the ſame indulgences which had been formerly granted to the cruſaders in Paleſtine. The precipitation and temerity of Innocent aſtoniſhed the generality of ſovereigns; but they were ſtill more ſuprized at the alacrity with which a great number of barons, and people of all ranks and conditions, enliſted in the ſervice of the pontiff, and placed the croſs on their boſom, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe who went to the relief of the Holy Land. The firſt army of theſe new cruſaders is ſaid to have amounted to near five hundred thouſand men. The principal leaders were Eudes, duke of Burgundy; Hervé, count of Nevers, and Simon, count of Montfort.

A. D. 1209, to 1213.] The count of Toulouſe, aware of the fatal effects of the pope's reſentment, ſought to avert the impending ſtorm, by the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to the will of the arrogant pontiff; and, as a pledge of his ſincerity, he ſurrendered to the holy ſee ſeven ſtrong fortreſſes in Provence. This was but a prelude to the humiliation he was doomed to experience. Being ſummoned to attend the council of Saint Gilles, he appeared in his ſhirt, at the church gate, and throwing himſelf at the feet of Milo, the pope's legate, ſwore, by the holy ſacrament, to obſerve whatever the court of Rome ſhould preſcribe to him, after which he received abſolution[78]. The legate then threw his ſtole round his neck, led him with one hand, and with the other ſcourged him; and, in this ſtate, he was conducted to the great altar. This firſt mortification was followed by a ſecond ſtill more degrading. He was compelled to aſſume the croſs againſt his own ſubjects, to join the army of the cruſaders, and to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power, in the conqueſt of his dominions!—It is with pain the hiſtorian records this dreadful inſtance of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, and human degradation!

At this time there were five conſiderable fiefs holden under the count of Toulouſe: the barony of Montpelier; the county of Foix; the county of Quercy, including Rodez; the viſcounty of Narbonne; and the viſcounty of Beziers, to which Raymond Roger, the count's nephew, had annexed the counties of Albi and Carcaſſonne. This prince, poſſeſſing more ſpirit than his uncle, had boldly refuſed to comply with the imperious mandates of the Roman pontiff, and openly protected the new doctrines. Beziers, his capital, was accordingly attacked by an army of five hundred thouſand men, who immediately took it by aſſault. The victors ſlaughtered, with indiſcriminate rage,

77 Epiſt. Innoc. apud Duch. t. x. p. 563. 78 Hiſt. Albig. c. 12.

men,

men, women, and children, whether heretics or not[79]. Sixty thouſand of the wretched inhabitants periſhed by the ſword; of theſe ſeven thouſand were maſſacred in the Magdalen church, whither they had fled for refuge.—And Peter de Vaux-Sernai, the impious and fanatical hiſtorian of the Albigenſes, repreſents this butchery as a juſt puniſhment for the blaſphemies which the unfortunate victims had vomited forth againſt the bleſſed ſaint to whom that church was dedicated[80]. Before the attack was made, the cruſaders aſked the abbot of Citeaux how they were to act, as it would be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the Heretics from the Catholics; when this worthy miniſter of Chriſt, with true Chriſtian charity, replied: "Kill them all; God knows his own[81]."

It would be a taſk no leſs painful than ſuperfluous to detail all the tranſactions of a war, in which rapine, cruelty, and murder, had enliſted under the banners of fanaticiſm. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the cruſaders continued their deſtructive progreſs, with varied ſucceſs, for upwards of four years, during which time the pope, who had hoiſted the ſignal of perſecution, conducted himſelf in a manner that equally diſgraced his name and ſtation: one moment liſtening to the dictates of juſtice, and commanding his fanatic band to forbear from oppreſſing the unfortunate count of Toulouſe, and the next launching forth the thunders of the church, and the artillery of eccleſiaſtical invective, againſt that nobleman, who, during the diſgraceful conflict, was, through the prevarication of the pontiff and the infamy of his legates, deſpoiled of his territories, and expoſed to every ſpecies of oppreſſion.

Philip, in the mean time, had received from the count de Montfort, the general of the cruſaders, the offer of one half of the conquered territories of the count of Toulouſe, on condition that he would enſure to the conqueror the quiet poſſeſſion of the remainder. He was certainly inclined to accept this propoſal, as he had ſecretly given permiſſion to his ſon Lewis to join the papal army; but his attention was now called to another quarter, where his arms, he imagined, might be employed to greater advantage. The king of England was engaged in a diſpute with the pope, relative to the promotion of cardinal Langton, whom Innocent had the preſumption, of his own accord, to nominate to the ſee of Canterbury. The uſual weapons of the church were, on this occaſion, employed, and the dominions of John were laid under an interdict, himſelf excommunicated, his ſubjects abſolved from their oath of allegiance, and his throne declared vacant. But, in order to render this ſentence of depoſition effectual, ſomething more than eccleſiaſtical cenſure was requiſite; the ſovereign pontiff, therefore, applied to Philip to put it in execution; and offered him, beſides the remiſſion of all his ſins, and a great variety of other ſpiritual advantages, the property and poſſeſſion of the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour. Philip had neither the wiſdom nor virtue to reſiſt a temptation that promiſed

[79] Philippid. l. viii. p. 192. [80] Hiſt. Albig. c. 16. [81] Cæſar. Heiſterb. l. v. c. 21.

ſuch

ſuch ample gratification to his ambitious mind. Seduced by the flattering proſpect of preſent intereſt, he condeſcended to become the tool of a turbulent prieſt, and to acknowledge an authority, which, if ever he ſhould be urged to oppoſe its boundleſs uſurpation, might be employed to operate his own depoſition. This new champion of the church levied a powerful army; ſummoned all his vaſſals to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of ſeventeen hundred veſſels, of different ſizes, in the ports of Normandy and Picardy[82]; and, in ſhort, prepared a force that appeared equal to the accompliſhment of his important ſcheme.

John, who was never backward in making vigorous preparations, though deſtitute both of courage and ſkill to employ them to advantage, being apprized of Philip's intentions, ſeemed determined to give him a ſuitable reception. He accordingly iſſued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military tenants at Dover, and even of all men capable of bearing arms, to unite in defence of the kingdom at this dangerous conjuncture. A great number obeyed the ſummons; and he ſelected a body of ſixty thouſand men, who, had they been inſpired by a generous ſpirit of patriotiſm, and animated with an affection for the perſon of their ſovereign, might have proved invincible: but John, being anathematized by the pope, was univerſally regarded as an object of horror by the people. The barons, too, equally awed by ſuperſtitious fears, were diſguſted by his tyranny, and were ſuſpected of maintaining a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy; and the incapacity and cowardice of the king himſelf, unable to cope with extraordinary difficulties, ſeemed to afford the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs to the promiſed invaſion.

When the two monarchs had aſſembled their troops on the oppoſite ſhores, and the fate of England was on the point of being decided, Pandulf, the pope's legate, who had received ſecret inſtructions from Innocent for that purpoſe, ſent two knights-templars to John, to deſire a private conference with him at Dover; which was readily granted. There the artful legate repreſented the power of Philip in ſuch ſtrong colours, and afforded him ſuch convincive proofs of the general diſaffection of his people, and the ſecret combination of his barons[83], that, ſtricken with conſternation at the dangers which ſurrounded him, he declared his willingneſs to ſubmit to any terms which the pope might think proper to impoſe. Pandulf, among other conditions equally degrading, exacted a promiſe that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would reſtore all the clergy and laity, who had been baniſhed on account of the conteſt between himſelf and the pontiff; that he would make them full reſtitution of their goods, and compenſation for all damages, and inſtantly conſign eight thouſand pounds in part of payment; and that every one who had been outlawed or impriſoned, for his adherence to the pope,

[82] M. Paris, p. 162. [83] M. Paris, p. 163; M. Weſt, p. 271.

ſhould

ſhould be immediately received into favour. This diſgraceful treaty was ſigned by John, on the thirteenth of May, 1213[84].

But the wretched monarch was ſtill deſtined to experience a ſtill greater mortification. As he had ſworn to pay implicit obedience to the pope, Pandulf required that he ſhould reſign his kingdom to the church; which, he perſuaded him, would prove the moſt effectual ſecurity againſt the projected invaſion of the French, as he would then be placed under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee. With this daring requeſt, unparalleled even in the annals of papiſtical inſolence, John was baſe enough to comply: he paſſed a charter, in which he declared that, not conſtrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the common advice and conſent of his barons, he had, for the remiſſion of his own ſins, and thoſe of his family, reſigned England and Ireland to God, to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors in the papal dignity. He conſented to hold theſe dominions as fiefs of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of one thouſand marks—ſeven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. And he farther ſtipulated, that, if either he or his ſucceſſors ſhould ever preſume to revoke or violate any of the articles of this charter, they ſhould inſtantly, except they obtained the pope's pardon by a ſpeedy repentance, forfeit all right to their dominions[85]. In conſequence of this ignominious agreement John performed the requiſite ceremony at Dover, on the fifteenth of May, where he did homage to Pandulf, as the repreſentative of the pope, with all the forms of ſubmiſſion required of vaſſals by the feudal law: he came unarmed into the legate's preſence, who was ſeated on a throne; he fell on his knees before him; lifted up his joined hands, and placed them between thoſe of Pandulf; ſwore fealty to the pope; and paid part of the promiſed tribute. The legate, elated by this unexpected triumph of eccleſiaſtical arrogance, forgot that moderation which common prudence ſhould have dictated, and evinced the moſt indecent ſymptoms of prieſtly exultation: he trampled on the money which was laid at his feet, as a token of the ſubjection of the kingdom; an inſolence, of which, though a marked inſult to every Engliſhman preſent, no one but the archbiſhop of Dublin dared to take any notice[86].

Pandulf, having thus effectually accompliſhed his deſigns upon England, repaired to France, and told Philip, that, as the purpoſe he meant to promote by taking up arms had been obtained by negociation, he might now diſmiſs his troops[87]. But, as the conduct of Philip had not been influenced by religious motives, all the perſuaſions of the legate were inadequate to deter him from the purſuit of his project. Having convened an aſſembly of the nobles, he openly accuſed the pope of duplicity, and charged him with ſacrificing every earthly duty to the accompliſhment of his own ambitious views. His barons, convinced by experience of the truth of his aſſertion, expreſſed a willingneſs

[84] Rymer, vol. i. p. 170; M. Paris, p. 163. Knighton, l. xi. c. 15, p. 2419. [85] Rymer, ibid. p. 176; M. Paris, p. 165. [86] Idem, ibid. [87] M. Paris, ibid. Chron. Dunſt. vol. i. p. 56.

to comply with his desires, by immediately undertaking an invasion of England. The count of Flanders alone, who had previously formed a secret treaty with John, expressed his disapprobation of an enterprize which he deemed impious and unjust; and, finding his opposition of little avail, he withdrew his forces, and retired to his own territories. Philip, determined not to leave so dangerous an enemy behind him, immediately marched into Flanders, took several of the strongest towns, and threatened to lay waste the whole country. In this extremity the count made application for assistance to the king of England, who ordered his fleet, consisting of five hundred sail, under the command of his natural brother, the earl of Salisbury, to attack that of the French, though greatly superior in number. The two fleets accordingly met off the port of Dam, when the English obtained a most decisive victory, taking three hundred ships, and destroying a hundred more; and Philip, finding that the rest must inevitably fall into the hands of the victorious enemy, ordered them to be burnt[88], and, by that means, rendered it impossible for him to proceed any farther in his projected invasion of England.

A. D. 1214.] The ambitious spirit of Philip, which could neither be gratified by any moderate success, nor yet damped by defeat, induced the neighbouring powers to enter into a league, in order to check the dangerous and destructive plans of conquest which that monarch had formed. The emperor Otho the Fourth, the king of England, and the count of Flanders, were the chiefs of this confederacy; and, confident of success, they already divided, in imagination, the dominions of France. Prince Lewis was sent to oppose John, who had landed, with a powerful army, at Rochelle, on the fifteenth of February, and reduced several towns in Poitou and Anjou. These, however, were speedily retaken by Lewis; and the cowardly monarch, after abandoning his conquests, shut himself up in Partenay, in the hope that his allies would prove more successful than himself. Philip, in the mean time, had marched to meet the confederated army of Flemings and Germans; and near the village of Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay, the hostile forces approached each other. The emperor was accompanied by the earl of Salisbury; Ferrand, count of Flanders; Renaud, count of Boulogne; Otho, duke of Limburg; William, duke of Brabant; Henry, duke of Lorraine; Philip, count of Namur; and many other princes and barons. The principal officers in the army of France, which amounted to fifty thousand men, (while that of the enemy was greatly superior,) were, Eudes, duke of Burgundy; Robert, count of Dreux, and his brother, Philip; Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre and Nevers; Stephen, count of Sancerre; John, count of Ponthieu; Gaucher, count of Saint Paul; and the bishop of Senlis. The battle began about noon: the conflict was fierce, bloody, and, for a long time, doubtful; the fortune of France and Germany alternately prevailed; Philip himself, wounded in the throat, and dragged from his horse, was in danger of being trampled to death; Otho

[88] M. Paris, p. 166; Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 622.

was

was ſurrounded and captured by his enemies, and reſcued with difficulty: but the valour of the French triumphed over every obſtacle; the ſun, which ſhone on their backs, dazzled the eyes of their adverſaries; the confederates, preſſed on all ſides, were obliged to give way; the flight ſoon became general, and, at ſix in the evening, Philip remained maſter of the field. Thirty thouſand of the enemy are ſaid to have been killed[89]; and the counts of Flanders, Holland, and Boulogne, with the earl of Saliſbury, and about one hundred and forty other counts and barons, were taken priſoners[90]. This deciſive victory confirmed the power of Philip, who had now no enemy to contend with.

A. D. 1215, 1216, 1217.] The Engliſh monarch, having purchaſed a truce for five years, by the payment of ſixty thouſand pounds, was permitted to return to his own dominions, where the barons had erected the ſtandard of oppoſition. Urged by the tyranny of John to a vindication of their rights, they enforced by arms, what perſuaſion had failed to effect; and this ſtruggle between a tyrannical king, and his no leſs tyrannical nobles, fortunately terminated in favour of civil liberty, by producing that celebrated charter, the bulwark of Engliſh freedom, which has ſince been diſtinguiſhed by the name of MAGNA CHARTA. But the king of England made no ſcruple to violate a deed which he had been *compelled* to ſubſcribe; and, after taking every method he could deviſe for ſtrengthening his power, in oppoſition to that of the barons, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome to lay the great charter before the pope, and to complain of the violence he had ſuſtained in having been obliged to ſign it.

When the charter was read by the ſovereign pontiff, he expreſſed the higheſt reſentment at its contents; and ſwore by Saint Peter that he would not ſuffer a monarch, who bore the ſign of the croſs (which John had recently aſſumed), and was a vaſſal of the holy ſee, to be treated in that ignominious manner with impunity[91]. To put his threats in execution he iſſued a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apoſtolick power, and from the authority which God had committed to him, to build and deſtroy kingdoms, to plant and overthrow; he annulled and abrogated the whole charter, as unjuſt in itſelf, as extorted by force, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apoſtolic ſee; and, in a ſecond bull, iſſued ſoon after, he prohibited the barons from exacting the obſervance of it: he even forbade the king himſelf to pay the ſmalleſt regard to it; he abſolved him and his ſubjects from all oaths which they had been conſtrained to take to that purpoſe; and he pronounced a general ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould perſiſt in maintaining pretenſions ſo pregnant with treaſon and iniquity[92].

[89] Chron. Senod. [90] Chron. Mailros, p. 187; M. Paris, p. 174, 175. [91] Idem, p. 184.
[92] Rymer, vol. i. p. 203 et ſeq.; M. Paris, p. 184, 185, 187.

But theſe ſpiritual cenſures and prohibitions could not induce the barons to deſiſt from defending their liberties; John therefore hired a band of foreign mercenaries to oppoſe them, and with their aſſiſtance he ravaged his kingdom from one extremity to the other. One continued ſcene of the moſt deplorable miſery every where preſented itſelf to the ſight: nothing was to be ſeen but the flames of villages and caſtles reduced to aſhes; the conſternation and wretchedneſs of the inhabitants; tortures inflicted by the ſoldiery to enforce the diſcovery of concealed treaſures; and repriſals, equally deſtructive, committed by the barons, and their partiſans, on the royal demeſnes, and on the eſtates of ſuch as ſtill adhered to the crown.

At length the barons, reduced by the triumphant progreſs of John to the verge of deſtruction, menaced with the total deprivation of thoſe rights and liberties they had been ſo anxious to ſecure, their eſtates ravaged, and their lives in the moſt imminent danger; had recourſe to a remedy as deſperate as the evil it was intended to correct: they diſpatched their leader, Robert Fitz-Walter, together with Saker, earl of Winton, to the court of France, with an offer to acknowledge prince Lewis, the ſon of Philip, for their ſovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of their enraged monarch. This was a meaſure that could only be juſtified upon the principle of ſelf-preſervation; accordingly we are told, by Matthew Paris, that "it was the offſpring of deſpair, which was ſo great, that the barons, in the bitter-"neſs of their ſouls, curſed both the king and the pope[93]."

Philip accepted with joy an offer ſo flattering to his ambition; but, being ſenſible of the danger of entruſting his ſon and heir in the hands of men who might, in caſe of neceſſity, make peace with their lawful ſovereign by ſacrificing a pledge of ſo much value, he exacted from the barons four-and-twenty hoſtages, according to Mezeray's account[94], of the moſt noble birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this ſecurity, he ſent them an immediate reinforcement of ſeven thouſand men[95], to enable them to make head againſt the king, till his ſon could join them with a more conſiderable force, which was ordered to aſſemble in the different ports of France.

The pope, being informed of Philip's intention, ſent Gualo, as his legate, to the French court, to menace him with interdicts and excommunication, if he dared to invade the patrimony of Saint Peter, or attack a prince who was under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee[96]: but the king, being aſſured of the obedience of his own vaſſals, changed his principles with the times, and now held the papal cenſures in as great contempt, as he had formerly treated them with reſpect. He accordingly proceeded in the equipment of his armament; and the preparations were conducted with

[93] M. Paris, p. 193. [94] Mezeray, vol. iv. [95] Radulf. Niger. p. 144. [96] M. Paris, p. 194. M. Weſt. p. 275.

ſo

ſo much vigour, that prince Lewis embarked his troops on board a fleet of ſix hundred ſail; and, arriving at the Iſle of Thanet, landed without oppoſition at Sandwich, on the twenty-third of May, 1216. On his approach John retired from Dover to Wincheſter, having left a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle, under the command of Hubert de Burgh, a brave loyaliſt, of approved fidelity. In this retreat the Engliſh monarch met the pope's legate, juſt arrived from France, who publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis, by name, and againſt all his followers, and abettors. Lewis had endeavoured to pacify the legate, and to avert theſe cenſures, by the employment of ſuch arguments as had been ſuggeſted to him by the Engliſh barons, which were in ſubſtance as follow—they affirmed that John was incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, by reaſon of the attainder paſſed upon him during the reign of his brother, though that attainder had been reverſed, and Richard had, even by his laſt will, declared him his ſucceſſor; they pretended that he was already legally depoſed, by the verdict of the French peers, on account of the murder of Arthur, though the effect of that ſentence muſt neceſſarily have been confined to his continental dominions, which alone he held as a fief of the crown of France; they averred, with a greater degree of plauſibility, that he had effected his own depoſition by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his ſovereignty, and reſigning an independent throne for a fee under a foreign power: and as Blanche of Caſtille, the wife of Lewis, was grand-daughter to Henry the Second, they maintained, (though in the order of ſucceſſion many other princes had a preferable claim) that in chuſing her huſband for their ſovereign they ſtill adhered to the royal family.

Theſe, arguments, however, having proved inſufficient to convince the legate, the cenſures were promulgated; and Lewis reſolved to bid defiance to the pope. He marched immediately againſt the caſtle of Rocheſter, which he took on the thirtieth of May; and then proceeded to London, where he arrived on the ſecond day of the following month, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations, by the citizens, the barons, and their followers, who acknowledged him for their ſovereign, did homage to him, and exacted a promiſe, confirmed by an oath, that he would reſtore them to all their poſſeſſions, and protect them in all their privileges[97]. Mezeray aſſerts, that Lewis was ſolemnly crowned king of England; but this aſſertion is evidently falſe, though he exerciſed the ſovereign authority, under the title of *Domini Regis Franciæ Primogenitus*, granted charters for lands and honours, and created Langton, the primate, his high-chancellor. The prince ſaw the number of his partiſans daily encreaſe, while that of John diminiſhed in proportion; for his foreign troops being moſtly levied in Flanders, and other provinces of France, refuſed to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy[98]. The Gaſcons and Poictevins alone, who were ſtill John's ſubjects, adhered to his cauſe;

[97] M. Paris, p. 95. [98] Id. ib.

but

but they were not ſufficiently ſtrong to maintain that ſuperiority in the field which they had hitherto ſupported againſt the confederated barons: his caſtles, therefore, daily fell into the hands of the enemy; and Lewis, in a few months, had reduced all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, except Dover, which he inveſted on the twenty-ſecond of July. But this important fortreſs was defended with ſuch ſkill and bravery by Hubert de Burgh, and a ſpirited garriſon, that he was repulſed in all his attacks with conſiderable loſs; and was ſo continually haraſſed by the well-conducted ſallies of the beſieged, that he ſwore, in a tranſport of rage, he would not quit the place till he ſhould have taken the caſtle, and hanged all the garriſon; an oath as ill-kept as raſhly taken!

While Lewis was waſting his time in this fruitleſs enterprize, the king of England having recruited his army, committed dreadful devaſtations on the eſtates of the revolted barons, ſome of whom now began to diſcover their error, in claiming the protection of a prince who evinced a diſpoſition to oppreſs them. Lewis had imprudently afforded ſuch unequivocal proofs of his partiality to his own countrymen, and of his averſion to the Engliſh, that the earl of Saliſbury, William Mareſchal, Walter Beauchamp, and many other nobles, who had joined him on his arrival, now deſerted him, and their defection inſpired him with ſuſpicions of the fidelity of thoſe that remained. Thus actuated by jealouſy and reſentment, he is ſaid to have formed a plan for the gratification of his revenge, which was diſcovered to the barons by the viſcount de Melun, one of his chief confidants. That nobleman being attacked at London by a dangerous diſorder, and his recovery deſpaired of, expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing ſome of the Engliſh barons; and told them that he could not die in peace until he ſhould have diſcharged his conſcience, by diſcovering an affair in which they were deeply intereſted. He then gave them to underſtand, that Lewis had reſolved to exterminate all the Engliſh nobles who had fought in ſupport of his cauſe, ſince he conſidered them as traitors to their natural prince, and could not, therefore, rely on their fidelity to himſelf; and it was his intention to beſtow their eſtates and dignities on his native ſubjects, in whom he could repoſe a greater degree of confidence[99]. This ſtory, whether true or falſe, was currently reported, and obtained univerſal credit; and, as it correſponded to other circumſtances that rendered it credible, it proved greatly detrimental to the intereſts of Lewis, who was now threatened with a ſudden reverſe of fortune.

At this conjuncture the king of England died, and was ſucceeded by his infant ſon Henry; the regency of the kingdom being beſtowed on the earl of Pembroke, a nobleman of approved courage, extenſive talents, and incorruptible probity. This event proved fatal to the hopes of Lewis; the nobles had no objections to offer to their infant

[99] M. Paris, p. 199. M. Weſt. p. 277.

prince;

prince; their averſion to the French daily increaſed; and the ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis, which was repeated by the legate every Sunday, and in which they themſelves were included, had no ſmall influence on their minds: for, however the proud barons might have affected to deſpiſe the thunders of the vatican when their paſſions were raiſed by hope, and inflamed by reſentment, and when their oppoſition was ſupported by the vigorous union and ſpirited meaſures of a ſtrong confederacy; theſe powerful motives had now loſt their principal force, and their conſciences were again open to the pangs of remorſe, and awake to the horrors which, in thoſe ſuperſtitious times, were continually attached to the cenſures of the church.

Lewis had long ſince loſt the affection of the barons, and he now became the object of their contempt. He had frequently attempted to corrupt the integrity of Hubert de Burgh, the brave governor of Dover caſtle; but ſtill found his honour and courage equally invincible. On the death of John he again ſummoned him to ſurrender; and repreſented, in a parley, that as he was now diſengaged from his oath of allegiance, he ought to acknowledge a prince whom his countrymen had received as their ſovereign, and who would be ſtudious to reward his bravery by the moſt ſignal marks of his favour. The governor, however, replied, that the late king had left a ſon and ſucceſſor, whom it was his duty to obey, and whom he would ſerve while he had life; and, as to the offers of Lewis, he obſerved that the eſteem of a magnanimous prince could never be purchaſed by ſuch infamous treachery. Lewis, finding him incorruptible, changed his battery, and threatened to take away the life of his brother, whom he had in his power; but this reſource proving equally inefficacious, he raiſed the ſiege, and repaired to London; from whence, having taken every neceſſary precaution for ſecuring his intereſt in that capital, he marched to Hereford, and attacked the caſtle, which ſurrendered after a faint reſiſtance. The government of this fortreſs belonged, by hereditary right, to Robert Fitz-Walter, who accordingly laid claim to it; but he had the mortification not only of hearing his claim rejected with ſcorn, but of ſeeing the caſtle beſtowed on a Frenchman, and garriſoned with foreigners. This act, in which deliberate inſult was added to flagrant injuſtice, excited a great clamour among the Engliſh, who plainly perceived that they were to be excluded from every truſt, and that foreigners had monopolized all the confidence and affections of the man whom they had been weak enough to acknowledge for their ſovereign.

Though Lewis, about this time, went over to the continent, and brought back a reinforcement of troops; he found, on his return, that his party was conſiderably weakened by the deſertion of moſt of the Engliſh barons; and that the death of John, from which he had prognoſticated the greateſt ſucceſs to his cauſe, was likely to render all his projects abortive. The earls of Saliſbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, together with William Mareſchal, the eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke, had embraced the party of their lawful ſovereign; and all thoſe who did not immediately return to their allegiance were evidently

evidently watching for an opportunity to do it with ſafety. The regent was ſo much ſtrengthened by theſe acceſſions, that he ventured to detach the earl of Cheſter with a body of troops, to inveſt Mount-Sorel, in the county of Leiceſter, which was in the poſſeſſion of the French: but, on the approach of the count de Perche, with a ſuperior army, that nobleman was compelled to retire; while the French general advanced to Lincoln, and, having obtained admittance into the town, laid ſiege to the caſtle. Pembroke reſolved to ſuccour this important place, though at the riſk of an engagement; he therefore aſſembled his forces with ſuch diligence and ſecrecy, that he had marched as far as Newark before the count de Perche received the ſmalleſt intimation of his approach. The army of the regent was ſo ſuperior in numbers to that of the French, that the latter determined to ſhut themſelves up in the town, and act merely on the defenſive; but the garriſon, having received a ſtrong re-inforcement, made a ſally on the beſiegers; while the Engliſh army, by concert, aſſaulted them, at the inſtant, from without, mounted the walls by ſcalade, and, bearing down all reſiſtance, entered the city, ſword in hand. In this action, which took place on the nineteenth of May, 1217, the French ſuſtained a total defeat; their commander, the count de Perche, was killed; and many Engliſh barons of that party, together with four hundred knights, and a great number of common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners[100].

Lewis had re-commenced the ſiege of Dover caſtle, in which he was employed when he received the unwelcome news of this fatal diſaſter. He immediately deſiſted from his enterprize, and haſtened to London, to repair, if poſſible, the loſs he had ſuſtained; when the intelligence of a freſh misfortune put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, with a ſtrong reinforcement on board, collected by the vigilant activity of his conſort, Blanche of Caſtile, had appeared on the Kentiſh coaſt, where they were attacked by the Engliſh, under the command of William d'Albiney, and were diſperſed with conſiderable loſs. D'Albiney is ſaid, upon this occaſion, to have employed a ſtratagem, which greatly contributed to the victory:—Having gained the wind of the enemy, he came down upon them with violence; and, throwing in their faces a quantity of quick lime, which he had provided for the purpoſe, ſo blinded them that they were unable to make the ſmalleſt reſiſtance[1]!

Lewis, now deſpairing of ſucceſs, entered into a negociation with the regent, who granted him more favourable terms than he had any right to expect. A peace was accordingly concluded; and he engaged to evacuate the kingdom, on condition that all his adherents ſhould be fully indemnified, and reſtored to their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of thoſe liberties which had been ſecured to the reſt of the nation[2]. After this treaty was ſigned, by which Lewis renounced all

[100] M. Paris, p. 204; Chron. Dunſt. p. 81. [1] M. Paris, p. 206; Ann. Waverl. p. 183; W. Heming. p. 563; Trivet, p. 169; M. Weſt. p. 277; Knyghton, p. 2428. [2] Rymer, vol. i. p. 221.

pretenſions

pretenſions to the crown of England, that prince embarked, with all his forces, for his native country.

A. D. 1219, to 1222.] The ſentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced by the pope againſt Lewis, on his invaſion of England, was now repealed by his legate; and Philip, after a ſucceſsful attack on Rochelle, conſented to another truce with the Engliſh, for four years. Lewis then haſtened to join the cruſaders in Languedoc, where the flames of war, fanned by the peſtiferous breath of fanaticiſm, ſtill raged with incredible fury.

The council of Lateran, far from reſtoring peace and tranquillity, had eagerly ſought to provoke diſcord and to engender ſtrife; it had exhibited, in a ſtriking point of view, the daring pretenſions of prieſtly deſpotiſm, which aſſumed the right of diſpoſing of principalities and empires. Four hundred and twelve biſhops, and eight hundred abbots and priors, with the pope at their head, aſſiſted by the patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Jeruſalem, with ſeventy-one primates or metropolitans, unanimouſly decided, "That "the ſecular power ſhould be bound, under pain of excommunication, to ſwear to ex- "terminate heretics, to the utmoſt of its power; that the biſhops ſhould iſſue a "thouſand anathemas againſt ſuch as ſhould diſobey them; and ſhould alſo inform the "ſovereign pontiff thereof, in order that he might abſolve their vaſſals from their oaths "of fidelity, and ſubject their territories to the power of the firſt Catholic, who ſhould "chuſe to take poſſeſſion of them[3]." This curious theory was ſoon reduced to practice. The count of Toulouſe, accompanied by his ſon, and the counts of Foix and Comminges, preſented himſelf before the council, and demanded the reſtitution of his domains. Several biſhops interceded for him, and reminded the pope, that he had ever been obedient to his will; that he had given up his fortreſſes when required ſo to do; that he had aſſumed the croſs, and had even fought for the church againſt his own nephew, the viſcount of Beziers. Innocent appeared to be moved by his remonſtrances; but, ſays the fanatic Peter de Vaux-Sernai[4], *The council of Achitophel did not prevail.* It was maintained that the Catholic faith could not ſubſiſt in Languedoc, ſo long as Raymond remained maſter of that province; that he, therefore, ought to be baniſhed from thence for ever, and, contenting himſelf with an annual income of eight hundred livres, to go and weep his ſins wherever he could[5].

This ſame decree grants Toulouſe, and all the territories ſubdued by the cruſaders, to Simon de Montfort[6], a man deſtitute of truth, honour, and humanity. That nobleman continued the ſame line of conduct which had procured him this honourable diſtinction; ſome new inſtance of his treachery or cruelty daily occurred; but, fortunately, his de-

3 Conc. tom. ii. p. 142 et ſeq. 4 Hiſt. Albig. c. 83. 5 Concil. c. ii. p. 234. 6 Threſ. des Chart. Bulles contre les Heretiques, p. 13.

ſtructive progreſs was ſoon interrupted by the hand of death, before the walls of Toulouſe. He was ſucceeded in his title by his ſon, Amauri de Montfort; but the poſſeſſions he had uſurped were ſpeedily recovered by the active valour of the youthful Raymond, whoſe ſpirited efforts prince Lewis in vain attempted to check: after an impotent attack on the city of Toulouſe, from whence he was compelled to retreat with ignominious precipitation, he withdrew his forces, and returned to Paris.

A. D. 1223.] Amauri de Montfort, unable to oppoſe the ſkill and courage of his rival, offered to reſign his right to all the territories beſtowed on his father, by the pope, at the council of Lateran, to the crown of France. This important offer was referred to an aſſembly of the nobles and clergy, at Paris; and, as Philip, whoſe health had been rapidly declining for ſome time, was repairing from Normandy to his capital, in order to be preſent himſelf, he was arreſted by death, at the town of Mante, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. He was interred in the royal vault at Saint Denis.

In the delineation of the character of Philip Auguſtus, his biographers and hiſtorians ſeem to have been ſo far dazzled by the ſplendor of his conqueſts, as to be totally blind to his defects.—Exulting in the effects of thoſe conqueſts, which increaſed the revenues and extended the power of their country, the motives on which they were undertaken, and the means by which they were atchieved, have never been attended to in the appreciating the merits of the *conqueror*. In the different wars which Philip waged againſt Henry of England, and his ſon, Richard, he unfurled the banners of cruelty, oppoſed ambition to juſtice, and treachery to honour; his baſe deſertion of the latter in Paleſtine, and the ſubſequent perfidy of his conduct to that prince, in Europe, merit the ſevereſt reprobation; nor do his endeavours to embitter the laſt moments of Henry, by violating the ſacred ties of nature, and ſowing diſſenſion between parent and child, excite leſs powerful ſentiments of diſguſt.—In his treatment of the Jews, he ſuffered the dictates of equity to be ſilenced by the ſuggeſtions of intereſt; and the execution of eighty of that unfortunate people, at one time, affords a ſufficient proof that he was not leſs inhuman than unjuſt. The exaction of impoſts the moſt oppreſſive and onerous, on every claſs of people, while the kingdom laboured under an interdict, ſhows that he ſuffered no opportunity to eſcape for gratifying his rapacity. Yet has the abbé Velly ventured to aſſert, that the actions of Philip prove his *merit* to have been equal to his ſucceſs—that all his ſchemes were concerted with *prudence*—that he was *economical*, in order that his people might not be *over-burdened!*—and, finally, that he was exact in the adminiſtration of *juſtice*[7]!—Thoſe actions, however, we have laid before our readers, who are equally competent with ourſelves to decide on the juſtice of this aſſertion.

That

[7] The ſame hiſtorian, ſpeaking of Simon de Montfort, the leader of the cruſaders againſt the Albigenſes, obſerves, "That he would have been an incomparable man, had he been leſs ambitious, leſs cruel, leſs perfidious, leſs cho-
"leric,

That Philip was an able general, fertile in expedients, and active in the field, cannot be denied; that an important extenſion of territory was obtained through his exertions, and the imbecility or inſignificance of his adverſaries, is certain; and that many ſalutary regulations were adopted during his reign, is equally true: but we defy the moſt enthuſiaſtic of his admirers to adduce a ſingle tranſaction of his life which can juſtify the epithet *Magnanimous*, conferred on him by the voice of adulation.—Though his mind was capacious and enterpriſing, his defects were many, and his virtues few.

Philip was the firſt monarch of France, who was anxious to amaſs treaſures in order to ſupport an *independent* and *regular* body of forces, which, though they may be neceſſary "for the purpoſe of conqueſt, ſometimes ſerve to oppreſs the ſubject, and to ſubvert "the laws of the realm[8]." No ſovereign of the Capetian race had hitherto diſtinguiſhed his own intereſts from thoſe of the nation. "Till now (ſays Velly) our kings "devoted the royal domains to the ſupport of the majeſty of the throne." The ſtate was careful to defray the expences of war; and the nobles and the people joined the monarch in revenging the injuries ſuſtained by the monarchy. Many inconveniences, however, aroſe from this mode of proceeding; the vaſſals of the crown were led to judge of the propriety of thoſe motives which had induced the ſovereign to take up arms; and, as they were deſtined to bear the chief weight of the war, it may be ſuppoſed they were not always either prompt or juſt in their deciſions. Hence confuſion and delay, ſo peculiarly fatal to all hoſtile operations, were naturally produced: Philip, therefore, to obviate theſe numerous inconveniences, determined to keep an army of his own. But, as his revenues, though greatly augmented, were inſufficient to ſupport the enormous expence of this new regulation, he not only increaſed the taxes; but accepted of a conſiderable ſum offered him by the Jews, on condition of revoking the ſentence of baniſhment that had been pronounced againſt them[9].

The univerſity of Paris, which was founded under the reign of Lewis the Young, received its firſt ſtatutes during that of Philip Auguſtus. It had profeſſors of the civil and canon law, of philoſophy, phyſic, and theology. It was greatly frequented from the numerous privileges it enjoyed; among which were, the right of ſending deputies to the national and other councils, an exemption from all national impoſts; and the liberty of having all the cauſes in which it was concerned tried by the provoſt of Paris, who aſſumed the title of *Conſervator of the Royal Privileges of the Univerſity*[10]. The rector had the power of licenſing preachers, as well as that of ſuppreſſing them, whenever he had any grounds of complaint: he ſigned all treaties, and other public acts.

"leric, and leſs vindictive." (vol. iii. p. 520). With the ſame exceptions we might ſafely ſubſcribe to his indiſcriminate eulogy on Philip Auguſtus.

[8] Abreg. de Mézerai, ſuit. du tom. i. p. 603. [9] Rigord, p. 42; Guill. Armor. p. 79. [10] Laur. Ord. des Rois, t. i. p. 25.

The ſtyle of compoſition, in the twelfth century, particularly in religious writings, was turgid and uncouth; inflated by a redundancy of myſtic expreſſions, refined metaphors, and ridiculous allegories—of this, the following extracts from the celebrated ſermons of Saint Bernard, afford a curious ſpecimen:

"Flos utique filius virginis. . . . . Flos campi, non horti, campus enim ſine "omni humano floret adminiculo, non ſeminatus ab aliquo, non defoſſus ſarculo. . . . "Sic omnino, ſic virginis alvus floruit, ſic inviolata, integra, et caſta Mariæ viſcera, "tanquam paſcua æterni viroris florem protulere . . . . . cujus gloria in perpe-"tuum non marceſcat." *S. Bern. Serm. ii. in Adv. Dom. Edit. D. Mabill. tom. i. p.* 728, 729.

"Pluvia namque voluntaria quam ſegregavit deus hæreditati ſuæ, placidè priùs et "abſque ſtrepitu operationis humanæ, ſuo ſe quietiſſimo illapſu virgineum demiſit in "uterum: poſtmodum verò ubique terrarum diffuſa eſt per ora prædicatorum." *Id. Ib. hom. ii. ſuper miſſus eſt, p.* 745.

"Ex Deo et homine cataplaſma confectum eſt, quod ſanaret omnes infirmitates tuas. "Contuſcæ ſunt autem et commixtæ hæ duæ ſpecies in utero virginis, tamquam in "mortariolo; Sancto Spiritu, tamquam piſtillo, illas ſuavitur commiſcente." *Id. ib. Serm. iii. in vigil Nativ.* p. 771.

The Provençal poets were juſtly celebrated at this period in moſt of the countries of Europe; they were called *Troubadours*, or *Finders*, from the fertility of their invention; and were, in fact, the fathers of modern poetry. No bards ever received greater encouragement or protection: they were invited to the courts of the greateſt princes, where they were equally reſpected by the brave and the fair, as they celebrated the atchievements of the one, and the charms of the other. So flattering was the applauſe they attracted, that ſeveral crowned heads devoted their leiſure hours to the muſes, became Troubadours, and compoſed poems in the Provençal language, which was then the moſt perfect of all the European languages.

Some idea may be formed of the manners of the age, from the oppoſition experienced by Eudes de Sully, in his attempt to aboliſh a ridiculous and impious ceremony, which had been hitherto tolerated, not only in the church of Paris, but in ſeveral other cathedrals in the kingdom. In the capital it was called "The Fools' Feſtival"—in other places, "The feſtival of the Innocents[11]." The prieſts and clerks aſſembled,

[11] Du Cange Gloſſ. verbo Kalendæ.

elected

elected a pope, an archbiſhop, or biſhop, whom they conducted in great pomp to the church, where they appeared arrayed in different whimſical dreſſes, repreſenting women, animals, or buffoons, and dancing and ſinging obſcene ſongs; they converted the altar into a ſideboard, where, during the celebration of maſs, they eat and drank, played at dice, burnt their old ſandals inſtead of incenſe, and ran and jumped about, exhibiting a variety of indecent poſtures. Eudes, ſhocked at the impious cuſtom, publiſhed an ordonnance, by which he prohibited the ſolemnization of this feſtival, under pain of excommunication. It was accordingly ſuſpended for a time, but it was afterwards revived, and continued to be obſerved till the middle of the fifteenth century.

There was another feſtival in vogue at this time, called "The Aſſes' Feſtival:" it was thus celebrated at Beauvais—the inhabitants ſelected the moſt beautiful young girl in the town, whom they placed, with a pretty child in her arms, on an aſs richly capariſoned[12]. Thus equipped, and followed by the biſhop and the clergy, ſhe went in proceſſion from the cathedral to the pariſh-church of Saint Stephen, where, as ſoon as ſhe had entered the ſanctuary, and placed herſelf near the altar, the maſs began. The *introit*, the *kyrie*, the *gloria*, the *credo*, and all thoſe parts of the ſervice which are ſung, were terminated by the exclamation of *hinham*, *hinham*—words, which when pronounced in French, reſemble the braying of an aſs. The *proſe*, half Latin and half French, explained the excellent qualities of that animal. Each ſtrophe concluded with this kind invitation—"Sing, good Mr. Aſs; open your beauteous mouth; you ſhall "have plenty of hay, and oats to ſow!" They then, on their knees, exhorted the animal to forget his accuſtomed food, in order to repeat inceſſantly, Amen, amen! The prieſt inſtead of *Ha miſſa eſt*, repeated three times *Hinham, hinham, hinham!* which was re-echoed by the people.

There is a ſtatute enacted by the ſame Eudes de Sully, who aboliſhed "The Fool's "feſtival," ſtill extant, by which eccleſiaſtics are forbidden not only to play at cheſs, but even to have a cheſs-board in their houſes; probably becauſe they were apt to pay too much attention to the game, and to loſe at it the money which they ought to have given to the poor[13]. In fact it is difficult to conceive any other motive for ſuch a prohibition; ſince, of all games of ſkill, cheſs is the game which requires the greateſt mental exertion, and is, therefore, the moſt worthy the attention of a man inclined to meditate and reflect. Some authors have gone as far back as the ſiege of Troy, to diſcover the origin of this game. The princeſs Anna Comnena, in her Alexiad, aſcribes the invention of it to the Aſſyrians[14]. The Perſians and Chineſe acknowledge that they had it from the Indians. The circumſtances which gave riſe to it are worthy of notice.

[12] Du Cange Gloſſ. verb. Feſtum Aſinorum. [13] Odo. Ep. Par. in Preceptor. Synod. 120. [14] Alex. l. xxii.

At

At the commencement of the fifth century, there lived in India a young prince whoſe power was extenſive, but whoſe pride was inſupportable[15]. In vain did his miniſters ſeek to inculcate in his mind the ſalutary doctrine, that all the ſtrength and power of a ſovereign conſiſt in the love of his ſubjects. Theſe ſage remonſtrances were received with diſdain, and thoſe who made them conſigned to deſtruction. A Bramin, who was anxious to enforce the ſame wholeſome precepts without expoſing himſelf to ſimilar danger, invented the game of cheſs[16], in which the king, although the moſt important of all the pieces, is impotent in attacking, and even in defending himſelf againſt his enemies, without the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects and ſoldiers. The monarch, being endowed by nature with a good underſtanding, made a proper application of this uſeful leſſon, and by an immediate change of conduct averted the misfortunes with which he was threatened. Grateful for the ſervice that had been rendered him, he ſuffered the Bramin to chuſe his own reward; he accordingly required as many grains of corn as the ſixty-four ſquares on the cheſs-board would produce by receiving one for the firſt, and doubling the number at every ſquare up to the ſixty-fourth, incluſive; his demand, being deemed moderate, was immediately granted without any examination: but when they proceeded to calculate the quantity, they found it ſo immenſe that all the treaſures of the prince would be inſufficient to purchaſe, and his dominions, though extenſive, to ſupply it[17]. The Bramin then embraced the opportunity to repreſent to his ſovereign the neceſſity that exiſted for kings to be conſtantly on their guard againſt thoſe by whom they are ſurrounded, and to convince him how much their beſt intentions were liable to be abuſed.—This anecdote was ſoon diffuſed over the country, and extended to the remoteſt regions, whence the game of cheſs was tranſmitted from India to all parts of the globe.

[15] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let. t. v. p. 252.

[16] Otherwiſe called 'the king's game;' 'Schak' in Perſian, and 'Schek,' in Arabic, ſignify King or Lord. Hence the term 'Check-mate,' from the Perſian 'Schakmat,'—'the King is taken.'

[17] On making the calculation it has been found that to ſupply the neceſſary quantity of corn, it would require 13,584 towns, each of which ſhould contain 1014 granaries, each granary 174,762 meaſures, and each meaſure 32,768 grains. Mem de l' Acad. Ibid. 264.

LEWIS THE EIGHTH,

SURNAMED THE LION.

A. D. 1223.] THE acceſſion of Lewis the Eighth, who was now in his thirty-ſeventh year, experienced no kind of oppoſition; though his father had neglected to aſſociate him to the throne, he had left him in poſſeſſion of an army that was better calculated to eſtabliſh his authority, than the celebration of a vain ceremony. The new monarch was crowned at Rheims by William de Joinville, archbiſhop of that dioceſe, and the moſt unequivocal proofs of joy and ſatisfaction were exhibited, on the occaſion, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. He was no ſooner ſeated on the throne than Henry the Third, of England, demanded, by a ſolemn embaſſy, the reſtoration of Normandy, and of the other provinces which had been wreſted from his father; but Lewis replied, that thoſe territories had been formally confiſcated by a ſentence of the peers, the validity of which he was prepared to defend; and, as the truce of four years was on the point of expiring, he determined on renewing the war by an irruption into Poitou. The pope, apprized of his intentions, ſought to divert him from his purpoſe; but the king neglected his remonſtrances, and being ſenſible of his own power reſolved to exert it.

A. D. 1224, 1225, 1226.] Accordingly, in the enſuing ſpring, having previouſly ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with Frederick, emperor of Germany, Hugh de Luſignan, count de la Marche, who had married the queen-dowager of England, and ſeveral other powerful barons, he entered Poitou with a numerous army, took the towns of Niort, and Saint Jean d'Andely, and advancing as far as Rochelle, formed the ſiege of

of that city, which he reduced after a vigorous reſiſtance[x]. Having ſubdued all the places which the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Poitou, and received the homage of their inhabitants, he returned in triumph to Paris.

The king of England, in the mean time, had levied a conſiderable army, which he ſent to France under the conduct of his brother, prince Richard, on whom he had beſtowed the title of count of Poitou. The inhabitants of Poitou, flattered by the preſence of a prince of the blood-royal, crouded to his ſtandard; the ſpirit of oppoſition was revived; the career of Lewis was checked; and that monarch, impatient to engage in a new enterprize, conſented to a truce for three years.

Urged by the ſolicitation of the ſovereign pontiff, and ſtill more by the dictates of intereſt and ambition, Lewis reſumed the croſs, and once more marched againſt the Albigenſes. The old count of Toulouſe was dead, and though, previous to his deceaſe, he had made every ſubmiſſion the church could require for his *imaginary* crimes, and had proved himſelf a moſt worthy man and a good Chriſtian, yet did the implacable enmity of the ſovereign pontiff extend beyond the grave, and the rites of ſepulture were denied to his body. His ſon and ſucceſſor, endued with every quality that could ſecure affection, or conciliate eſteem, was equally ſubmiſſive, and was treated with equal ſeverity and injuſtice. Neither his piety could recommend him to the pope, nor his virtues to the king; fanaticiſm had deluded the one, and ambition the other; hence they were both bent on perſecution, and from the formidable preparations that were made, the deſtruction of Raymond appeared inevitable.

Previous to his departure from Paris, Lewis thought fit to accept the offer of Amauri de Montfort; and in return for the ceſſion of the claims which he derived from the liberality of the Roman pontiff, Montfort received the promiſe of the poſt of conſtable, as ſoon as it ſhould become vacant. The king directed his march along the banks of the Rhone, and inveſted Avignon with fifty thouſand men. The inhabitants ſet his threats at defiance, repelled his attacks with the moſt determined valour, made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, in which the French were routed with conſiderable ſlaughter, and at laſt compelled Lewis, after the loſs of the braveſt of his troops, to grant thoſe terms of capitulation which he had at firſt refuſed.

After the reduction of Avignon, the king entered Languedoc, and extended his devaſtations within four leagues of Toulouſe; but the ſeaſon being too far advanced to form the ſiege of that important place, which Raymond had been careful to provide with every poſſible means of reſiſtance, he reſolved to return to Paris. With this view he

[x] Geſta Lud. viii. Duch. t. v. p. 186.

repaired

repaired to Clermont in Auvergne, and from thence proceeded to Montpenſier, where he was ſeized with a diſorder that put an end to his life, in the fourth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age. He was interred at Saint Denis.

Lewis the Eighth poſſeſſed the courage, vigilance, and activity, but not the prudence and circumſpection, of his father; like Philip, too, he was turbulent and ambitious, eager to extend his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, and prompt to engage in wars, at the call of intereſt, in defiance of juſtice. He has been called a *great* prince [2]; but neither the ſplendour of his military exploits, nor his concern for the welfare and felicity of his ſubjects, gave him the ſmalleſt title to that flattering appellation, which though many have acquired, but few have deſerved.

Of eleven children which Lewis had by his wife, Blanche of Caſtille, ſix only ſurvived him; Lewis, Robert, John, Alfonſo, Charles, and Iſabella. This laſt founded the monaſtery of Longchamp. By his will, the king bequeathed all his dominions to his eldeſt ſon Lewis, except thoſe appanages which he intended for his brothers; to his ſecond ſon he aſſigned the county of Artois; Anjou and Maine to his third; Poitou and Auvergne to his fourth; the fifth was deſtined for the church [3].

Such was the licentiouſneſs that prevailed at this period among the troops, that one army, about the end of the twelfth century, was attended by fifteen hundred concubines, who were all dreſſed in a moſt expenſive manner [4]. This ſtyle of dreſs frequently cauſed them to be miſtaken for women of faſhion. Queen Blanche, conſort to Lewis, having one day received the kiſs of peace [5], at maſs, returned it to a woman who ſtood near her, whoſe appearance beſpoke her a perſon of rank, but who proved to be a woman of the town. Being afterwards informed of this circumſtance, ſhe was ſo enraged at her miſtake, that ſhe obtained from the king an edict [6], prohibiting all courteſans from wearing gowns with trains and capes, and *gilt belts*. But as good regulations are often ill-obſerved, the edict was ſeldom enforced, and things went on in their uſual way. The modeſt women conſoled themſelves for this neglect with the teſtimony of their conſcience, and the goodneſs of their reputation, of which they were continually boaſting, by obſerving, that—"Bonne renommée vaut mieux que ceinture "dorée;"—"A good name is better than a gilt belt." Which ſaying became a proverb that is ſtill in uſe.

The relaxation that obtained in the adminiſtration of juſtice, was well calculated to promote licentiouſneſs. It appears from the archives of the cathedral at Beauvais,

[2] Velly, vol. iv. p. 60. [3] Geſt. Ludov. viii. apud. Duch. t. v. p. 324. et. ſeq. [4] Memoires ſur l'Ancienne Chevalerie. [5] Du Cange, verb. Oſculum Pacis. [6] Paſq. Rech. de la France, t. i. p. 783.

that a canon of the church had carried off the wife of a citizen, who demanded juſtice for the injury he thereby ſuſtained. The crime was notorious; the culprit acknowledged his guilt; and the whole neighbourhood bore teſtimony of the fact:—the judges, after mature deliberation, decreed, "That the raviſher ſhould reſtore the woman in a fortnight;" which was accordingly done:—thus the canon went unpuniſhed, and the citizen unredreſſed.

It was at the commencement of this reign, that pope Honorius the Third confirmed the celebrated order of the *Minors*, the firſt mendicants: they were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Cordeliers*, from the *cord* which they wore round their waiſt[7]. Theſe monks reſigned all earthly property, and devoted their lives to preaching penitence, and to continual mortification and prayer. The inſtitutor of the order was John Bernardon, originally of Aſſize in Umbria, who was ſurnamed *Francis* becauſe he had learned the *French* language in a very ſhort time[8]. He is repreſented as a man of great ſimplicity, almoſt uneducated, but leading a life of uncommon auſterity, and following, in all things, the pureſt dictates of humanity. To him may be applied, ſays Hainault[9], what has been ſaid of Zeno, the founder of the ſect of ſtoics:—*he taught how to bear with hunger and thirſt; and he met with diſciples.* In fact, he had ſoon a numerous train of all ranks and conditions, and of either ſex. He divided them into three claſſes: the firſt, doomed to celibacy, aſſumed the appellation of *freres mineurs*; the ſecond, conſiſting of married people, were called *freres de la penitence*; and the third, who were widows, were diſtinguiſhed, in Italian, by the name of *povere donne* (poor women), and, in French, by that of *Clariſtes*, from Saint Claire.

[7] Vita Sancti Franc. per S. Bonav. c. 4. [8] Choiſy, Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, tom. vi. p. 301. [9] Abregé Chronol. de l'Hiſt. de France, p. 214.

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4 DE 65
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LOUIS IX.

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LEWIS THE NINTH,

COMMONLY CALLED SAINT LEWIS.

A. D. 1226.] QUEEN Blanche was deeply affected at the death of her huſband; but, inſtead of waſting her time in deploring his loſs, ſhe immediately proceeded to adopt thoſe vigorous meaſures, which were eſſential to the welfare of the ſtate, and the ſafety of her ſon. Lewis, on his death-bed, had appointed her to the regency, in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Sens, and the biſhops of Beauvais and Chartres [1]. Though a foreigner, with five ſons ſtill in their infancy, ſhe had the courage to venture on an office at all times troubleſome, but peculiarly difficult to fill in a kingdom where women were regarded as incapable of holding the reins of government. Her firſt care was to ſummon the nobles to attend the coronation of her ſon; but moſt of theſe factious barons, far from obeying the citation, excuſed themſelves on various pretences, all indicative of their diſpoſition to revolt. Some, who were anxious to preſerve appearances, pleaded the exceſs of their grief at the recent loſs they had ſuſtained, which incapacitated them from attending a ceremony that ſhould be marked by general expreſſions of joy; others, more bold, inſiſted that, previous to the coronation, all the vaſſals of the crown ſhould be releaſed from confinement; particularly the count of Flanders, and the old count of Boulogne [2]; ſome even demanded the reſtitution of certain poſſeſſions, of which they had been *unjuſtly* deprived during the two laſt reigns, ſince, by the laws of the realm, a previous verdict of the peers was indiſpenſably requiſite to eſtabliſh the validity of the forfeiture.

[1] Threſ des Ch. Layette des Regentes. [2] M. Paris; An. 1226.

But, notwithſtanding this oppoſition, the young king was crowned at Rheims, the archiepiſcopal ſee of which was then vacant, by the biſhop of Soiſſons; and all the nobles and prelates who were preſent took the accuſtomed oath of allegiance to Lewis as their ſovereign, and to Blanche, as the regent of the kingdom, during the minority of her ſon. The queen's chief miniſters and adviſers were, the chancellor Guerin, a man reſpectable from his age, abilities, and virtue, but rude in manners, and accuſtomed to offer his advice in the ſtyle and language of reprimand; and the cardinal de Saint Ange, the pope's legate in France, a prelate, who, to the natural advantage of a good perſon, united the moſt engaging addreſs, and manners the moſt inſinuating. The regent herſelf is ſaid to have been a woman of extraordinary accompliſhments, both mental and perſonal; of a ſpirit undaunted; in beauty unrivalled.

It was not long before her ſkill and reſolution were called forth into action. The counts of Champagne, Brittany and la Marche, had, during the late reign, entered into a ſecret league, *againſt all men living and to come*; the treaty is ſtill extant[3]. Theſe were the three firſt noblemen in the kingdom—the count of Brittany was a prince of the blood; the count of Champagne was deſcended from a daughter of Lewis the Young; and the count de la Marche was father-in-law to Henry of England. At this critical conjuncture they renewed the late treaty, and bound themſelves by an oath, to obey no orders that ſhould come from the king, directly or indirectly, during his minority. Their influence was ſo great that numbers, who had no ſubject of complaint, were induced to eſpouſe their cauſe. The king of England, anxious to recover Normandy, and the other provinces which had been wreſted from his father, promiſed them a powerful ſuccour; and had he kept his word, and profited by the confuſion that now prevailed throughout the kingdom, there can be little doubt but he would have accompliſhed his purpoſe; but weak, indolent, and irreſolute, Henry was not deſigned by nature either for conqueſt or command.

Before the confederates openly diſplayed the banners of revolt, they renewed their demand for the reſtitution of thoſe eſtates which, they pretended, had been uſurped during the two preceding reigns; a demand which it was impoſſible for the queen to comply with, both becauſe ſuch compliance exceeded the power of a regent, and becauſe a part of the lands in queſtion had been ſince alienated from the crown. Yet her refuſal was deemed a ſufficient motive for the commencement of hoſtilities. The count of Brittany began by fortifying two places, the command of which had been conferred on him by the late king[4]; viz. Belleſme in the Perche, and Saint James de Beuvron in Normandy; while Richard, brother to the Engliſh monarch, paſſed the Garonne, ravaged the adjoining country, and betrayed a diſpoſition to inſult Rochelle.

3 Chant. Act. 169, 170. 4 Geſta Lud. ix. apud. Duch. t. v. p. 327.

Blanche,

Blanche, in the mean time, ſought to ſtrengthen her power by ſecuring the affections of the people; and ſhe diſtributed her favours and rewards in ſo judicious a manner, as to enſure attachment without exciting envy. Philip, count of Boulogne, uncle to the young monarch, was the nobleman whoſe enmity or friendſhip was of the greateſt conſequence to her; ſhe accordingly ſpared no pains to engage him in her intereſt: with this view ſhe reſtored Mortain and Liſlebonne, which the late king had detached from the appanage of Philip; and alſo ceded to him the ſovereignty of the county of Saint-Pol, as a fief of the county of Boulogne. Ferrand, count of Flanders, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of the Roman pontiff, ſtill remained a captive in the Louvre; as his wife, who had no affection for him, pleaded inability to pay his ranſom. It is ſaid that their hatred aroſe from play, at which they inceſſantly quarrelled; the count being enraged at the idea of being beaten by his wife at cheſs, and the counteſs refuſing to indulge him by ſuffering him to win[5]. Their animoſity was even carried to ſuch a length, that the counteſs was on the point of procuring a divorce, in order to marry the count of Brittany: to prevent this alliance was an object of importance to the French king, ſince it would have greatly augmented the domains of one of his moſt ſeditious vaſſals, and would have afforded that vaſſal a fair opportunity for gratifying his ambition, and for diſturbing the repoſe of his liege-lord. That conſideration had determined Lewis the Eighth to facilitate the releaſe of Ferrand, which was to have taken place at Chriſtmas, in the preſent year. The regent, in order to attach the count more firmly to her intereſt, prudently reſolved to grant him terms more favourable than thoſe which had been preſcribed by her huſband. By the firſt treaty, he was to have paid fifty thouſand livres, at two different payments, and to have given Douai, Lille, and l'Ecluſe as a ſurety; whereas now but half that ſum was exacted from him, on condition that he ſhould leave the young king in poſſeſſion of the citadel of Douai for ten years. This indulgence was repaid by Ferrand with perſevering fidelity; and though he had frequent opportunities of repairing the loſſes he had ſuſtained, he regularly perſiſted in ſacrificing intereſt at the ſhrine of gratitude.

A. D. 1227.] After theſe ſucceſsful negociations Blanche collected her troops; and, accompanied by her ſon; by the pope's legate, and the counts of Boulogne and Dreux, advanced as far as the Quarry of Courcet[6]. There the count of Champagne, who had openly profeſſed himſelf the queen's admirer, aſtoniſhed at her progreſs in the depth of a ſevere winter, threw himſelf at her feet, and implored her mercy. Lewis, at the inſtigation of his mother, received with kindneſs his repentant vaſſal, and this happy commencement inſpired him with the moſt ſanguine hopes of a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful termination to the revolt. Nor was he diſappointed in his expectation, for the counts of Brittany and la Marche, finding themſelves more vigorouſly oppoſed than they had

5 Chron. de Fland. 6 Geſt. Lud. ix. Duch. t. v. p. 327.

reaſon

reaſon to expect, gave him the meeting at Vendôme, and accepted the terms of accommodation which he had propoſed to them.

A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which it was ſettled that prince John, brother to Lewis, to whom his father had bequeathed the counties of Anjou and Maine[7], ſhould marry the daughter of the count of Brittany; that during the minority of the prince—who was now only in his eighth or ninth year—the count ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the towns of Angers, Beaugé, Beaufort, and Mans; that he ſhould give his daughter, as a dower, Belleſme, Saint-James de Beuvron, Chantoceaux on the Loire, Brie-Comte-Robert, and ſome other places, which, nevertheleſs, he ſhould be ſuffered to retain during his life; that the princeſs ſhould, within a few days, be delivered into the hands of the count of Boulogne, and the conſtable Montmorenci; and, finally, that the count of Brittany ſhould form no alliance with the king of England, or the duke of Guienne. As for the count de la Marche, he not only promiſed to hold no farther correſpondence with the enemies of the crown[8], to reſtore all the lands and poſſeſſions he had uſurped, and to repair all the injuries he had committed; but he even ceded to the young king all the grants which he had obtained during the late reign, together with his pretenſions to Guienne, in right of his wife, who was widow to John of England[9]. In return for theſe conceſſions Lewis aſſigned him, during the term of ten years, a penſion of ten thouſand five hundred livres; allowed him to ſelect, from among the friends and allies of France, ſuch guardians as he ſhould chuſe for his children; engaged to conclude neither peace nor truce with England, without his approbation; and conſented to ſtrengthen this alliance between them by a double marriage—that of Alfonſo, the king's brother, with Iſabella de la Marche, and that of Hugh de la Marche, with Iſabella of France; but neither of theſe marriages took place. The two counts did homage, and delivered hoſtages to Lewis, while Matthew de Montmorenci, conſtable of France, ſwore, *by the king's ſoul*[10], to obſerve the treaty.

A. D. 1229.] But the national tranquillity, which thus appeared to be eſtabliſhed on a ſolid foundation, was ſpeedily interrupted by the intrigues of the count of Boulogne, the king's uncle, who aſpired to the regency; and as he was generally and deſervedly beloved, his party ſoon became formidable. A plan was laid for ſeizing the king's perſon: but Thibaud, count of Champagne, again betrayed the deſigns of the conſpirators to Blanche; and the failure of their project only ſerved to convince them how much their ſovereign was beloved by his ſubjects. In revenge for the treachery of Thibaud, they aſſembled all the troops they could collect, and, entering his territories, laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. The count, unable to impede their progreſs, had re-

7 Threſ. des Ch. Layette de Bretagne. 8 Ib. regiſt. 22. and 26. 9 Recueil des Rangs des Grands. Du Till. p. 173. 10 Velly, vol iv. p. 90.

courſe

courſe to the king for protection; and Lewis, after ordering the rebels to lay down their arms, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and marched to his relief. Under the walls of Troyes he was joined by Thibaud, and Mathew the Second, duke of Lorraine; when the regent again ordered the rebels to quit Champagne, promiſing to do them juſtice if they had any reaſonable grounds of complaint[11]. But the haughty barons returned an inſolent anſwer, importing that they had taken up arms to do themſelves juſtice, and not to aſk it at the hands of a woman, who openly protected the aſſaſſin of her huſband[12].

This boldneſs, however, was only aſſumed for the purpoſe of concealing the weakneſs of their cauſe; on the king's approach the confederated nobles retired into the county of Nevers, and ſhewed no diſpoſition to come to a deciſive engagement. The queen ſeized the moment of ſucceſs to negociate with the count of Boulogne; ſhe convinced him that his real intereſt was to maintain the authority of the king, his nephew; ſhe unfolded the ſecret deſigns of the confederates; and plainly proved, that while they flattered his ambition with the proſpect of royalty, their inclinations were unanimouſly directed towards Enguerrand de Couci[13], a nobleman conſpicuous above his contemporaries for his virtues and abilities. Induced by theſe conſiderations, Philip conſented to exchange his viſionary hopes of a crown, for the ſolid emoluments of a penſion.

The object which next engaged the attention of the regent, was the ſtate of affairs in Languedoc, where Raymond, count of Toulouſe, profiting by the death of Lewis the Eighth, had made a conſiderable progreſs in the recovery of his paternal dominions. Beaujeu, the king's general, after taking the towns of Becede, Cabaret, Grave, and Montech, maſſacred all the inhabitants in the moſt cruel and inhuman manner[14]. But Raymond, having defeated him three times in the courſe of one campaign, retaliated his barbarity, and taught him, by the only means that could affect a mind diſtorted by fanaticiſm, to reſpect the ſacred rights of humanity.

The ſucceſs of the count of Toulouſe revived the zeal of the pope, who earneſtly preſſed[15] the young king and his mother to arm in the cauſe of religion, whoſe rights he pretended to enforce by rapine and murder. The biſhops of the province accordingly aſſembled at Narbonne; and after ordaining that the Jews ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the figure of a wheel, ſix inches in circumference, placed on a conſpicuous part of their dreſs[16], they enacted that every Sunday, and on every feſtival, the ſentence of excommunication againſt Raymond and all his adherents ſhould be publicly read in the

11 Chr. Fl. p. 49.

12 They had propagated a report that the count of Champagne, who had withdrawn his forces from the ſiege of Avignon, had poiſoned the late king.

13 L'Allon. Hiſt. de Couci, l. iii. 14 M. Paris; An. 1228. 15 MSS. Colb. p. 2669. 16 Conc. tom. i. p. 304 et ſeq.

churches—

churches—a pitiful reſource againſt the attempts of a youthful hero, who maintained his rights with glory and ſucceſs. There were ſome other canons paſſed at this council, worthy of notice. By the fifth it is decreed that no will ſhall be valid, unleſs an eccleſiaſtic be preſent when it is made, in order to aſcertain the religious faith of the teſtator; by the thirteenth, the eſtabliſhment of new tolls is forbidden; the fourteenth regulates the inſtitution of inquiſitors in every pariſh, and the fifteenth and the ſixteenth, by declaring all perſons convicted or even *ſuſpected* of hereſy incapable of holding any office, make a direct attack both on the rights of the ſovereign, and on thoſe of the ſubject.

By the exhortations of the pope, and the remonſtrances of his legate, the regent was induced to ſend a freſh ſupply of troops into Languedoc. The war was then renewed with additional vigour, and was conducted by Beaujeu in a manner truly worthy of the cauſe in which he had embarked. Every morning (ſays a contemporary writer) [17], at dawn of day, the troops attended maſs, and prayed moſt devoutly; they then partook of a ſlight repaſt; and, after poſting guards in different parts of the town, to keep the inhabitants in awe, three ſeparate detachments were ſent to ſcour the country—the firſt were armed with pick-axes, for the purpoſe of demoliſhing the houſes; the ſecond with ſpades, for digging up the vines in the vineyards; and the third with ſcythes, for mowing down the green corn, and every thing elſe that they met with in the fields. This ſyſtem of deſtruction was regularly purſued in the environs of Toulouſe for three months.

The count of Toulouſe, finding his ſubjects in the utmoſt conſternation, and almoſt driven to deſpair, by the loſſes they had ſuſtained through this barbarous mode of waging war, was at length compelled to liſten to the overtures of peace that were made him by the cardinal de Saint Ange. The terms impoſed on him were oppreſſive; but, abandoned by his ſubjects, he was obliged to ſubmit, and to purchaſe an exemption from eccleſiaſtical tyranny and perſecution, by the ceſſion of his hereditary dominions to the king of France, and by the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money to different churches and monaſteries. The motives which ſuperinduced the commencement of this war, and influenced its continuance, were rather founded, ſays Velly [18], on a deſire to deſpoil the count of Toulouſe of his dominions, than from any wiſh to put his orthodoxy to the proof. In vain did that unfortunate prince repeatedly ſue for peace to the church, and offer to pay an implicit ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Roman pontiff; ſo long as he perſiſted in his reſolution to maintain his juſt pretenſions to the patrimony of his anceſtors, he was deemed an incorrigible heretic, and an object of excommunication; but, no ſooner did he conſent to reſign a great part of his dominions, than he became a good Catholic; his ſentiments were declared to be orthodox; and not the ſmalleſt abjuration

[17] Guil. de Pod. c. 38. [18] Tom. iv. p. 129.

of

of his errors was required! So dreadful was the infatuation, under which men laboured at this diſgraceful period, when the practice of Chriſtianity was, by deſigning prieſts, and intereſted monarchs, made to conſiſt in a violation of its precepts!

Thus terminated the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, after a cruel and ſanguinary war of twenty years, during which all the malice of perſonal hatred, and the mad rage of ambition and fanaticiſm were, to the diſgrace of humanity, alternately diſplayed. By this treaty of peace, which was ſigned at Paris, Lewis acquired all that extent of territory which had belonged to the counts of Toulouſe, beyond the Rhone[19]; comprehending the duchy of Narbonne, the counties of Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Maguelonne (or Melgueil), Niſmes, Uſez, and Viviers; a part of the Toulouſain; one half of the county of Albigeois, comprehending, excluſive of the dioceſe of Caſtres, that part of the archbiſhoprick of Albi, which lies to the left of the Tarn; and, laſtly, the viſcounty of Grezes, with all the pretenſions of Raymond to the ancient counties of Velai, Gevaudan and Lodève. The domains thus ceded are ſuppoſed to have produced an annual revenue of ſix thouſand livres tournois, which was a very conſiderable ſum in thoſe days. They were all annexed to the crown, and placed under the authority of two royal ſeneſchals, one of whom reſided at Beaucaire, and the other at Carcaſſonne. The firſt had the command of the dioceſes of Maguelonne (now Montpelier), Niſmes, Uſez, Viviers, Mende, and Puy, with that part of thoſe of Arles and Avignon, which is ſituated beyond the Rhone: the juriſdiction of the ſecond extended over the dioceſes of Carcaſſonne, Beziers, Lodève, Agde, Narbonne, a part of the Albigeois to the left of the Tarn, and a part of the Toulouſain.—Theſe two diſtricts, with the territory of Toulouſe, which Raymond retained, formed that province, which was afterwards denominated *Languedoc*.

The count of Toulouſe ſurrendered five of his caſtles to the king's troops, as a ſurety for his compliance with the terms of the treaty; and his daughter Jane was, according to agreement, immediately affianced to Alfonſo, the brother of Lewis. Raymond remained ſome time at the court of Paris, where he acquired the eſteem and friendſhip of the king, who ſent him back to his own dominions loaded with honours and preſents.

During theſe negociations a council was holden at Toulouſe, by which the formidable tribunal of the Inquiſition was eſtabliſhed on a permanent baſis[20]; the biſhops were ordered to appoint one eccleſiaſtic and two or three laymen in every pariſh[21], to make a ſtrict ſearch after heretics, and their protectors, not only in their houſes, which they were to ſearch from top to bottom, but in any ſubterraneous paſſages in which they might take refuge; threatening the inferior magiſtrates with the moſt ſevere puniſhments, in caſe of

[19] De Vaiſſette, Hiſt. de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 375. [20] Conc. tom. xi. p. 727 et ſeq. [21] Can. 1, 2, 3.

of a refuſal to enforce theſe tyrannical mandates[22]; and confiſcating the poſſeſſions of ſuch noblemen as ſhould permit theſe unfortunate objects of perſecution to fix their reſidence within their domains. All heretics, who ſhould become *voluntary* converts, were prohibited from reſiding in ſuſpected places; and ordered to inhabit only *Catholic* towns; they were to wear two croſſes, one on either ſide of their boſom, of a colour different from that of their clothes; and they could not hold any public office, without a particular diſpenſation from the pope or his legate. Such heretics as fear alone had induced to profeſs the true faith, were condemned to perpetual impriſonment, to be ſupported by thoſe who ſhould profit by the confiſcation of their effects. Every perſon who had attained the age of maturity[23], was bound to promiſe a ſtrict adherence to the Catholic faith, and to ſwear that he would inform againſt heretics: which oath was to be renewed every two years. Every layman was forbidden to keep either the Bible or Teſtament in his houſe[24], and was only permitted to have the Pſalter, the Breviary, or the Book of Prayers, in Latin, but not in the vulgar tongue:—this is the firſt inſtance of a ſimilar prohibition in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; the abbé Velly aſcribes[25] it to a deſire of preventing heretics from making an improper uſe of the ſcriptures; it would certainly have been more candid to impute it to the true cauſe, a wiſh to keep the laity in a ſtate of ignorance on all religious matters, in order to extend the influence, and to increaſe the emoluments, of the clergy. By the thirty-eighth canon it was forbidden to conſtruct any new fortreſſes, to rebuild ſuch as had been demoliſhed, and to erect any new tolls; all barons, knights, citizens, and peaſants were likewiſe prohibited from entering into any league or combination, except againſt the enemies of the church; it was laſtly ordained, that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered gratis, and that the judges ſhould publiſh theſe ſtatutes four times a year.

Lewis, about the ſame time, publiſhed an ordonnance, which tended to ſanction and encourage theſe ſhameful encroachments of the church[26]: It enacts, that the churches of the province of Languedoc ſhall enjoy all the privileges, immunities, and liberties of the Gallican church; that ſuch as are convicted of hereſy ſhall be puniſhed without delay, according to their deſerts; that whoever ſhall favour them ſhall be holden unworthy to fill any office, incapable of ſucceeding to any eſtate, and ſhall likewiſe forfeit all his property, real and perſonal; that the barons and officers of juſtice, under pain of confiſcation and corporal puniſhment, ſhall exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to diſcover heretics, that they may be ſurrendered into the hands of the eccleſiaſtical judge, who ſhall chaſtiſe them without reſpect to perſons; that the effects of thoſe who ſhall remain a whole year under a ſentence of excommunication ſhall be ſeized by the officers of the crown, and the culprits ſhall not recover them till they have ſatisfied the church, and received an expreſs order from the king for that purpoſe. The king's youth

[22] Can. 4. [23] Can. 12. [24] Can. 14. [25] Tom. iv. p. 133. [26] Recueil des Ordon. Laur. tom. i. p. 50.

is the only poſſible excuſe that can be offered for this arbitrary edict; though, as he ſuffered it to remain in force during thirty years, without any attempt to modify its tyrannical proviſions, or to repreſs its evil effects, his conduct, in this reſpect, certainly merits reprobation.

A. D. 1230.] While the policy of the regent was highly commended for the extenſion of territory which had been acquired by the treaty with Raymond, the count of Brittany once more erected the ſtandard of revolt, and engaged Henry of England to eſpouſe his cauſe: that monarch accordingly embarked at Portſmouth, with his army, on the laſt day of April, and arrived ſafe at Saint Malo, where he was received by his ally, who ſurrendered ſeveral places of ſtrength into his hands; and a great number of the nobility did homage to him as their ſovereign.

Lewis, apprized of their intentions, had already taken Angiers, in the vicinity of which his army was poſted to obſerve the motions of the Engliſh. and to oppoſe their entrance into Poitou; but, ſeeing that Henry remained at Nantes, in a ſtate of inactivity, he advanced towards Amiens, which he inveſted and took, together with ſeveral places in the vicinity of Henry's quarters, without having experienced the ſmalleſt interruption from that prince, who, far from making thoſe exertions which were neceſſary to enſure ſucceſs to his undertaking, devoted his whole time to feſtivity and pleaſure.

Lewis, however, being compelled to draw his troops from Anjou to repreſs an inſurrection of the nobles, who, in the hope of being ſuſtained by Henry, had embraced the opportunity afforded them by the abſence of their monarch to excite freſh commotions; the king of England, had he poſſeſſed ſkill and ſpirit ſufficient to avail himſelf of the favourable conjuncture, might, probably, have been able to recover the dominions which his predeceſſors had loſt. The French forces were all employed in another quarter; and the Normans were earneſt in their ſolicitations to him, to go and take poſſeſſion of their country: but, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, he marched into Poitou, and reduced the ſmall town of Mirabeau; then repaired to Guienne to receive the homage of the Gaſcon barons; and, laſtly, returned to Brittany, where he relapſed into his former indolence, and ſuffered Lewis to complete, without interruption, the pacification of his kingdom. He ſoon after left the continent, and, by the advice of his miniſters, was induced to ſubſcribe a truce for three years; in which the count of Brittany was included.

The king profited by this interval of tranquillity to fortify his frontiers, and to renew the ancient treaties of alliance with the emperor and his ſon. He alſo publiſhed a ſevere ordonnance againſt the Jews, who were alternately baniſhed and recalled, in order to gratify the rapacity of the ſovereign. It appears by various edicts, that the effects of

all Jews who were ſettled in the kingdom[27], belonged to the barons within whoſe domains they had fixed their reſidence. They were forbidden by the law to change their abode without the permiſſion of their lord, who was empowered to follow and claim them, as fugitive ſlaves, even in the royal domains. It even appears that this unfortunate people were regarded as an object of traffic[28]; they were transferred, with the land, from one proprietor to another, and were ſometimes ſold ſeparately, in the ſame manner as negroes are now ſold in the Weſt-India iſlands: their value being eſtimated according to their talents and induſtry. The ſpirit of perſecution was carried ſtill farther; for if a Jew became a convert to Chriſtianity, the whole of his property was confiſcated to the king[29]: thus the abjuration of error was, by a ſtrange and impious inconſiſtency of oppreſſion, made to incur as ſevere a puniſhment as could be inflicted for the commiſſion of a crime!

Even Lewis, whoſe piety procured him the appellation of *Saint*, could ſo far miſtake or pervert the precepts and the ſpirit of Chriſtianity as not only to ſanction and confirm, but even to extend theſe oppreſſive laws. He compelled the Jews to wear ſome diſtinguiſhing mark; and if they appeared in public without it they were fined ten livres, and their garment was forfeited to the informer. The Chriſtians were forbidden to have any commerce with them; they could not take a Jew into their ſervice, nor rent a farm of him, nor employ him as a phyſician or ſurgeon, nor take his child to nurſe. When a Jew appeared in evidence againſt a Chriſtian[30], he was compelled to ſwear by *the ten names of God*, and his oath was accompanied by a thouſand imprecations on his own head if he deviated from the truth. The perſon, too, who adminiſtered the oath, thus addreſſed him:—"May the Lord God ſend you a continual fever, or ague, if you are "guilty of perjury; may he deſtroy you in his anger; you, and your family, and your "effects: may your enemies ſeize your poſſeſſions, and raviſh your wife: may the "ſword, and death, fear and inquietude purſue you on all ſides: may the earth ſwallow "you up like Dathan and Abiron: may all the ſins of your parents, and all the male-"dictions contained in the law of Moſes, fall on your head!" To this Chriſtian-like invocation theſe miſerable objects of public execration were compelled to anſwer three times—*So be it.* A Chriſtian convicted of a criminal connection with a female Jew was burned alive: a contemporary author juſtifies the ſeverity of this puniſhment, by aſſerting that the commiſſion of ſuch an act with a Jew is a crime equal to that of beſtiality![31]

A. D. 1231 to 1233.] Lewis was more worthily employed in checking the arrogant preſumption of his prelates, who, on the ſmalleſt ſubject of diſcontent, aſſumed the

[27] Laur. Ordon. des Rois de Fr. t. i, p. 16. [28] Ib. p. 48. [29] Du Cange, Gloſſ. verbo Judæi.
[30] Id. Ib. t. v. p. 471. [31] Velly, t. iii, p. 157.

right

right of laying their dioceſes under an interdict. In order to remedy the inconveniences ariſing from ſo flagrant an abuſe of authority, the king ſeized their temporalities; which mode of proceeding, in a few years, produced the deſired effect. Having attained his nineteenth year, he was perſuaded by his mother, to beſtow his hand on Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, a princeſs of extraordinary beauty and rare accompliſhments, though ſhe had not yet completed her fourteenth year. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Sens, where the young queen was crowned a few days after the marriage. The three ſiſters of Margaret were married ſoon after; Eleanor, to Henry the Third of England; Sancia, to prince Richard, brother to that monarch; and Beatrice to Charles, brother to Lewis, who ſucceeded to the title of count of Provence, in right of his wife, and by his own valour and conduct became king of Sicily.

A. D. 1234, 1235.] The truce with England being nearly expired, Lewis deemed it neceſſary to make the moſt formidable preparations for renewing the war. Determined to chaſtiſe the count of Brittany, who had already commenced hoſtilities, he marched into his territories at the head of a powerful army; and though his vanguard was attacked and defeated by the count, he advanced into the interior parts of the country, and committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations; his turbulent vaſſal, alarmed at the rapidity of his progreſs, demanded a truce till November, when he engaged, if the king of England did not in the interim come in perſon to aſſiſt him, to ſurrender Brittany into the hands of the king. This propoſal, being accompanied by a conſiderable ſum of money, was accepted; and Henry not having appeared within the appointed time, the count, at the expiration of the truce, fulfilled his engagement. He repaired to Paris, did homage to Lewis, renounced all the advantages which had been accorded him by the treaty of Vendôme; ſurrendered to the king, for the term of three years, the caſtles of Saint-Aubin, Chantoceaux and Marceuil[32]; promiſed, as ſoon as his ſon ſhould come of age, to ſerve five years in Paleſtine, at his own expence; and, laſtly, bound himſelf to re-eſtabliſh the nobles of Brittany in all their ancient rights, privileges and immunities.

The ſubmiſſion of the count of Brittany, and the vigorous conduct which had produced it, kept the other great vaſſals of the crown in awe. In order to reduce their power within proper bounds, Lewis adopted a regulation, which precluded the nobles from marrying their daughters to foreigners, and reſtrained them from encreaſing their influence by connections and alliances with the neighbouring powers.

A. D. 1236, 1237.] The king having now attained his one-and-twentieth year, took the reins of government into his own hands; but though Blanche ceaſed to bear

[32] Duch. t. v. p. 692.

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the title of Regent, ſhe ſtill maintained her former aſcendancy; and by her acute penetration and prudent counſels, greatly aſſiſted her ſon in ſupporting with dignity and eaſe the burden of royalty. Thibaud, count of Champagne, having ſucceeded to the crown of Navarre, had promiſed not to marry his only daughter, Blanche, without the king's conſent; but faithleſs to his oaths, he ſecretly married her to John de Dreux, ſon to the count of Brittany, giving her the county of Perche as a dower, and ſettling on her the kingdom of Navarre, to the excluſion of any children he might afterwards have[33]. Lewis was no ſooner apprized of this alliance, than he ſent to demand the three places which Thibaud had promiſed to ſurrender, in caſe he broke the engagement he had contracted; but the king of Navarre, inſtead of complying with the ſummons, entered into a league with the counts of Brittany and la Marche, prepared to reſiſt by arms the attempts of Lewis, fortified his towns, aſſembled his troops, and endeavoured to engage the pope in his intereſt. As a new cruſade had been recently publiſhed, and Thibaud had aſſumed the croſs, the ſovereign pontiff, Gregory the Ninth, did not heſitate in eſpouſing his cauſe. With that view he wrote a peremptory letter to the French monarch, commanding him to deſiſt from all hoſtilities againſt a prince who, being about to repair to the Holy Land, was placed under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee. But Lewis, deſpiſing the threats of Gregory, collected his army, and was on the point of making an incurſion into Brie and Champagne, when Thibaud, alarmed at the vigour of his preparations, ſuddenly changed the martial tones of war, for the humble language of ſupplication. Lewis granted him the peace he ſo earneſtly ſolicited, on condition that he ſhould deliver up the towns of Bray-upon-Seine and Montereau-Faut-Yonne, till ſuch time as he ſhould have fulfilled the promiſe he now made to repair to Paleſtine with all convenient expedition, and not to appear again in France til the expiration of ſeven years.

Languedoc was ſtill in a ſtate of confuſion; though the inquiſition had been eſtabliſhed three years in that devoted province, it had not overcome the numerous obſtacles which reaſon and juſtice oppoſed to it. The conſuls of Toulouſe ſtarted many objections to the proceedings of the inquiſitors, and Raymond inſiſted on their obſervance of certain forms[34]. This was ſufficient to excite the clamours of the devotees, and to draw down the vengeance of the church upon his head. He was accuſed of affording protection to heretics; and the eccleſiaſtical thunders were accordingly launched againſt him. The prince, juſtly incenſed at the inſolence of the prieſts, forbade his ſubjects to appear before the inquiſitors: war was thus declared, and the clergy and monks of Toulouſe were the firſt to feel its effects; they were compelled to leave the city; and the Jacobins in particular, as the heads of the inquiſition, were properly expelled with every mark of ignominy[35]. The new tribunal was not better received at

Reg. des Chartes de Champ. [34] Guil. de Pod. c. 41, apud. Duch. t. viii, p. 694.
[35] Catel. Hiſt. du Comte de Toul. p. 358.

Narbonne.

Narbonne. The archbiſhop of that dioceſe, having inſtituted a proceſs againſt ſome people who were ſuſpected of hereſy, the inhabitants of the Lower Town flew to arms, broke open the houſe of the *Freres Precheurs*, ſeized the regiſters of the inquiſition, and tore them in pieces; theſe proceedings gave riſe to a civil war; which, however, was ſpeedily ſuppreſſed by the authority of the king, who ordered both parties to prefer their complaints, and ſeek for redreſs, by application to his ſeneſchal, at Carcaſſone.

But Raymond did not experience the ſame equity from the court of Rome, whither the news of the commotions at Toulouſe had been carried by the archbiſhop of Vienne, who officiated as legate for the pope[36]. Gregory wrote a threatening letter to the count, in which he ordered him to make ſuch reparation for his conduct as his legate ſhould preſcribe; to compel the conſuls to ſubmit to the authority of the inquiſition; to aſſume the croſs, and repair in the following ſpring to the Holy Land, there to remain five years. The ſovereign pontiff wrote to the king at the ſame time, deſiring he would arm againſt the heretics, conſtrain the count of Toulouſe to repair to Paleſtine, and give the adminiſtration of Languedoc to prince Alfonſo, who was to marry the count's daughter. Lewis, however, was in no haſte to comply with the entreaties of an inſolent and arrogant prieſt, who ſet both juſtice and humanity at defiance: on the contrary, he ventured to remonſtrate with Gregory on the impropriety of his conduct, and at length induced him to revoke the ſentence of baniſhment, which he had pronounced againſt Raymond, and to leave the deciſion of the matter to his own diſcretion.—About this time the marriage of Alfonſo, brother to Lewis, with Jane, the only daughter of Raymond; and that of Robert, another of the king's brothers, with Matilda, ſiſter to the duke of Brabant, were celebrated at Paris, with great magnificence.

A. D. 1239 to 1242.] The tranquillity of the kingdom ſeemed now to be eſtabliſhed on a permanent baſis; and a lapſe of three years occurred without any tranſaction worthy of hiſtorical notice. The factious nobles, baffled in their ſucceſſive enterprizes, had aſſumed the croſs, and ſignalized their ineffectual valour in the plains of Paleſtine. The pope, engaged in a diſpute with the emperor Frederic, had the audacity to depoſe his enemy, and to offer his throne to Robert, brother to Lewis; but the French monarch was too wiſe to riſk a certain good for a precarious advantage, or to acknowledge the right of the Roman pontiff to diſpoſe of crowns at his pleaſure. By this prudent conduct he ſecured to his ſubjects the bleſſings of peace; which they continued to enjoy till the count de la Marche hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt.

The county of Poitou had recently been conferred by Lewis on his brother Alfonſo; and, as the count de la Marche held ſome conſiderable fiefs in this province, he was ſum-

[36] Rainald. An. 1236.

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moned to do homage to the prince. With this citation he reluctantly complied, and, immediately after, at the inſtigation of his wife, flew to arms, inſulted Alfonſo, and prepared to wage war againſt his ſovereign. The rebellious vaſſal invoked the aſſiſtance of the king of England, who accepted his invitation, and repaired to France, the ſcene of his former diſgrace. Lewis, in the mean time, diſplayed his accuſtomed vigour: having aſſembled his army, he attacked the ſtrong fortreſs of Frontenay, on the confines of Saintonge and Poitou, which, after a ſiege of fifteen days, was taken by aſſault. He next reduced the towns of Villiers, Breic (or Preic), Saint Gelais, and Mantac, with the caſtle of Auterne. Tonnay-Boutonné, Thoron, and Taillebourg, threw open their gates at his approach: at this laſt place he fixed his camp, in a meadow watered by the river Charente, on the oppoſite ſide of which the Engliſh army was poſted. The ſtream was narrow, but deep, and over it was a ſmall bridge of ſtone, which would only admit four men a-breaſt, and which was defended by ſome towers in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. This dangerous paſſage the king determined to force; and, after two unſucceſsful attacks, in which he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, he at length effected his purpoſe[37]. A battle then enſued, in which the enemy was worſted, and the Engliſh monarch, quitting the field with precipitation, fled to Saintes; thither he was followed by the conqueror; and, before the walls of that city a more bloody and more deciſive engagement took place. The conflict was long ſuſtained between the rival monarchs with equal fury, and with equal ſucceſs; the French were anxious to maintain the glory they had acquired on the preceding day, and the Engliſh were equally ſolicitous to efface the diſgrace they had then ſuſtained; great courage and reſolution were diſplayed on both ſides; but, at laſt, victory again declared in favour of Lewis: Henry was the firſt to fly[38], and the whole army ſoon followed his example. A few French knights having purſued them with more ardour than prudence, entered the gates of Saintes at the ſame time, and were taken priſoners. That very night, however, the town was evacuated by the Engliſh, and taken poſſeſſion of by the king. The count de la Marche, no longer able to reſiſt the ſtorm which he had raiſed againſt himſelf, had recourſe to the clemency of Lewis, who conſented to an accommodation, on condition that the count ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the places which had been reduced during the war; and that he ſhould do homage for the reſt of his dominions,

When the treaty was drawn up, the count, according to agreement, repaired to the king's camp, accompanied by his wife and children, in order to ſign it. He there threw himſelf at the feet of Lewis, and, burſting into tears, thus addreſſed the monarch: "My "lord and ſovereign, you ſee at your knees a wretch, who owns that he is unworthy of "all favour, becauſe he has added inſolence to injuſtice; but forget his crime, and let "juſtice give way to mercy, from which alone he can expect his pardon[39]." This ab-

37 Joinville, p. 21. 38 Guil. Guiart. p. 138. 39 Guil. Nang. p. 339.

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ject ſubmiſſion excited the king's pity, who immediately raiſed up the count and his wife, and contented himſelf with exacting a promiſe from the former to accompany him in an expedition he was about to undertake againſt the count of Toulouſe.

That nobleman, forgetting the ſupport he had received from Lewis, when threatened with the vengeance of the pope, had not only declared war againſt his protector, but even againſt his own daughter and her huſband.—The deſire of recovering what he had loſt by the treaty of Paris effaced from his mind the recollection of paſt favours. Having received a promiſe of aſſiſtance from the kings of Navarre, Caſtile, and Arragon; from the viſcount Trencavel; from the counts of Foix, Armagnac, Comminges, and Rodes; from the viſcounts of Narbonne, Lautrec, and Lomagne; and from other powerful noblemen, he had concluded a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the count de la Marche, whoſe daughter, Margaret, he was diſpoſed to marry, and, enraged at having been forced to give his own daughter, Jane, to the count of Poitiers, he reſolved to diſinherit her.

Taking the field with all the troops he could collect, Raymond entered the king's domains, which he laid waſte with fire and ſword; he then defeated a body of troops that were ſent to oppoſe him; took poſſeſſion of the Raſez, the Minervois, the Termenois, and the circumjacent diſtricts; reduced the Carcaſſez; took Albi by aſſault; and ſeizing Narbonne, and its territory, re-aſſumed the title of duke of Narbonne, which he had formally reſigned. Lewis, on the news of this revolution, detached the old count of Brittany, and *the count de la Marche*, with a part of his army, to check the rapid progreſs of Raymond; but the particulars of this expedition are not recorded in hiſtory.

A. D. 1243.] The king, at length, found means to weaken the power of Raymond, by corrupting his allies; and that prince, alarmed at the general defection, was compelled to ſubmit to a confirmation and renewal of the treaty of Paris, reſtoring all the places he had reduced, and ſurrendering to the king, for the term of five years, the caſtles of Puicelſi in Albigeois, of Najac in Rouergue, of Laurac in the Toulouſain, and of Penne in Agenois. While this peace was negociating with the count of Toulouſe, the king of England had fled, firſt to Blaye, and afterwards to Bourdeaux. He there iſſued orders for levying troops; but, being pillaged by the Gaſcons, who took his money, and brought him no men in return, and abandoned by thoſe on whoſe invitation he had repaired to France, he ſolicited a truce, and offered to pay five thouſand pounds to defray the expences of the war. This propoſal was accepted by Lewis; and a truce for five years was accordingly ſigned by the two monarchs[40]; after which Henry re-

[40] Rymer, Fredera, tom i. p. 146.

turned to England, not crowned with laurels, but covered with diſgrace. The joy experienced by the French, on the happy termination of a war, which had appeared to be pregnant with the moſt ſerious conſequences, was conſiderably heightened, on the return of Lewis to his capital, by the birth of a prince, who was chriſtened by the archbiſhop of Paris, and received the name of his father.

On the death of Gregory, Sinibald, a noble Genoeſe, was elected by the cardinals to ſucceed him in the papal chair; this pontiff, who aſſumed the title of Innocent the Fourth, had been the particular friend of the emperor Frederic; but elated by his promotion, he renewed the arrogant pretenſions of his predeceſſor, and, by his conduct, extended the deſtructive flames of civil war, which had too long ravaged the fertile plains of Italy. The ſentence of excommunication againſt Frederic was renewed, and every eccleſiaſtic throughout Europe had orders to read it in the pulpit. A clergyman of Paris, whoſe piety, though ſincere, was not tinctured with ſcholaſtic gloom, aſcending the pulpit with the bull of pope Innocent in his hand, thus addreſſed his congregation: "You all know, my brethren, that I have received orders to fulminate an excommunication "which has been launched againſt Frederic; *Why* I know not—all that I know is, that "violent diſputes, and an irreconcileable hatred, ſubſiſt between that prince and the Roman "pontiff; God only knows which of the two is in the wrong; wherefore I excommunicate, "with all my power, that perſon who has injured the other; and I abſolve him, who, to "the great offence of all the Chriſtian world, has ſuſtained the injury[41]." This pleaſantry became a ſubject of laughter to all Paris; the emperor, who was ſoon informed of it, ſent conſiderable preſents to the facetious preacher; while the pope, who, probably, felt the force of ſuch raillery, puniſhed his indiſcretion by the infliction of a ſevere penance.

Lewis, about this time, finding the extreme inconvenience ariſing from the circumſtance of vaſſals being ſubject to the authority of two ſovereigns, enforced a regulation, which compelled all vaſſals of the crowns of France and England to determine to which ſovereign they would yield homage; and, finally, aboliſhed the dangerous cuſtom of adhering to either, as their caprice or intereſt ſuggeſted. Yet even in this edict, the juſtice of Lewis was conſpicuous, in indemnifying thoſe who adhered to him for the lands which they forfeited by ſeceding from the king of England.

The pope, driven to extremities by the rapid ſucceſs of the imperial arms, eſcaped from Italy in diſguiſe; and repaired to the abby of Citeaux, where he claimed the protection of Lewis againſt *the ſon of Satan*[42]. The king accordingly haſtened to meet him, accompanied by his brothers, the counts of Artois and Poitiers, the princeſs Iſa-

[41] M. Paris, p. 575. [42] Joinv. p. 170.

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bella, the count of Boulogne, the duke and ducheſs of Burgundy, and a ſplendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen. At this interview Lewis was earneſtly ſolicited to grant a refuge to Innocent within his own dominions; but, by the advice of his barons, he prudently refuſed to comply with the requeſt, and to receive a *firebrand*, that would ſoon have ſet his kingdom in a flame. His example was followed by all the other monarchs, to whom a ſimilar application was made, and the pope, enraged at the neglect with which he was treated, exclaimed: "We muſt either conſent to an accommoda-"tion with Frederic, or drive him to deſpair. When we ſhall have cruſhed or tamed "this mighty dragon, all theſe little ſerpents will no longer dare to hold up their "heads; and we ſhall trample on them without fear[43]." Such an exclamation could not fail to offend the ſovereigns of Europe; but they were too much under the influence of prejudice, to treat this arrogant prieſt as he deſerved.

A. D. 1244, 1245.] While the vicar of Chriſt was *piouſly* employed in forming plans of revenge, Lewis was ſeized with a dangerous diſorder that reduced him to the verge of the grave; his diſſolution, indeed, was actually ſuppoſed to have taken place, and the attendants were preparing to lay him out, when a deep ſigh proclaimed their error; and ſoon after he is ſaid to have exclaimed: "The light of the Eaſt, by the grace of God, ſhone "upon me from the Heavens, and reſtored me to life[44]." He immediately ſent for the biſhop of Paris, and, making a vow to repair to the relief of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, received the croſs from the hands of that prelate. The joy which his ſubjects experienced at the unexpected recovery of their ſovereign was, by this fatal vow, ſpeedily converted into ſorrow, which the birth of a ſecond prince, named Philip, did not altogether remove.

The pope, in the mean time, had holden a general council at Lyons, at which he diſplayed the moſt indecent warmth, and the moſt unchriſtian like rancour. Though Frederic offered to exert his utmoſt efforts, in proof of his religious zeal, for uniting the Greek and Roman churches, to attack the infidels, wherever he ſhould find them, to repair in perſon to Paleſtine, in order to ſupport and protect the Chriſtians of the Eaſt; and, finally, to reſtore to the apoſtolic ſee all the places he had taken, and to repair all the damages he had cauſed during the war; yet theſe offers were inſufficient to ſatisfy the arrogant pontiff, who accordingly rejected them with diſdain, and, ſoon after, pronounced the following ſentence againſt the emperor: "I am the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt; all "that I ſhall bind upon earth will be bound in Heaven, according to the promiſe made "by the Son of God to Saint Peter; wherefore, after having deliberated on the ſubject "with our brethren, and with the council, I declare Frederic to be attainted and con-"victed of ſacrilege and hereſy, to be excommunicated and depoſed; I abſolve from their

[43] Mat. Paris, p. 660. [44] Hiſt. de Saint Louis, p. 32

" oaths, for ever, all ſuch as have ſworn fealty to him; I forbid all perſons, under pain " of excommunication (incurred by the very act itſelf), to obey him in future; and, " laſtly, I order the electors to chuſe another emperor, reſerving to myſelf the diſ- " poſal of the kingdom of Sicily."

At this famous council, Velly juſtly obſerves[45], the dignity of the prelacy, the rights of nations, and the majeſty of kings, were equally invaded, by the haughty pontiff; yet ſo blind were the ſovereigns to their own intereſt, that they remained paſſive ſpectators of that conduct, which, founded on a violation of all laws, both human and divine, ſtruck at the very root of ſocial order, and tended to eſtabliſh the reign of anarchy, violence, and murder. Lewis, indeed, was highly diſpleaſed with Innocent; and, at an interview, which took place at the abbey of Cluni, is ſaid to have expreſſed his diſpleaſure to the pope himſelf, and to have endeavoured to reſtore peace between the empire and the apoſtolic ſee[46]. But his efforts were fruitleſs, and the pontiff, far from evincing a pacific diſpoſition, ſought to engage the king to declare war againſt the Engliſh, who had offended him by remonſtrating, with equal freedom and juſtice, againſt the oppreſſive exactions of the court of Rome.

On the king's departure from Cluni, he ſent a detachment of troops into Provence, in order to enforce a meaſure which had been ſome time in agitation, though hitherto kept ſecret. The count of Provence had died, and, by his will, declared his youngeſt daughter, Beatrice, ſole heireſs to his dominions, to the excluſion of her three ſiſters, two of whom were queens. The young counteſs had, during her father's life, been promiſed to Raymond, count of Toulouſe, and they had only waited for a diſpenſation from the pope, to celebrate the marriage[47]. The king of Arragon alſo, being anxious to obtain her for one of his ſons, had put a body of troops in motion, in order to ſupport his pretenſions. It being the intereſt of France to oppoſe both theſe alliances, Lewis threatened the inhabitants of Provence to ſupport the claims of his wife, who was the eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed count, at the head of fifty thouſand men.—This threat had the deſired effect; the Provençals, alarmed leſt their country ſhould be expoſed to the horrors of war, perſuaded the princeſs to retract the engagement ſhe had formed with the count of Toulouſe, and to beſtow herſelf on prince Charles, the youngeſt brother of the French monarch. Lewis, contented with this offer, withdrew his pretenſions, and the nuptials between Beatrice and Charles were accordingly celebrated, by which the latter acquired the title of count of Provence.

A. D. 1246.] Theſe different occupations did not prevent the king from making every neceſſary preparation for his voyage to Paleſtine, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous

[45] Tom. iv. p. 326. [46] Goldaſt. t. iii. p. 380. [47] Guil. de Pod. c. xlvii. p. 699.

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ſolicitations of the queen-mother, who exerted her utmoſt efforts to diſſuade him from the adoption of a meaſure, which ſhe conceived to be pregnant with danger to the ſtate. She repreſented to him, that a vow, made in the time of ſickneſs, when a man is not in full poſſeſſion of his faculties, could not be binding; that a concern for the welfare of his ſubjects was alone ſufficient to abſolve him from the obligation, without any diſpenſation whatever[48]; that the ſituation of affairs, both external and internal, rendered his preſence at home an object of neceſſity; that he ought to reflect on the infidelity of the Poictevins, who bore the yoke with impatience; on the diſturbances in Languedoc, which, though huſhed for the preſent, were expected to break out with additional violence; on the animoſity of England; the irreconcileable enmity between the pope and the emperor, which ſet all Germany and Italy in flames; the intereſts of his people, which ought not to be leſs dear to him than the Chriſtians of the eaſt; the welfare of his family, who, by his abſence, might be expoſed to a long train of calamities; and, laſtly, on the grief of a mother, who having but a ſhort time to live, could not expect to ſee him return. Theſe arguments were all enforced by the principal nobles and prelates of the realm, who were fully convinced of their juſtice; but the ſuggeſtions of reaſon proved impotent in oppoſing the dictates of miſtaken zeal; the king's reſolution was not to be ſhaken; and his ſubjects having diſcharged their duty by their attempts to diſſuade him from this raſh undertaking, now diſplayed their obedience in accelerating the preparations.

At a parliament holden at Paris, great numbers of the chief nobles and gentlemen of the realm, in imitation of their ſovereign, aſſumed the croſs; among theſe were the king's three brothers, Robert, Alfonſo, and Charles; Peter, count of Brittany, and his ſon John; Hugh, duke of Burgundy; William de Dampierre, count of Flanders; the valiant count of Saint Paul; and his nephew Gaucher de Châtillon; Hugh de Luſignan, count de la Marche, and his eldeſt ſon, Hugh le Brun; the counts of Dreux, Bar, Soiſſons, Rethel, Montfort and Vendôme; the conſtable, Imbert de Beaujeu; John de Beaumont, chamberlain; Philip de Courtenai; Archambaud de Bourbon; Ralph de Couci; John des Barres; Gaubert D'Apremont and his brothers; Gilles de Mailli; Robert de Bethune; Hugh de Noailles, and John, lord of Joinville, the hiſtorian. Among the prelates were the archbiſhops of Rheims and Bourges, with the biſhops of Beauvais, Lâon, Orleans, Clermont, and Soiſſons. It was decreed by the Aſſembly that all private wars ſhould ceaſe during five years; that no proceſs could be inſtituted againſt the cruſaders, on account of debts, for the term of three years; and that the clergy ſhould pay the king one tenth of their revenues. "This laſt regulation," ſays a modern hiſtorian[49], "excited great murmurs among the clergy, who had hitherto "highly applauded the cruſade, but whoſe zeal was not always proof againſt intereſt."

[48] M. Paris, p. 743. [49] P. Daniel, t. iii. p. 245.

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They complained loudly of the burden thus impoſed on them, and were particularly offended at the tax being levied by the pope's commiſſioners, who, at the ſame time, exacted another contribution for the ſupport of the war againſt the emperor[50]. One of theſe miniſters of extortion, meeting a village-clerk, with ſome pieces of bread, which he had collected in carrying holy water from houſe to houſe, inſiſted on knowing how much his profits, in that occupation, amounted to in a year; and being told that they produced about twenty ſols, he immediately inſiſted on the payment of two ſols for the pope, which the poor man was obliged to comply with[51].

But the exactions of Innocent experienced conſiderable oppoſition from the nobles, who, enraged at the ſhameful extortion of his miniſters, and moved by the complaints of an oppreſſed people, were ſtrongly diſpoſed to proceed to extremities againſt the author of ſuch calamities[52]. They even proceeded to diſcuſs this queſtion—Whether a pontiff whoſe conduct was ſo repugnant to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity ought to be conſidered as the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſucceſſor of Saint Peter?—They proceeded ſtill farther, till at length a regular and determined oppoſition was formed to the juriſdiction aſſumed by the church, which interrupted the adminiſtration of juſtice in the ſecular courts. The nobility aſſembled, entered into a league for defending their rights againſt the clergy, enacted ſtatutes, which they ſwore to obſerve, eſtabliſhed funds for their ſupport, and nominated four of their body as chiefs of the confederacy. The king is ſaid to have authorized this aſſociation for repreſſing eccleſiaſtical uſurpations, which was, of courſe, loaded with anathemas by the court of Rome; he, nevertheleſs, granted his protection to the clergy, againſt the inſatiate avidity of the pope. The permiſſion to levy troops for the ſovereign pontiff was alſo revoked, Lewis being reſolved not to impoveriſh the church of France, in order to ſupport a war againſt Chriſtians. In vain did Innocent requeſt he might be permitted to *borrow* from the biſhops; the king remained inflexible, and perſevered in his refuſal to ſacrifice the welfare of his ſubjects to the ambition of a turbulent prieſt.

A. D. 1247, 1248.] Previous to his departure to Paleſtine, which was fixed for the ninth of June, 1248, Lewis adopted every poſſible precaution for the tranquillity of his kingdom, during his abſence; he engaged the turbulent counts of la Marche and Brittany to accompany him to the Holy Land. In conformity to the general practice, he publiſhed that he was ready to redreſs every injury he had offered; and the king of England demanded by his brother the earl of Cornwall, the duchy of Normandy, and the reſt of thoſe territories in France, of which he had been unjuſtly deſpoiled. To the biſhops of that duchy he referred the application, and their deſigns coinciding with his intereſt, the demand of Henry was rejected; yet that monarch conſented to renew

[50] Mat. Paris, p. 709 710. [51] Id. p. 795. [52] Id. 710, 718, 720.

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the truce between the two kingdoms; and Lewis, after-inveſting his mother Blanche with the ſovereign authority, prepared for his embarkation.

On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, the king embarked at the port of Aigues-Mortes, with the queen and the counteſs of Anjou, who were reſolved to accompany their huſbands in this perilous expedition, The fleet was compoſed of eighteen hundred veſſels, containing nine thouſand horſe, and one hunded and thirty thouſand foot; with favourable winds they reached the coaſt of Cyprus, on whoſe friendly ſhores the troops were diſembarked; and, during the ſeverity of the winter, their ſtrength was recruited, and their health reſtored by the plenty of that iſland.

A. D. 1249 to 1254.] Lewis, on his arrival at Cyprus, had aſſembled a council of war, for the purpoſe of fixing his plan of operations; ſome of the cruſaders were of opinion that he ſhould direct his courſe to the port of Acre in Paleſtine, from the perſuaſion that the kingdom of Jeruſalem, the recovery of which was the principal object of the expedition, might be eaſily ſubdued. Others, on the contrary, maintained, that though the conqueſt of that kingdom would not prove an object of difficulty, yet it could not be maintained againſt the power of the ſultan of Egypt; that, before all the towns and fortreſſes could be put in a proper ſtate of defence, the majority of the cruſaders would return to Europe; that it would, therefore, be moſt prudent to ſtrike at the root of the evil, by an attack on Damietta; as the reduction of Egypt would prevent any farther oppoſition to their attempts on the Holy Land. Theſe reaſons appeared plauſible to Lewis, who accordingly determined to repair to Egypt.

Early in the ſpring the fleet caſt anchor at the mouth of the Nile, and, after a vigorous reſiſtance from the Saracens, the whole army made good their landing, with Lewis at their head, clad in complete armour, preceded by the oriflamme, and accompanied by the pope's legate, bearing an elevated croſs. The ſtrong city of Damietta which had formerly withſtood the aſſaults of the Chriſtians for ſixteen months, was now abandoned by the Infidels, ere it was attacked; but that town was the firſt and laſt of the king's conqueſts. A ruinous delay fruſtrated that ſucceſs which expedition muſt have enſured; the Saracens, recovered from their conſternation, prepared for a vigorous defence; and the progreſs of the French, who directed their march towards Cairo, the capital of Egypt, was impeded by an unſeaſonable innundation of the Nile. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France diſplayed their invincible contempt of danger and of diſcipline; the count of Artois, with about two thouſand of the flower of the army, paſſed the river, at a ford which a faithleſs and mercenary Arab had pointed out, forced the enemy's camp, defeated the Saracens with great ſlaughter, and ruſhing forward with inconſiderate valour, ſtormed the neighbouring town of Maſſoura. But the momentary conſternation of the inhabitants was diſpelled by the intelligence

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that the main body of the French was ſtill at a diſtance. The flying Infidels were rallied by a ſoldier, named Bondocdar, who deſerved, and who afterwards uſurped, the ſceptre; and before the Chriſtians could arrive to the ſupport of their van-guard, the count of Artois and his fearleſs companions had effaced, by a glorious death, the fatal error of impetuous courage. The battle was with difficulty reſtored, and, after an obſtinate and bloody conteſt, in which Lewis performed prodigies of valour, the Saracens were, at length, compelled to relinquiſh the field to the daring warriors of France.

But this unprofitable victory ſerved only to augment the diſtreſs of the French, by diminiſhing their numbers, while thoſe of the enemy were daily encreaſing; and they ſoon learned to their coſt, that the utmoſt exertions of military ſkill and valour were of little avail. By theſe efforts their fate might be procraſtinated, but it could not be averted. From the encreaſing numbers of the Infidels, they were obliged to ſhelter themſelves in a ſtrong camp, while the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian gallies, and the open country by the Arabs. All proviſions were intercepted; each day diſplayed the rapid progreſs of diſeaſe and famine; and a ſhower of Greek fire was inceſſantly poured on their heads by the ſurrounding Saracens. The moment the French determined to retreat, they diſcovered that it was impracticable:—the Oriental writers confeſs, that Lewis might have eſcaped by ſea, if he would have deſerted his ſubjects; and policy would have juſtified the prudent though inglorious flight. But his magnanimous mind preferred the thorny path of honour, and with his brother, the count of Anjou, the greateſt part of his nobles, and the ſhattered remnant of his army, the king of France became the captive of the victorious Saracens.

The conquerors ſullied their triumph by their cruelty; the captive monarch was loaded with chains, and ſuch of his ſubjects as were unable to purchaſe their liberty, and unwilling to profeſs Mahometaniſm, were inhumanly maſſacred, and their heads expoſed on the walls of Cairo. But the ſtrength of Damietta proved the ſecurity of Lewis; the Saracens being unable to reduce that city, which contained his royal conſort and his treaſures, conſented to releaſe him and his troops, on condition that he ſhould deliver it into their hands, and pay eight hundred thouſand pieces of gold, called *Byſantines*[53].

After fulfilling the conditions of the treaty, with ſcrupulous integrity, Lewis, with his queen, Margaret, and about ſix thouſand ſoldiers, the war-worn relics of his former hoſt, embarked on board the gallies of Genoa, for the port of Acre, in Paleſtine. It might have reaſonably been expected, that, after his late misfortune, he would have reſigned all thoughts of conqueſt in the Eaſt, and returned to the government of his native kingdom; but he was unwilling to reviſit his dominions without glory; and he

[53] Epiſt. S. Lud. de Capt. et Liberat. ſuâ, apud Duch. tom. v. p. 430.

confided

confided in the wiſdom and vigilance of his mother. But grief for the captivity of her ſon, joined to the natural infirmities of age, brought that princeſs to the grave, after a tranquil and proſperous adminiſtration, in the month of December, 1253.

The news of her death was immediately diſpatched to her ſon; and in the mean time the reins of government were entruſted to the feeble hands of prince Lewis, who had not yet attained his thirteenth year. The king, ſenſible that his preſence was now neceſſary in France, determined to quit the Holy Land, where he had paſſed four years without having been able to viſit Jeruſalem, or to atchieve any conqueſt worthy of hiſtorical notice. He accordingly embarked at the port of Acre, on the tenth of July, 1254, arrived on the coaſt of Provence, where he landed; and after a ſhort delay proceeded to Paris, where he was received with the acclamations of his people, whoſe joy, however, experienced no inconſiderable diminution when they ſaw the croſs ſtill affixed to his dreſs—a ſure ſign that he intended to reviſit the plains of Paleſtine.

Immediately after his return, Lewis aſſembled a parliament, in which he publiſhed an ordonnance, for enforcing a rigid and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the kingdom; he alſo renewed and confirmed the edict againſt the uſury, blaſphemy, and *witchcraft* of the Jews, and ordered their talmud, and other impious books, to be burnt wherever they might be found: an edict was paſſed at the ſame time, for expelling proſtitutes from all towns and villages, for ſeizing their effects, and ſtripping their perſons of their upper garments; whoever ſhould let them a houſe, was condemned to forfeit one year's rent. The game at cheſs, and all games at dice, were forbidden, and even the fabrication of dice was prohibited throughout his dominions.

The predeceſſors of Lewis had been accuſtomed to ſend commiſſioners into the provinces, to receive complaints and adminiſter juſtice; before his voyage to Paleſtine, Lewis had regularly followed their example; but fearing that this cuſtom might not be ſufficient to enſure the happineſs of his ſubjects, he now reſolved to viſit the provinces in perſon. He accordingly made the tour of Picardy and Flanders, and from thence repaired to Soiſſons, where he had an interview with Joinville, the friend of his heart, and the partner of his dangers. That nobleman was employed to aſk the hand of Iſabella, the king's daughter, for Thibaud the Fifth, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre, a young prince of the moſt promiſing hopes. But Lewis refuſed to liſten to the propoſal, till the young monarch ſhould have done juſtice to his ſiſter, the counteſs of Brittany, who had advanced ſome claims which he had refuſed to grant.

The king of England had, during the abſence of Lewis in Paleſtine, viſited Gaſcony, where his protection had been claimed by the barons, againſt an invaſion which the king of Caſtile had made upon that territory. Having appeaſed the troubles that prevailed there, he was now deſirous to return home; and for that purpoſe aſked the king's

permiſſion to paſs through his dominions. This was readily accorded; and Henry was every where received with thoſe marks of diſtinction that were due to his rank. At Chartres he had an interview with Lewis; and from thence the two monarchs repaired to Paris, where the king of England was entertained with the utmoſt magnificence and hoſpitality. Matthew Paris affirms, that during Henry's ſtay at Paris, Lewis frequently teſtified to him his deſire of reſtoring the duchy of Normandy: "But," ſaid he, "my twelve peers and my barons would never conſent to it." The treaty that was now concluded between them, gives an air of probability to this anecdote[54]; by which we learn that the number of peers was, at this time, reduced to twelve, and that the kings of France did not think themſelves authorized to diſpoſe of any part of their dominions, without the conſent of the peers and nobles of the realm.

Lewis accompanied the king of England a part of the way on his journey to Calais; and on his return he aſſembled a parliament, in order to ſettle the diſpute between the king of Navarre and his ſiſter, the counteſs of Brittany. This arrangement appeared to be a matter of difficulty. The late count of Champagne (who died while the king was in Paleſtine) had, by his firſt wife, Agnes de Beaujeu, one daughter named Blanche; and when that princeſs married the count of Brittany, he had ſettled on her the kingdom of Navarre, to the excluſion of any male heirs which he might afterwards have. Subſequent to this marriage, he had, by Margaret de Bourbon, two ſons, Thibaud and Henry, who, by the above ſettlement, appeared to be excluded from the throne of their father. The people, however, on the death of the king, acknowledged the eldeſt of theſe princes for their ſovereign, and ſent a ſolemn deputation to inform him of their reſolution. Blanche proteſted againſt this uſurpation; and, beſide the reſtitution of Navarre, ſhe claimed her ſhare in the county of Champagne. Intereſts thus oppoſite ſeemed to ſet reconciliation at defiance; but as the counteſs was not in a ſituation to enforce her claims, ſhe at length conſented to reſign her pretenſions to the king her brother, on condition of receiving an annual penſion of three thouſand livres. As ſoon as this affair was ſettled, the marriage of Thibaud with Iſabella was concluded; the princeſs had ten thouſand livres for her dower, and the nuptials were celebrated with great ſolemnity at Melun[55].

A. D. 1255.] The Romiſh church, taking advantage of favourable incidents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the ſame ſtate of feudal vaſſalage which ſhe pretended to extend over England; and which, by reaſon of the diſtance, as well as high ſpirit of the latter kingdom, ſhe was not able to maintain. After the death of the emperor, Frederic the Second, the ſucceſſion of Sicily devolved on Conradine, grandſon of that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural ſon, under the pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the prince, had formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing his own au-

54 P. Dan. t. iii. p. 313. 55 Inv. des Char. t. ii. Chap. vi. p. 126.

thority.

thority. Pope Innocent transferred his animoſity from Frederic to Conradine, againſt whom he ſtill continued hoſtilities; but being diſappointed in all his ſchemes by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, he found that his own force alone was not ſufficient to bring to a happy iſſue ſo great an enterprize. He pretended to diſpoſe of the Sicilian crown, both as ſuperior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Chriſt, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were ſubjected; and he made a tender of it to the count of Anjou; but Charles, either deeming the conjuncture unfavourable, or the conditions of acceptance too hard, rejected the offer. It was then propoſed to Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England, whoſe immenſe riches, the pontiff flattered himſelf, would be able to ſupport the military operations againſt Mainfroy. As Richard, alſo, had the prudence to refuſe the preſent, he applied to Henry himſelf, whoſe levity and thoughtleſs diſpoſition gave Innocent more hopes of ſucceſs; and he offered him the crown of Sicily for his ſecond ſon Edmond. Henry, allured by ſo magnificent a preſent, without reflecting on the conſequences, without conſulting either with his brother or the parliament, accepted the inſidious propoſal; and gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever ſums he thought neceſſary for completing the conqueſt of Sicily. Innocent, who was engaged by his own intereſts to wage war with Mainfroy, was glad to carry on his enterprizes at the expence of his ally. Alexander the Fourth, who ſucceeded him in the papal throne, continued the ſame policy; and Henry was ſurpriſed to find himſelf on a ſudden involved in an immenſe debt, which he had never been conſulted in contracting.

A diſpute which occurred about this time between the count of Anjou, and a private gentleman, one of the count's vaſſals, afforded Lewis an opportunity of diſplaying his impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice. The cauſe was tried before the officers of the prince, who, of courſe, decided it in his favour; but the gentleman appealed to the king's court, which ſo enraged Charles, that he immediately threw him into priſon. The king, apprized of his brother's conduct, ordered him to repair to court without delay. When he came into the royal preſence—"Do you ſuppoſe," ſaid Lewis, with a ſtern countenance, "that there ought to be more than one ſovereign in France, or "that, becauſe you are my brother, you are above the laws[56]?" At the ſame time he ordered him to releaſe his vaſſal, that the law might have its courſe. The count obeyed; but the gentleman could not find a ſingle attorney, or barriſter, who had ſufficient ſpirit and honeſty to undertake his cauſe. When the king was informed of this circumſtance, he appointed an agent for that purpoſe, from whom he exacted an oath of fidelity. The queſtion was accordingly diſcuſſed with the moſt ſcrupulous impartiality; the vaſſal was reſtored to his poſſeſſions, and the king's brother caſt.

[56] Mon. S. Dion. Anon. apud Duch. t. v. p. 403.

The tranquillity which prevailed in his dominions, enabled him to adopt ſuch regulations as were eſſential to its welfare; the felicity of his ſubjects appears, at this period, to have been the firſt object of his care; he appointed officers for the purpoſe of examining into the uſurpations of his predeceſſors, and he made reſtitution to the heirs of the lands which had been unjuſtly taken from their anceſtors;—where no heirs could be found, the property was diſpoſed of, and the produce diſtributed to the poor [57].

A violent quarrel broke out between the mendicant friars and the univerſity of Paris, occaſioned by the uſurpations of the former, on the rights and privileges of the latter, with reſpect to keeping ſchools. As the diſputes between them aroſe to a dangerous height, an appeal was made to pope Innocent; and that pontiff endeavoured, by a bull in favour of the univerſity, to repreſs the ambition of the mendicants, who had evinced a diſpoſition to aboliſh the hierarchy [58]; but Alexander the Fourth, on his acceſſion to the pontifical throne, annulled the bull of his predeceſſor. The pretext he offered for ſo doing muſt doubtleſs appear ſingular in the mouth of a pope:—"That bull," ſaid he, "was the effect of prejudice, and a want of deliberation [59]."—What then becomes of the boaſted *infallibility* of the pope? The protection thus afforded by the ſovereign pontiff gave freſh courage to the mendicants, and for ſome time the moſt inveterate animoſity prevailed between the contending parties. The monks were aſſailed by ſatires and epigrams, and the members of the univerſity by bulls and papal cenſures.—It is extraordinary that the king ſhould not have interpoſed his authority to put an end to a conteſt that interrupted the peace of the church, and inflamed the minds of his ſubjects; it was at length terminated in 1263, by mutual conceſſions.

The piety of Lewis was ſtrongly tinctured with enthuſiaſm; and that circumſtance may poſſibly be deemed ſufficient to account for his conduct, in forbearing to interfere in a diſpute in which the ſovereign pontiff had become a party concerned. The king uſed frequently to viſit the Jacobins; and converſing with them one day on the happineſs of the Virgin, in bearing the Son of God in her unpolluted womb [60], one of the monks, more forward than his brethren, ſaid to him—"Sire, would not you wiſh to "hold in your hands, what the Virgin bore in her womb?" "Doubtleſs," ſaid the king. "You know," replied the monk, "what is ſaid in the Scriptures—If any "one quits his father, his mother, his children, or his poſſeſſions, for love of me, he "ſhall receive a hundred fold, and inherit eternal life—Dare then, Sire, to aſpire "to that ſummit of perfection. You have heirs capable of well-governing your "kingdom; you have hitherto made your happineſs conſiſt in ſuffering for God; twenty times has your life been expoſed for the glory of his name; nothing remains "for you, but to give up every thing in order to aſſume the croſs, that is, our habit.

[57] V[illy], t. v. p. 170. [58] Guil. S. Am. p. 38, 39, 500. [59] Du Boulay, p. 270. [60] Chron. Senon. l. iv. t. 2.—Spicel. p. 641.

"By

" By that means you will, by degrees, attain the dignity of prieſthood, and acquire " the honour of receiving Jeſus Chriſt into your hands." The king, ſtricken with this diſcourſe, remained motionleſs, for ſome time, loſt in meditation; he reflected, we are told, on the dangers of the world, the important duties of royalty, and the ſweets of monaſtic retirement. At length he replied—" If what I hear be true, as in my " heart and mind I believe, I will follow your advice; but I can do nothing without " the queen's conſent. Her virtue, and my engagements with her, equally forbid me " to come to any determination, without her knowledge and advice."

He then left the convent, and returning to the palace, went to the queen's apartment, and imparted his reſolution of reſigning his crown to her and her children; obſerving, that when he was a monk and a prieſt, his prayers ſhould be inceſſantly offered up to the Lord for their happineſs, and the welfare of the ſtate; and conjuring her, by all that ſhe held ſacred upon earth, not to oppoſe a project which he ſaid was inſpired by Heaven. Margaret, aſtoniſhed at this intelligence, made no reply [61]; but calling her children, aſked them, in the preſence of the count of Anjou, Whether they would prefer being called the children of a prieſt, or the ſons of a king? The princes being at a loſs to conceive the purport of ſuch a queſtion, ſhe proceeded to inform them that the Jacobins had ſo far faſcinated the mind of their father, that he was reſolved to abdicate the throne, and turn prieſt. When the count of Anjou heard this, he flew into a violent rage, abuſed his brother, and ſwore vengeance againſt the monks, againſt whom he immediately cauſed an edict to be iſſued, forbidding them to preach throughout his dominions, and prohibiting his ſubjects from giving them alms. Lewis, the king's eldeſt ſon, was equally violent; he launched out into ſuch virulent abuſe againſt the Jacobins, that Lewis is ſaid to have ſilenced him by a blow. " Sire," exclaimed the young prince, " I ſhall never forget the reſpect which I owe you: in " fact, no one, except my father and my ſovereign, could have ſtricken me with im- " punity; but ſhould Providence ever place me on the throne, I ſwear, by my lord " Saint Denis, our patron, that I will expel all thoſe preachers from the kingdom!"— The king, aſtoniſhed to meet with ſuch oppoſition to his plan, began to fear that his inclination for a monaſtic life rather proceeded from his love of tranquillity, than from any heavenly inſpiration: he was well acquainted with the queen's affection for him; he knew the impetuous pride of his ſucceſſor, the violent temper of the count of Anjou, and the attachment of his ſubjects to his perſon: theſe conſiderations at length induced him to believe that God would not require a ſacrifice, that muſt equally affect the honour of his houſe, and the happineſs of his people.

The life of a *Saint*, when written by a *Prieſt*, muſt naturally be expected to contain

[61] Chron. Senon. l. iv. t. 2. Spicel. p. 641.

a variety

a variety of incidents, trivial in themſelves, and wholly unintereſting to poſterity. Thus the French hiſtorians have ſpun out the reign of Saint Lewis to a diſproportionate length; the moſt unimportant occurrences are dwelled upon with enthuſiaſtic energy, and every action is viewed through the teleſcope of admiration. Though we cannot conſent to diſfigure our hiſtory by an imitation of their prolixity, we ſhall, with pleaſure, record the virtues of their favourite king, atteſt his piety, and applaud his attention to the firſt duties of a monarch. Now that he was relieved from the burdens of war, he diminiſhed the national impoſts, and ſought, by every means in his power, to promote the welfare and felicity of his ſubjects. To thoſe young women whoſe poverty expoſed their virtue to danger, he gave ample dowers to procure them huſbands; for the poor he eſtabliſhed extenſive and durable charities; and for all converts to Chriſtianity he made a liberal proviſion.

A. D. 1258.] The tranquillity which the kingdom had for ſome time enjoyed was on the point of being interrupted by a difference which aroſe between the kings of France and Arragon. Lewis claimed the ſovereignty of Catalonia and Rouſſillon, which had been acquired by the arms of Pepin and Charlemagne, and which the king of Arragon had uſurped; while James, on his part, demanded the reſtitution of various domains, which were in the poſſeſſion of Lewis: the two princes entertained a mutual eſteem for each other; and, though both of them had diſplayed their ſkill and courage in the field, yet they were equally deſirous to preſerve peace between the two kingdoms. After many propoſals offered and rejected by either party the following terms were at length agreed on[62]:—"Lewis cedes to king James and his ſucceſſors all his right to the coun-" ties of Barcelona, Urgel, Bezalu, Rouſſillon, Empuries, Cerdagna, Conflant, Girona, " and Auſone. King James, on his part, renounces, in favour of Lewis and his ſuc-" ceſſors, all his pretenſions to Carcaſſonne and the Carcaſſez; to the town and terri-" tory of Raſez; to Laurac and the Lauraguais; to Termes and the Termenois; to " Beziers and the viſcounty of that name; to Minerve and the Minervois; to Agde and " the Agadois; to Albi and the Albigeois; to Rodez and the Rouergue; to Cahors and " the Querci; to the town and duchy of Narbonne; to Puilaurens, Queribus, Caſtel-fifel, " and Sault; to Fenouillet and the Fenouilledes; to Pierre-Pertuſe and the Pierre-Per-" tuſez; to the town and county of Milhaud; to Gevaudan and the viſcounty of " Grezes; to Niſmes and the Nemauſois; to Toulouſe and all its dependencies; to the " county of Saint Gilles, the Agenois, and the Venaiſſin; and to all the other domains " belonging to the late count Raymond, father-in-law to Alfonſo, count of Poitiers." This treaty was ratified, ſome months after it was firſt ſigned, by the king of Arragon, at Barcelona, in preſence of Raymond-Gaucelin Lunel, whom Lewis had ſent thither as his ambaſſador. That nobleman was alſo charged with another commiſſion of impor-

[62] Thr. des Ch. Montp. fac. ii. n. 27.

tance.

tance. It had been ſettled, by a ſeparate clauſe of the treaty, that Philip, the ſecond ſon of Lewis, ſhould marry Iſabella, daughter to the king of Arragon. The Spaniſh prince chearfully conſented to confirm this article[63], and promiſed to obtain a diſpenſation from the pope for that purpoſe. The marriage was accordingly celebrated four years after, and a fifth part of the territory that her huſband was to have as his appannage was ſettled on Iſabella.

A. D. 1259.] Another negociation, begun about the ſame time, though not brought to a concluſion till the following year, with the king of England, was leſs favourably received by the ſubjects of Lewis. His council exerted their utmoſt efforts to diſſuade him from a meaſure which they deemed impolitic, and the nobility oppoſed it with warmth and firmneſs; but all their oppoſition proved fruitleſs.—This was the only time, ſays Mezeray, that the king acted in oppoſition to the will of his barons.

For more than half a century that the French had been at war with the Engliſh, all atempts to conclude a treaty of peace between the two powers proved ineffectual.—Henry, however, did not deſpair to recover, by negociation, what his father had loſt by his infamy and cowardice. With this view he had viſited Paris, where he endeavoured to perſuade Lewis to comply with his demands; but, whatever diſpoſition to favour him he might have remarked in that monarch, he muſt have perceived that he ſtood in fear of his barons: but, little diſcouraged by the inutility of his firſt attempt, he endeavoured to get his name inſcribed on the liſt of thoſe to whom the king reſtored the domains which had been uſurped by his anceſtors; in this, however, he failed. Still perſevering in his deſign, he had recently ſent his brother-in-law, the factious and enterpriſing earl of Leiceſter[64], with ſeveral other noblemen, again to demand that reſtitution which had been ſo frequently refuſed. The crown of Sicily beſtowed on his ſon Edmond, the election of his brother Richard, as king of the Romans, and the protection of the court of Rome had revived the hopes of Henry. Emboldened by this imaginary increaſe of conſequence, he ventured to repreſent to Lewis, that the truce being nearly expired, the reſtitution of the confiſcated provinces could alone prevent the renewal of a war that muſt prove equally fatal to the welfare and happineſs of either nation; that it was unjuſt to puniſh a ſon for his father's crime; and that the crime itſelf, enormous as it was, had been ſufficiently expiated, by ſo long a privation of ſuch valuable poſſeſſions. The ambaſſadors of Henry were accompanied by others from the king of the Romans, who laid claim to the county of Poitou. Lewis received them with kindneſs; but the princes of the blood, the nobles who attended the court, and even the people themſelves, took every opportunity of ſhowing their reſentment, and of treating them with contempt. Diſpleaſed with the reception they experienced, and diſcontented with the anſwer they

63 Spicil. tom. iii. p. 634. 64 Mat. Paris, p. 955, 958.

received

received from the king, who refuſed to come to a deciſion till the enſuing Lent, when the parliament was to aſſemble, they returned to England, leaving only the abbot of Weſtminſter to conduct the negociation.

It is not known what arguments were employed by that prelate to ſuperinduce a compliance with the demands of his ſovereign; whatever they were, they appeared convincive to Lewis, who at length ſigned a treaty, by which he ceded to Henry the Limouſin, Querci, and Perigord, enſured to him the peaceable poſſeſſion of Guienne, agreed to pay him a large ſum of money for the ſupport of five hundred knights, which he was to take with him to the Holy Land; while Henry, in return for theſe advantages, only made a final ceſſion of Normandy, and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. This ceſſion was ratified by Henry, by his two ſons, and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans, and his three ſons[65].—Immediately after the concluſion of the treaty, Lewis, the king's eldeſt ſon, was ſeized with a diſtemper that put an end to his life, in the ſeventeenth year of his age. He was buried at Royaumont.

A. D. 1261.] Lewis having removed every probable ground of diſpute between France and the neighbouring kingdoms, convened an aſſembly of the prelates and nobles, in order to deliberate on the affairs of Paleſtine. That unfortunate country, long haraſſed by the arms of the Saracens, and enfeebled by inteſtine diviſions, now trembled at the approach of the Tartars. Three years before this period, thoſe barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated Holagou, brother and lieutenant to Mangoukan, their fourth emperor, had reduced the city of Bagdad, that peaceful and charming abode of pleaſure and the ſciences. The town was pillaged by the conquerors; its immenſe treaſures were ſcattered about; all its nobility deſtroyed; eight hundred thouſand inhabitants of all ages, and of either ſex, inhumanly maſſacred; and the Saracen empire annihilated for ever. All the neighbouring kingdoms, even Moſul itſelf, the moſt powerful of them all, ſubmitted without reſiſtance. The ſultan of Aleppo was the only chief who ventured to take up arms in defence of his country; but his ſucceſs was not equal to his ſpirit; his capital was reduced, and its fortifications were demoliſhed. Damaſcus and all Syria experienced a ſimilar fate, except that part which was in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians. The object of theſe ferocious conquerors of the Holy Land[66] is differently repreſented by hiſtorians. By ſome we are aſſured that they wiſhed to annex it to their own empire; while others pretend that they only ſought to reduce it in order to give it up to the Chriſtians; but this laſt ſuppoſition is groſsly improbable, and wholly devoid of foundation. In fact we find, from hiſtory, that, after the capture of Bagdad, the Tartars ſent meſſengers into Paleſtine, as into other parts, to exact tri-

[65] Rymer, vol. i. p. 675; M. Paris, 566; Chron. T. Wykes, p. 58; Trivet, p. 208; M. Weſt. p. 371.

[66] Rain. Ann. 1259, 1260.

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bute and obedience. At the ſame time they committed depredations in Poland and Hungary, both of which were inhabited by Chriſtians. They even ſent to France[67], to ſummon Lewis to acknowledge their ſuperiority, if he wiſhed to avert their vengeance. The king laughed at the extravagance of the embaſſy, ordered the ambaſſadors to be well-treated, and diſmiſſed them without an anſwer.

When theſe circumſtances had been conſidered by the aſſembly, it was ordained that the wrath of God, which had been excited by the ſins of the world, ſhould be firſt appeaſed. For this purpoſe prayers, proceſſions, and faſts were ordered; blaſphemers—againſt whom ſome very ſevere laws already exiſted—were treated with additional ſeverity; all ſuperfluities in the articles of food and dreſs were retrenched, and tournaments and games of chance were prohibited. No new impoſt, however, was levied on the people; the king contenting himſelf with ſending a ſum of money, from his own treaſury, to the relief of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine.

A. D. 1262.] The affairs of Sicily next engaged the attention of the monarch. Pope Alexander the Fourth, unable to carry on the war againſt Mainfroy, preſſed the king of England to fulfil the engagements which he had contracted, on accepting the crown of Sicily for his ſon Edmond. But Henry, who had already paid dearly for this imaginary dignity, finding the conqueſt of Sicily as remote as ever, at length became ſenſible of the cheat; he began to think of breaking off the agreement, and of reſigning into the pope's hands that crown, which it was not intended by Alexander that he or his family ſhould ever enjoy[68]. At this conjuncture the ſovereign pontiff died; and was ſucceeded in the papacy by James, patriarch of Jeruſalem; a Frenchman by birth, (the ſon of a cobler of Troyes in Champagne) who aſſumed the appellation of Urban the Fourth. The new pope adopted the projects of his predeceſſor, by entering into a negociation with Elizabeth, the mother of Conradine; while Mainfroy endeavoured to ſecure a powerful ally, by marrying his daughter, Conſtantia, to Peter, the eldeſt ſon of the king of Arragon. This alliance, which the court of Rome had in vain oppoſed, induced Urban to offer the crown of Sicily to the king of France, for one of his ſons[69]. The offer was tempting, and Lewis was fully aware of all the advantages that might be derived from the poſſeſſion of that kingdom, either in ſending ſuccours to the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, or in affording relief to the French, who had been recently expelled from the city of Conſtantinople. But he was apprehenſive that what the pope qualified with the title of a lawful gift, was, in fact, an uſurpation, either on Conradine, the natural heir, or on Edmond, of England, who had received the inveſtiture of the kingdom from the ſovereign pontiff. If Rome had the right to diſpoſe of the dominions of Frederic—which he was far from being willing to admit—the Eng-

[67] Piſtor. p. 788. Guill. Nan. p. 371. [68] Rymer, vol. i. p. 630. [69] Epiſt. 33, Urban. iv. ad Reg. Franc. Duch. t. v. p. 69.

liſh prince was the lawful ſovereign of Sicily; if, on the other hand, Frederic could not be deſpoiled of his domains, without an infraction of all laws, human and divine, they neceſſarily devolved to his grandſon. Look which way he would, he could ſee nothing but iniquity in the tranſaction, and he, therefore, virtuouſly rejected the offer.—The pope then, addreſſed himſelf to the count of Anjou, who, having more ambition and leſs probity, than his brother, joyfully accepted the proffered crown; but being engaged in a war with the inhabitants of Marſeilles, he deferred his attempts to recover his new dominions till a more favourable opportunity.

That reſtleſs people, impatient of the yoke which they had reluctantly borne for five years, ſuddenly flew to arms, and expelling from the town ſuch of the citizens as they knew to be attached to the count, ſeized the citadel, and maſſacred the garriſon. They immediately erected a new fortreſs, and began to make every neceſſary preparation for ſupporting their rebellion. But the active vigour of Charles marred all their projects; having haſtily aſſembled a powerful army, he advanced to attack them, reduced all the places that lay on his road, ravaged the ſurrounding country, and laid ſiege to Marſeilles by ſea and land. The rebels were ſpeedily, by the dread of approaching famine, forced to acknowledge their error, and to ſue for pardon. Charles accepted their proffered ſubmiſſion; and, after he had puniſhed with death the leaders of the revolt, condeſcended to redreſs their grievances. Caſtellane, who had protected them, was purſued from place to place; his lands were confiſcated, and his caſtles demoliſhed. This victory kept the enemies of the count in awe, and encreaſed his reputation for valour and military ſkill.

The king, at this time, was at Clermont in Auvergne, with his principal nobility, in order to attend the celebration of his ſon's marriage with Iſabella of Arragon. The father of that princeſs was alſo there, with all the grandees of his kingdom; but the news of his treaty with Mainfroy had nearly prevented the projected alliance, though on the point of completion. Lewis, who had juſt received the intelligence, openly declared that he would never ſuffer his ſon to marry a princeſs, whoſe father was ſo cloſely connected with the moſt inveterate enemy of the pope and the church. The two courts were loſt in aſtoniſhment at this unexpected declaration, which certainly did no credit to the king; ſince in the very affair of the Sicilian ſucceſſion, he had recently acknowledged the injuſtice of the pope's conduct. To ſtigmatize a prince, therefore, as an enemy to the church, for oppoſing the *unjuſt* pretenſions of the Roman pontiff, betrayed a degree of ſuperſtitious weakneſs (to ſay no worſe of it) that cannot admit of juſtification. The Arragonian monarch, however, at length ſuggeſted a means of removing his ridiculous ſcruples. He declared, by an authentic deed [70], that in marry-

[70] Invent. des Chart. t. v. Arragon, i. P. Ann. 1262.

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ing his ſon to the daughter of Mainfroy, he did not mean to contract any engagement hoſtile to the intereſts of the Romiſh church, nor to derogate, or, in any wiſe, detract from the force of that alliance which he had entered into with France. By this means all objections were done away, and the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence, amidſt the acclamations of the nobles of either nation. James, faithful to his word, made no attempts in favour of Mainfroy; but his ſucceſſor, inſtigated by his wife, commenced thoſe ſanguinary wars, which proved ſo fatal to the houſe of Anjou.

When the rejoicings to which this happy event gave riſe were terminated, Lewis again applied himſelf, with unremitting diligence, to the final eſtabliſhment of a good police, and to the extenſion and ſecurity of commerce. No crime that was prejudicial to ſociety paſſed unpuniſhed; ſpecific penalties were annexed to uſury, to adulterating the current coin, to ſelling by falſe weights, and to every ſpecies of monopoly [71]. He divided all tradeſmen and artiſans into ſeparate corps or communities, reviſed their firſt ſtatutes, and enacted thoſe ſalutary laws, which ſerved as a baſis for all ſubſequent regulations with regard to corporations and other commercial eſtabliſhments. He endeavoured to promote a purity of manners throughout the kingdom, by proſcribing, under the ſevereſt penalties, every thing that tended to licentiouſneſs. Theatrical amuſements were tolerated, but all indecent or indelicate ſallies were carefully excluded. Writings religious and philoſophical, poems, hiſtories, and romances appeared during this reign; but no publication that breathed ſedition, impiety, fanaticiſm or libertiniſm was ſuffered. Lewis, however, found it neceſſary to revoke the ſentence of baniſhment which he had pronounced againſt women of the town [72]; but though compelled to tolerate, he ſtill ſought to cover them with infamy, by aſſigning them a particular dreſs, obliging them to retire at a fixed hour, and confining their reſidence to particular ſtreets.

The king did not content himſelf with the mere adoption of wholeſome regulations; with equal vigilance he ſuperintended their execution; by which means the practical part of his government was rendered conformable to its theory. The natural effects of good order in the ſtate became every where viſible; peace and tranquillity produced plenty and happineſs; and while the kingdom flouriſhed, the revenues of the crown encreaſed in proportion.

A. D. 1263, 1264.] The high reputation which Lewis now deſervedly bore for juſtice and integrity, produced an appeal from Henry the Third, of England, and his diſcontented barons, who, by mutual conſent, choſe him as a mediator between them.

[71] Trait. de la Police, l. i. tit. viii. p. 114. [72] Ib. l. iii. tit. v. p. 490.

This virtuous prince, the only man who, in like circumſtances, could ſafely have been entruſted with ſuch an authority by a neighbouring nation, had never ceaſed to interpoſe his good offices between the Engliſh factions; and had exerted his utmoſt endeavours in order to accommodate the differences between Henry and the factious earl of Leiceſter; but found, that the fears and animoſities on both ſides, as well as the ambition of Leiceſter, were ſo violent as to render all his efforts ineffectual. But when this ſolemn appeal, ratified by the oaths and ſubſcriptions of the leaders in both factions, was made to his judgment, he was not diſcouraged from purſuing his honourable purpoſe [73]. He ſummoned the ſtates of the kingdom at Amiens; and there, in the preſence of this aſſembly, as well as in that of the king of England, and Peter de Montfort, Leiceſter's ſon, he brought this great cauſe to a trial and examination. It appeared to him that the proviſions of Oxford—by which the whole power of the ſtate had been wreſted from the king, and lodged in the hands of twenty-four barons—even had they not been extorted by force, had they not been ſo exorbitant in their nature, and ſubverſive of the ancient conſtitution, were expreſsly eſtabliſhed as a temporary expedient, and could not, without breach of truſt, be rendered perpetual by the barons: He therefore annulled theſe proviſions; reſtored to the king the poſſeſſion of thoſe caſtles which had been taken from him by the rebels, and the power of nomination to the great offices; allowed him to retain what foreigners he pleaſed in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of truſt and dignity; and, in a word, re-eſtabliſhed the royal power in the ſame condition in which it ſtood before the meeting of that parliament by which the above proviſions had been enforced. But while he thus ſuppreſſed dangerous innovations, and preſerved unimpaired the prerogatives of the Engliſh crown, he was not negligent of the rights of the people; and, beſides ordering that a general amneſty ſhould be granted for all paſt offences, he declared, that his award was not any-wiſe meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former conceſſions or charters of the crown [74].

This equitable ſentence was no ſooner known in England, than Leiceſter and his confederates determined to reject it, and to have recourſe to arms, in order to procure to themſelves more ſafe and advantageous conditions. The kingdom was again expoſed to the flames of civil war, and the moſt deſtructive depredations proclaimed the reign of anarchy and diſcord. After various ſucceſs, a deciſive battle was at length fought at Eveſham, on the fourth of Auguſt, 1265, when the royaliſts proved victorious; Leiceſter himſelf, with his eldeſt ſon, Hugh le Deſpenſer, and about an hundred and ſixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party, were ſlain in the action.

A total victory of the ſovereign over ſo extenſive a rebellion commonly produces a

[73] Hume, vol. ii. p. 200. [74] Rymer, vol. i. p. 776, 777, &c. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 58.

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revolution in government, and ſtrengthens, as well as enlarges, for ſome time, the prerogatives of the crown. Yet no ſacrifices of national liberty were made by the Engliſh on this occaſion; the great charter remained ſtill inviolate; and the king, ſenſible that his own barons, by whoſe aſſiſtance alone he had prevailed, were no leſs jealous of their independence than the other party, ſeems thenceforth to have more carefully abſtained from all thoſe exertions of power, which had afforded ſo plauſible a pretext to the rebels. The clemency of this victory is alſo remarkable: no blood was ſhed on the ſcaffold: no attainders, except of the family of Leiceſter, were carried into execution: and, though a parliament, aſſembled at Wincheſter, in 1266, attainted all thoſe who had borne arms againſt the king, eaſy compoſitions were made with them for their lands.[75] and the higheſt ſum, levied on the moſt obnoxious offenders, exceeded not five years rent of their eſtate. The mild diſpoſition of Henry, and the prudence of his ſon, prince Edward, tempered the inſolence of victory, and gradually reſtored order to the ſeveral members of the ſtate, disjointed by ſo long a continuance of civil wars and commotions.

During theſe troubles in England, Lewis had concluded a marriage between his fifth ſon, Peter, count of Alençon, and Jane of Chatillon, heireſs to the counties of Blois and Chartres, and to many other towns and territories in Picardy and Flanders. The princeſs had but juſt attained her thirteenth year; the county of Chartres, Brie-Comte-Robert, and Bonneval, were given her as a marriage-portion, and the king ſettled on her an annual penſion of twelve thouſand livres.[76]

The attention of all Europe was fixed, at this period, on the ſovereign pontiff, who was negociating a treaty with the count of Anjou, relative to the crown of Sicily. Three material obſtacles preſented themſelves to the concluſion of this famous treaty—the inconteſtible right of Conradine to the Sicilian throne; the donation which had been made of it by Alexander the Fourth, to prince Edmond of England; and, laſtly, the dignity of a Roman ſenator, which had been recently conferred on the count of Anjou, and which he had ſworn to preſerve during his life:—this dignity, which was extremely prejudicial to the authority of the Roman pontiffs, had been inſtituted almoſt a hundred and twenty years before, in order to check the daring enterprizes of Innocent the Second, who took every means of oppreſſing the citizens of Rome. The power it conferred was precarious and unfixed, depending on the ſtate of affairs, and on the harmony that ſubſiſted between the people and the pope. It was generally beſtowed on a Roman nobleman, and the term of its duration was two years. But the citizens, diſcontented with the conduct of their countrymen, expelled all the nobles from their city, and looked out for a foreign prince, ſufficiently powerful to preſerve order and

[75] M. Paris, p. 675. [76] Duch. Hiſt. de Châ. Not. 69.

juſtice

juſtice among them. Their choice fell upon the count of Anjou, whoſe laſt victory had greatly enhanced his reputation, and they accordingly elected him for their perpetual ſenator. Charles accepted, without heſitation, a title that conferred on him a kind of ſovereignty in the capital of the Chriſtian world; he engaged, by oath, to repair to Rome within a given term, and in the mean time ſent them a body of troops, under the command of Gaucelin, a native of Provence, whom he appointed his vicar. Urban was greatly chagrined at this circumſtance, which totally annihilated the little authority he enjoyed, during his abſence from Rome; for, during the troubles which prevailed in Italy, the popes ſeldom reſided in their capital, but took up their abode at Agnani, Viterbo, or ſome other place in the eccleſiaſtical dominions. Thus the count, far from having any reaſon to hope for a crown from the friendſhip of the ſovereign pontiff, might have expected to feel the effects of his reſentment, ſince he had violated one of the firſt conditions propoſed to him; that of not accepting the office of ſenator, if it ſhould be offered him by the citizens of Rome. Yet all theſe difficulties were ſpeedily ſurmounted by the intrepid zeal of the pope, who ſent the cardinal Saint Cecilia as his legate, to complete a negociation which his nuncios had ſucceſsfully begun.

The new miniſter, a man of deep penetration and conſummate art, had orders to conclude nothing without the king's conſent; to clear up the doubts of Lewis on the legality of Conradine's depoſal; to calm his ſcruples as to the rights of Prince Edmond; not to betray any kind of eagerneſs in the buſineſs to the count, only to expreſs, in general terms, the pope's affection for him and all the royal family, and even to ſtart difficulties in the way of any accommodation that might be propoſed in order to bring him, by degrees, to conſent to ſuch reſtrictions as were deemed neceſſary for preſerving the authority of the holy ſee; and, laſtly, to enter into no poſitive engagement with regard to the inveſtiture till all the preliminaries had been finally arranged. He had alſo received written inſtructions as to the relaxation he might make in his demands of an annual impoſt, or tribute, of a thouſand ounces of gold, which the pope required from the new ſovereign of Sicily; on the limitation of the ſucceſſion, and on the number of troops which he was to employ on this expedition. The legate was farther charged with levying a tenth, which the ſovereign pontiff had exacted on this occaſion, from the French clergy; to exert himſelf with the queen in order to perſuade her to an immediate accommodation with her brother-in-law, againſt whom ſhe had ſome grounds of complaint; to repreſent to that prince that he could not keep the office of ſenator without expoſing himſelf to *eternal damnation*; in a word, to exhort the king to exact an oath from his brother that he would reſign that dignity within five years at the lateſt; by which he would not perjure himſelf, becauſe the oath he had already taken to the citizens of Rome would be virtually revoked by that which he ſhould take to the ſovereign pontiff. "Strange morality!" exclaims Velly—"but the popes in thoſe "times aſſumed the right of abſolving people from the moſt ſacred promiſes, whenever "thoſe

"thoſe promiſes tended to invade their own authority, or to attack the intereſts of the "holy ſee [77]."

The commiſſion with which the legate was entruſted was of a delicate nature; but being endued with all the neceſſary qualifications for an able negociator, he diſcharged it with punctuality and addreſs, and overcame difficulties apparently inſurmountable. Though Lewis could not poſſibly aſſent to the juſtice of the pope's conduct, in depoſing the family of the emperor Frederic, yet he tacitly ſubmitted to the authority of the council of Lyons. As to the rights of Edmond of England, they were eaſily over-ruled, by the neglect of that prince to comply with the conditions on which thoſe rights were expreſſly founded; beſides, the king of England had publicly renounced all pretenſions to the throne of Sicily [78]. Charles, on his part, ſeduced by the ſplendid temptations of a crown, and impelled by the ſolicitations of his wife Beatrice, who aſpired to the ſame dignity to which her three ſiſters had already attained, conſented to every propoſal, and ſubmited to all the humiliating conditions which the pope choſe to impoſe on him.

Nothing remained but to ſign the treaty, when pope Urban was ſeized with a diſorder that proved fatal: he was ſucceeded in the papacy by Guy Fulcodi, a Frenchman, who aſſumed the appellation of Clement the Fourth. This pontiff, being well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the count of Anjou, renewed the negociation which had been carried on by his predeceſſor. The firſt uſe he made of his authority [79] was to pronounce, with the conſent, and by the advice, of the cardinals, the throne of Sicily vacant by the felony of Conradine and Mainfroy, and by the renunciation of prince Edmond; to declare that the church of Rome had an undoubted right to diſpoſe of it at its pleaſure; and that ſhe could beſtow it as a fief on, or entruſt the government of it to, whomſoever ſhe choſe. The principal difficulties being removed, the whole matter was ſpeedily ſettled, and the treaty, conſiſting of thirty-five articles, drawn up, and ſigned. Some of theſe ſecured the liberty of the dominions of Rome from the enterprizes of future monarchs; others adopted means for preventing the re-union of Sicily to the empire; ſome ſettled the degree of dependence in which that kingdom was to remain on the holy ſee; and others regulated the ſucceſſion after the death of Charles, and the meaſures to be purſued for wreſting the ſceptre from the hands of Mainfroy.—They are all expreſſive of the arrogance of the Roman pontiff, who dared to impoſe the moſt rigorous and humiliating conditions; and of the ſervility of the French prince, who condeſcended to ſubmit to them.—As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, a tenth was levied on the clergy of France, by the cardinal Saint Cecilia, to ſupport the count of Anjou in the acquiſition of his new dominions.

77 Velly, tom. v. p. 329. 78 Rymer, vol. i. p. 97. 79 Spicil. tom. iii. p. 649.

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The pope now ordered a cruſade to be preached throughout France againſt Mainfroy, whom he called, *The execrable branch of a curſed ſtock, which ought to be broken and beaten to pieces like the ſtatue of Nebuchadnazar.* The banner of the croſs was unfurled againſt the domeſtic enemy of the vatican; and Charles, at the head of the chivalry of France, on the plains of Beneventum, deſpoiled Mainfroy of his crown and life. The death of the uſurper awakened from obſcurity the pretenſions of Conradine; but the juſtice of his claims could neither ſecure him from the unjuſt enmity of the pope, nor the ambitious cruelty of the count of Anjou. The young prince was met by the enemy in the vicinity of Tagliacozzo, near the lake of Celano; a bloody conflict enſued, in which the French were at firſt routed; but, having recourſe to a ſtratagem, they at length put the troops of Conradine to flight, and took him priſoner. The unfortunate youth was conveyed by his ferocious conqueror to Naples, where he was baſely maſſacred, in cool blood, upon a ſcaffold; and his death was attended with every circumſtance that could aggravate the guilt of the aſſaſſin, whoſe eſtabliſhment on the throne of the two Sicilies gave riſe to what the French have ſtyled the firſt race of Anjou.

A. D. 1266, 1267.] During theſe iniquitous tranſactions in Italy, Lewis was ſecretly planning a ſecond expedition to the Holy Land. The wiſdom of his regulations had eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his dominions; his treaſures were recruited, his finances augmented, and his hopes expanded. He now imparted his reſolution to the Roman pontiff, who, at firſt, evinced a diſpoſition to diſſuade him from a ſcheme which he wiſely conſidered as impolitic; but, his opinion ſpeedily changing, he wrote to the king in a very different ſtyle, expreſſed his admiration of his wiſdom, and ſtrenuouſly exhorted him to haſten the execution of an enterprize, which, he ſaid, muſt have been inſpired by Heaven. The Chriſtians in Syria were, at this period, reduced to the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation: not leſs haraſſed by inteſtine diviſions, than by the attacks of a powerful and inveterate foe, their final expulſion from Paleſtine appeared to be at hand. Bondocdar, who, from the obſcure ſtation of a private ſoldier, had attained to the regal dignity, now occupied the united thrones of Egypt, Jeruſalem, Damaſcus, Aleppo, and Arabia: enraged at a breach of faith, on the part of the Chriſtians, he aſſembled an army of three hundred thouſand horſe, with which he entered Paleſtine, ravaged the open country, and, having taken Nazareth, reduced it to a heap of ruins. He next attacked Ceſarea, which he carried by aſſault; and, the citadel having ſurrendered by capitulation, all the inhabitants were expelled, and the fortifications, which had been raiſed by Lewis, were totally demoliſhed[80]. Caiphas experienced a ſimilar fate; the pilgrims' caſtle, indeed, repelled the attacks of the proud conqueror, who immediately wreaked his vengeance on Arſuph, an important place, in defence of which no leſs than ninety of the knights-templars loſt their lives. At the fortreſs of Montfort, Bondocdar experienced a ſecond diſappointment; but at Sa-

[80] Rain. Sanud. Labb. Hibl. tom. i. p. 378.

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pheto he reduced the inhabitants to the neceſſity of capitulating, and, though he agreed to grant them their lives, he inhumanly maſſacred all ſuch as refuſed to embrace Mahometaniſm, and ſent the reſt into Egypt. He then advanced to Saint John of Acre; laid waſte the environs, and threatened to lay ſiege to the town itſelf, as ſoon as he ſhould have received his battering machines from Cairo.

This rapid ſucceſs of the Infidels alarmed the Chriſtian world, and awakened the zeal of the cruſaders. The pope exhorted all the Chriſtian princes either to repair in perſon to the relief of Paleſtine, or to contribute ſuch ſuccours as their circumſtances would admit of. Councils were holden, tenths exacted from the clergy, public prayers ordered, and, in proportion as the evil increaſed, the care to provide a remedy redoubled. In this ſituation of affairs it was natural to ſuppoſe that Lewis would not remain inactive; having taken his final reſolution, he ſummoned all the nobles of the realm to repair to Paris[81], in order to deliberate on a matter of importance. He there repreſented to them the wretched ſtate of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, which called for relief, immediate and effectual; that relief, he ſaid, he was reſolved to grant, and he truſted that his example would be generally followed by the aſſembly. The reaſons urged by the king were enforced by the pope's legate, who gave the croſs to Lewis, and his three eldeſt ſons, Philip, John, and Peter; to the counts of Flanders and Brittany; to Beaujeu, lord of Montpenſier, the count d'Eu, Guy de Laval, and to a great number of barons and gentlemen.

As ſoon as the king's intentions were made known through the kingdom, ſoldiers haſtened to his ſtandard from all quarters. The king of Navarre, and his brother, prince Henry, with a numerous train of knights, aſſumed the croſs; the young count of Artois, nephew to Lewis, and ſon to that count of Artois who was killed at Maſſoura, reſolved to attend his uncle, in order to revenge the death of his father; the duke of Burgundy, too, expreſſed a ſimilar reſolution. In ſhort, almoſt all the nobility of the kingdom appear to have been animated by the ſame ſpirit of enthuſiaſm.—The moſt conſiderable of theſe were the counts of Saint Paul, Vendôme, la Marche, and Soiſſons; Gilles and Hardouin de Mailly; Ralph and John de Neſle; the lords of Fiennes, Nemours, Montmorenci, and Melun; the count of Guiſnes; the lord of Harcourt; Matthew de Roye; Florent de Varennes; Ralph d'Etrées; Gilles de la Tournelle; Maurice de Craon; John de Rochefort; the Mareſchal de Mirepoix; Enguerrand de Bailleul; Peter de Saux; and John de Beaumont.

A. D. 1270.] Having ſettled all the affairs of his kingdom, and the future eſtabliſhments of his children, he entruſted the reins of government, during his abſence, to

[81] Guil. Nang. p. 383; Joinv. p. 125.

Matthew, abbot of Saint Denis, who was deſcended from the noble houſe of Vendôme; and to Simon de Clermont, lord of Neſle—both men of approved probity, and conſummate prudence. The cruſaders aſſembled at Aigues-Mortes, a ſmall ſea-port in Languedoc, near the mouth of the Rhone, where they had embarked on their laſt expedition.

Now, as before, opinions were divided as to the courſe they ſhould ſteer; ſome inſiſted on the neceſſity of proceeding immediately to the relief of Saint John of Acre, which was the only place of ſtrength now poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians in Paleſtine; others, undiſmayed by the calamities which the laſt cruſaders had experienced in Egypt, maintained the policy of firſt ſecuring Alexandria; while a third ſet, and that the moſt numerous, gave their voices in favour of an expedition to Tunis, the monarch of which place (whoſe name is, by ſome, ſaid to have been Muley-Mortanga, by others Omar) had profeſſed his inclination to abjure the tenets of Mahomet for thoſe of Chriſt. This laſt advice, ſtrange as it may appear, prevailed; the religious enthuſiaſm of Lewis was highly gratified by the idea of converting a king, and the immenſe treaſures which Tunis was ſaid to contain flattered the avarice of the more intereſted cruſaders: the fleet accordingly ſailed for the coaſt of Africa, on the firſt of July, and effected a landing in the vicinity of Tunis; but, inſtead of a willing convert, in the king of Tunis, Lewis was deſtined to encounter an active and a formidable foe. The caſtle of Carthage was the firſt object of attack; it was ſoon taken by aſſault, and the town, which had no fortifications, ſubmitted of courſe. Here Lewis reſolved to wait for the arrival of his brother, the king of Sicily, before he attacked the city of Tunis, which was ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a brave and numerous garriſon. But the exceſſive heat of the climate, the want of water, the badneſs of their proviſions, and the ſhowers of burning ſand raiſed by the machines of the Saracens, and blown by the wind into the faces of the Chriſtians, ſoon brought on a peſtilential diſorder, which, in a very ſhort time, deſtroyed one half of the army [82]. The king himſelf, at length, caught the infection, and, after giving the moſt ſalutary advice to his ſon and ſucceſſor, and exhibiting the ſtrongeſt proofs of Chriſtian patience and fortitude, he reſigned his breath on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign.

This monarch, as it has been juſtly obſerved by an Engliſh hiſtorian [83], united to the mean and abject ſuperſtition of a monk, all the courage and magnanimity of the greateſt hero; and, what is perhaps more extraordinary, the juſtice and integrity of a diſintereſted patriot, the mildneſs and humanity of an accompliſhed philoſopher.—The few errors into which he fell aroſe principally from an exceſs of religious zeal;

[82] Nangis, p. 391, 517; Guiart, p. 158. [83] Hume.

and

and they were ſo greatly exceeded by his numerous virtues, that it would be invidious to dwell on them.

In reciting the tranſactions of this reign, we have had frequent occaſion to notice the ſtrict attention of Lewis to a prompt and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. He greatly encouraged the practice of appeals, and frequently adminiſtered juſtice in perſon with all the ancient ſimplicity. "I have often ſeen the ſaint," ſays Joinville, "ſit under "the ſhade of an oak, in the wood of Vincennes, when all who had any complaint freely "approached him. At other times he gave orders to ſpread a carpet in a garden, and, "ſeating himſelf upon it, heard the cauſes that were brought before him[84]."

For facilitating the accompliſhment of an object which he had thus conſtantly in view, he undertook to eſtabliſh an uniformity and certainty in all legal proceedings; for which purpoſe he compiled that code of laws which are known by the appellation of *Eſtabliſſemens de Saint Louis*, and which contain a large collection of cuſtoms, and regulations, divided into two hundred and ten chapters; they were publiſhed in the year 1270, juſt before his departure for Tunis. Theſe eſtabliſhments, though well adapted to ſerve as general laws to the whole kingdom, were not publiſhed as ſuch, but only as a complete code of cuſtomary law to be of authority within the king's domains. But the wiſdom, the equity, and the order, conſpicuous in that code of Saint Lewis, procured it a favourable reception throughout the kingdom. The veneration due to the virtues and good intentions of its author, contributed not a little to reconcile the nation to that legiſlative authority, which the king began to aſſume.

Lewis did not diſplay his wiſdom more in the adoption of new regulations, than in the abolition of ſuch old cuſtoms as were repugnant to reaſon and humanity. In order to check the exerciſe of private war, which threatened the diſſolution of government, he publiſhed an ordonnance, in 1245, prohibiting any perſon to commence hoſtilities againſt the friends and vaſſals of his adverſary, until forty days after the commiſſion of the crime or offence which gave riſe to the quarrel; declaring, that if any man preſumed to tranſgreſs this ſtatute, he ſhould be conſidered as guilty of a breach of the public peace, and be tried and puniſhed by the judge ordinary as a traitor[85]. This was called *the royal truce*, and afforded time for the violence of reſentment to ſubſide, as well as leiſure for the good offices of ſuch as were willing to compoſe the difference[86].

Lewis alſo aboliſhed the abſurd and barbarous cuſtom of trial by combat, endeavouring to introduce a more perfect juriſprudence, by ſubſtituting the trial by evidence in its place. But his regulations, with reſpect to this, were confined to his own domains;

[84] Hiſt. de. St. Louis, p. 13. [85] Ordon. t. i. p. 56. [86] Robertſon.

for the great vaſſals of the crown poſſeſſed ſuch independent authority, and were ſo fondly attached to the ancient practice, that he durſt not venture to extend it to the whole kingdom. Some barons voluntarily adopted his regulations. The ſpirit of courts became averſe to the mode of deciſion by combat, and diſcouraged it on every occaſion. The nobles, nevertheleſs, thought it ſo honourable to depend for the ſecurity of their lives and fortunes on their own courage alone, and contended with ſo much vehemence for the preſervation of this favourite privilege of their order, that the ſucceſſors of Saint Lewis, unable to oppoſe, and afraid of offending ſuch powerful ſubjects, were obliged not only to tolerate, but to authorize the practice which he had attempted to aboliſh.

It was uſual, at this period, for huſbands not to ſleep with their wives the three firſt nights after the celebration of their marriage[87]. The inhabitants of Abbeville, juſtly enraged at this unreaſonable prohibition, refuſed to comply with the cuſtom; the mayor and aldermen of the town accordingly preſented a petition to parliament, and obtained a decree, by which it was finally determined, *That the huſbands might freely ſleep with their wives, the three firſt nights, without the permiſſion of the biſhop and his officers*[88].

Another cuſtom, ſtill more ſtrange, obtained in France, which it is ſurpriſing Lewis did not aboliſh: this was the right of *prelibation*, or *markette*[89], claimed by the nobles, which conſiſted in ſleeping with ſuch brides as were their vaſſals the firſt night of their marriage; even biſhops and abbots enjoyed and exerted this privilege, in their capacity of ſuperior barons. The learned Papebroch, ſays Velly, informs us, that even now that right is enforced by noblemen over their peaſants, in ſome provinces of the Low Countries of Friezeland, and of Germany[90]. It is certain, from a variety of exiſting records, that it was exerted with great rigour in France. In a title-deed, in 1507, relating to the revenues of the barony of St. Martin, we read, that the count d' Eu *has right of prelibation, in the ſaid place, in caſe of marriage*[91]. Boethius relates a ſingular fact on this ſubject: "I have been preſent (ſays he), at the Metropolitan court at Bourges, when a cauſe was "tried by appeal, on the part of a curate, who claimed the right of ſleeping with every "young bride, the firſt night, according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom." The claim, however, was rejected with indignation, the cuſtom unanimouſly proſcribed, and the prieſt condemned to pay a fine.

The exorbitant pretenſions of the court of Rome, at this period, were ſuch as to become an object of cenſure to the clergy, as well as to the laity. If we open the hiſtories of thoſe times, ſays Velly, we ſhall find it repreſented as the ſeat of avarice and ambition;

[87] Bibl. Univ. xix. Mar. Ann. 1409. [88] Thaumas de la Thaum. Obſ. ſur Beaum. p. 392. [89] Du Cang. Gloſſ. Verb. 'Cullagium' et 'Marcheta.' [90] In Vit. S. For. Abb. Walciod. [91] Laur. Gloſſ. de Droit. Franc. au mot. 'Cullage.'

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the pope is depicted by contemporary writers as an abſolute deſpot, who ſacrificed the rights of biſhops, whom he conſidered as his ſlaves, to his own caprice; as a preſumptuous judge, who, thinking himſelf above the law, imagined his will alone ſufficient to render lawful what from its very nature was an object of proſcription[92]. One while he is repreſented as a tyrant, who cares little for the happineſs of his ſubjects, but ſeeks to enrich his relations, by appointing them legates, with full power, ſays Paſquier, to *riſle* all the eccleſiaſtical benefices in the kingdoms whither they are ſent[93]; for the right of *viſitation*, as it was then called, founded in deſpotiſm and cupidity, was carried to the moſt ſhameful exceſs. Hence the juſt indignation expreſſed by the clergy, under the reign of Robert, when the Roman pontiff ordered a church to be conſecrated in the dioceſe of Tours, not only without the leave, but even againſt the will of the archbiſhop: "It is a deſpicable "thing (ſays a contemporary author[94]), that a man, ſeated on the apoſtolic chair, "ſhould, with ſacrilegious preſumption, violate the ordonnances and ſtatutes of the "apoſtles." Hence, too, the pathetic exclamations of St. Bernard[95], againſt a tribunal at which riches prevailed over merit and capacity; "Where," ſays he, ſimony, and "concubinage, and inceſt are ſure to find favour, if their ſolicitations be accompanied "with preſents." It was this made the monk of Moliens remark[96], "That at Rome, "when gold murmurs the law is ſilent; and right bows down at the ſound of money." Hence, too, the reproaches of the ſame St. Bernard to cardinal Jourdain, the pope's legate, who, he tells us, had traverſed Germany, France, and Normandy, "filling all thoſe regions, "not with the goſpel, but with ſacrilegious proceedings, and ſhameful exactions, plunder- "ing the churches, and conferring eccleſiaſtical dignities on young men, who were bet- "ter verſed in the ſcience of the world, than in that of religion[97].

In order to put a ſtop to the encroachments of the pope, and the licentious conduct of his miniſters, Lewis iſſued that famous ordonnance, ſo well known by the name of *The Pragmatic Sanction*; he there confirmed the prelates, and all the patrons of livings, in the full enjoyment of their rights; ſecured the liberties of the Gallican church from the invaſions of the court of Rome; baniſhed ſimony from the kingdom, as a peſt highly prejudicial to religion; ordered all promotions, collations, proviſions, and diſpoſals of prelacies, dignities, livings, or eccleſiaſtical offices, to be made according to the rules eſtabliſhed by the common law, by the ſacred councils, and by the ancient fathers; and, finally, forbade the court of Rome to levy, in future, any of thoſe impoſts which had impoveriſhed the kingdom, without his expreſs permiſſion, and the conſent of the Gallican church.—This wiſe edict was paſſed in 1268.

Two orders of monks, both mendicants, the Auguſtins and the Carmes, were ſettled in Paris during this reign. The Auguſtins were a ſociety compoſed of ſeveral hermits,

92 S. Bernard. Epi. 53, ad Paſch. 93 Recher. de la Fr. l. ii. c. 21, p. 34. 94 Rad. Glab. l. ii. 95 S. Bern. Epiſt. ad Eng. 96 Rom. MSS. intit. De Charité; Du Cange Obſ. ſur Joinv. p. 100. 97 S. Bern. Ep. 290.

who

who had reſided in different parts, worn different dreſſes, and were governed by different rules.—They were united under one ſuperior by pope Alexander the Fourth, who ſubjected them to the rules of Saint Auguſtin, and gave them the dreſs of that order.—Lanfranc was their firſt general: they ſoon quitted their deſerts, and eſtabliſhed their reſidence in the great towns. In the year 1259, they came to Paris, and had a houſe in the *Rue Montmartre*, near to that which is ſtill called, after them, by the name of the *Rue des Vieux Auguſtins*.

The order of Carmes originated in Syria, and was compoſed of a great number of Weſtern pilgrims, who were diſperſed in different hermitages in Paleſtine, where they led a life of great auſterity. But, as they were inceſſantly expoſed to the attacks of the Infidels, Aymeri, the pope's legate, and patriarch of Antioch, collected them all together on *Mount Carmel*, towards the end of the twelfth century. In 1205, a native of Amiens, named Albert, who was deſcended from Peter the Hermit, the firſt preacher of the cruſades, eſtabliſhed rules for them, which were confirmed, in 1227, by pope Honorius the Third. Saint Lewis brought ſome of them with him from the Holy Land, and built a church and convent for them on the banks of the Seine, where the Celeſtins afterwards reſided. It was not till the reign of Philip the Fair, that they removed to the Place Maubert, in order to be nearer the univerſity.

Lewis alſo founded and endowed many other convents and hoſpitals, as well at Paris as in the provinces. Among theſe were the Mathurins at Fontainbleau; the Jacobins and Cordeliers at Paris; the abbies of Royaumont, Longchamp, Lis, and Maubiſſon; Vauvert, a reſidence of the Carthuſians at Paris; and, in different towns, ſeveral convents of women, called *Beguines*, either from the name of their veil, or from that of their founder, Lambert le *Begue* (the Stammerer). The famous college of the Sorbonne was eſtabliſhed for the ſtudy of theology, in the year 1253, by an eccleſiaſtic, named Robert, ſprung from obſcure parents, who reſided at Sorbonne, a ſmall village in the Rhetelois. *The poor maſters*, as the firſt doctors of the Sorbonne were called, were indebted, for the houſe in which they reſided, as well as for many other advantages, to the liberality of Lewis.

About the year 1260 a ſingular ſpecies of fanaticiſm appeared in Europe, which was neither ordained by authority nor excited by eloquence: "When all Italy was ſullied "with crimes of every kind," ſays the monk of Saint Juſtina, in Padua, "a certain "ſudden ſuperſtition, hitherto unknown to the world, firſt ſeized the inhabitants of "Peruſa, afterwards the Romans, and then almoſt all the nations of Italy.—To ſuch a "degree were they affected with the fear of God, that noble, as well as ignoble perſons, "young and old, even children of five years of age, would go naked about the ſtreets, "with only their private parts covered, and, without any ſenſe of ſhame, thus walked in "public,

" public, two and two, in the manner of a ſolemn proceſſion. Every one of them held " in his hand a ſcourge made of leather thongs, and, with tears and groans they laſhed " themſelves on their backs, till the blood ran, all the while weeping and giving " tokens of the ſame bitter affliction as if they had really been ſpectators of the paſſion " of our Saviour, imploring forgiveneſs of God and his mother, and praying that he " who had been appeaſed by the repentance of ſo many ſinners, would not diſdain " theirs.

" And not only in the day time, but likewiſe during the night, hundreds, thouſands, " and ten thouſands of theſe penitents, ran, notwithſtanding the rigour of winter, " about the ſtreets, and in churches, with lighted wax-tapers in their hands, and pre- " ceded by prieſts, who carried croſſes and banners along with them, and with humility " proſtrated themſelves before the altars: the ſame ſcenes were exhibited in ſmall towns " and villages; ſo that the mountains and the fields ſeemed to reſound alike the voices " of men who were crying to God.

" All muſical inſtruments and love-ſongs then ceaſed to be heard. The only muſic " that prevailed, both in town and country, was that of the mournful voice of the " penitent, whoſe ſorrowful accents might have moved hearts of flint; and even the " eyes of the obdurate ſinner could not refrain from tears.

" Nor were women exempt from this general ſpirit of devotion; for not only thoſe " among the common people, but alſo matrons and young maidens of noble families, " would modeſtly perform the ſame mortifications in their own rooms. Then thoſe " who were at enmity became friends. Uſurers and robbers haſtened to reſtore their " ill-gotten wealth to the right owners. Others, who were contaminated with dif- " ferent crimes, confeſſed them with humility, and renounced their vanities. Gaols " were thrown open, priſoners were releaſed, and thoſe who were baniſhed permitted " to return to their native habitations. So many, and ſuch great works of ſanctity, " in ſhort, were then performed both by men and women, that it ſeemed as if an uni- " verſal apprehenſion had ſeized mankind, that the Divine Power was preparing either " to conſume them by fire, or deſtroy them by earthquakes, or ſome other of thoſe " means which Divine Juſtice knows how to employ for avenging crimes.

" Such a ſudden repentance, which had thus diffuſed itſelf all over Italy, and had " even reached other countries, not only the unlearned, but wiſe perſons alſo admired. " They wondered whence ſuch vehement fervour of piety could have proceeded; eſpe- " cially ſince ſuch public penances and ceremonies had been unheard of in former " times; had not been approved by the ſovereign pontiff, who was then reſiding at " Anagni; nor recommended by any preacher, nor perſon of eminence, but had taken

" their

" their origin among ſimple perſons, whoſe example both learned and unlearned had " alike followed [98]."

This ſect of *Flagellants* was excluded from Sicily by the prudence of Mainfroy, who feared that ſome deſigning chief might take advantage of their enthuſiaſm, to breed diſturbances in his kingdom. In Germany they were treated with contempt; in Poland they were threatened with impriſonment; and in France, where the enthuſiaſm of ſuperſtition had taken another direction, there appeared no diſpoſition to receive them: though at a ſubſequent period, under the reign of Henry the Third, the flagellants were not only tolerated, but openly protected by the king. They adopted the cuſtom of flagellating themſelves in public, from a ſtrained interpretation of the paſſage in the Pſalmiſt—" Ad flagella paratus ſum [99]."

[98] De Lolme, Hiſt of the Flagellants, p. 347, et ſeq. [99] Id. ib. p. 357.

PHILIP

PHILIP THE THIRD,

SURNAMED THE HARDY.

A. D. 1270.] THE death of Lewis diffuſed an univerſal conſternation throughout the Chriſtian camp; and that monarch had no ſooner reſigned his breath than the ſound of trumpets announced the arrival of his brother, the king of Sicily. Charles, aſtoniſhed to find his ſalute unanſwered, began to be alarmed; and leaving his troops to the care of his officers, galloped towards the royal tent, where the firſt object that preſented itſelf to his ſight was the corpſe of his brother, extended on thoſe aſhes which the pious monarch had choſen for his death bed. Shocked at the ſpectacle, he threw himſelf on the ground, kiſſed the cold feet of Lewis, and gave vent to his ſorrow in a torrent of tears. When the firſt guſt of grief was over, the princes made the neceſſary diſpoſition for purſuing with vigour the war againſt the Infidels. Philip, however, previouſly received the homage of his new ſubjects, and diſpatched meſſengers to France, with letters confirming the regents of the kingdom in their authority, and all the miniſters and governors of provinces in their reſpective offices.

The Saracens, who frequently appeared in great numbers in the vicinity of the camp, were worſted in every ſkirmiſh; and in two general engagements they ſuſtained a total defeat, attended with conſiderable ſlaughter. But ſtill the numbers they loſt by this means were ſpeedily replaced, while the army of the Chriſtians daily diminiſhed; and, to add to the diſtreſs of their ſituation, the peſtilential diſeaſe, which had deſtroyed their king, continued to rage with unabated violence. Induced by theſe conſiderations,

Philip judged it prudent to accept the terms proffered by the king of Tunis, and a truce for ten years was accordingly concluded, on the following conditions:—

"That the port of Tunis ſhould in future be open for the reception of merchandize, without being liable to thoſe heavy duties which they had hitherto paid; that, in lieu of ſuch duties, only a tenth of all merchandize ſhould be exacted; that all the Chriſtians who had been impriſoned on the approach of the French army, ſhould be ſet at liberty; that the free exerciſe of their religion ſhould be allowed them, with full permiſſion to build churches, and to make as many converts from Mahometaniſm as they could, without hindrance or moleſtation; that the king of Tunis ſhould bind himſelf by oath to pay the accuſtomed tribute to the Sicilian monarch; and that he ſhould defray all the expences incurred on account of the war, as well by the king of France as by his barons, which amounted to two hundred and ten thouſand ounces of gold; one half of which was to be paid immediately, and the other in two years[1]."

Hoſtilities ceaſed on the firſt of November, and ſoon after the whole army embarked for Trapani, where the kings of France and Sicily, with all the princes and barons, entered into a ſolemn engagement, to meet at any place that ſhould be appointed, at the expiration of four years from the end of July following, in order to repair to Paleſtine.

A. D. 1271.] At Trapani the king loſt his brother-in-law, Thibaud the Fifth, king of Navarre, a prince univerſally eſteemed for his excellent qualities both of heart and head. Dying without children, he was ſucceeded in his dominions by his brother Henry. The queen of Navarre died four months after her huſband. From Trapani Philip proceeded to the court of Sicily, and from thence to Calabria, where he was deſtined to experience a ſtill greater loſs[2]. The queen, who was pregnant, paſſing the river Savuto, near Martorano, fell from her horſe; and the hurt ſhe received, together with the fright ſhe experienced, produced a miſcarriage, of which ſhe died at Cozenza, greatly and deſervedly lamented. The king, to relieve the anxiety of his mind, repaired to the court of Rome; and purſuing his journey through the principal cities of Italy, repoſed a ſhort time at Lyons, and entered his capital amidſt the acclamations of his people. Yet France had reaſon to lament the deſtructive conſequences of the enterprize from which he returned: beſides the nameleſs multitude that periſhed on the coaſt of Africa, in the iſland of Sicily, and in his progreſs through Italy, Philip loſt his father Lewis, his brother John, his queen Iſabella, his brother-in-law and ſiſter, the king and queen of Navarre, his uncle and aunt, the count and counteſs of Poic-

[1] Geſt. Philip, liii. p. 523. [2] Ib. p. 524.

tiers,

tiers, who were all, except the queen of France, victims of the ſame contagious diſorder.

The firſt moments of his return were dedicated to the pious care of his father's funeral; the next to the important ceremony of his own coronation, which was performed at Rheims, in the month of Auguſt, by Milo, biſhop of Soiſſons. As Alfonſo, count of Poictiers, and his wife, had left no poſterity, Philip haſtened to take poſſeſſion of the counties of Poitou and the Toulouſain, which eſcheated to the crown[3]; the firſt, as having been the appanage of the king's ſon, the ſecond, as having been ceded by Raymond the Seventh, father to the counteſs, who was the laſt of the illuſtrious family of the counts of Toulouſe. This ſucceſſion conſiderably augmented the royal domains. Already had Saint Lewis acquired the counties of Perche, of Clermont in Beauvaiſis, of Mâçon, of Beaumont upon Oiſe, and of Namur; the viſcounties of Beziers, Carcaſſonne, Avranches, and Peronne; the lordſhips of Beaumont-le-Roger, Brionne, Lochés and Châtillon upon the Indre; the caſtles of Beleſme, Mortagne, and Fertè-Alpes in la Beauſſe; and, laſtly, all the rights of Turcavel, to Lombers, and a great number of lordſhips, in the biſhopricks of Narbonne, Agde, Maguelonne, Niſmes, Albi and Toulouſe[4]. Though theſe acquiſitions were doubtleſs important, they appeared but trivial, when compared to what Philip now acquired by the death of his uncle Alfonſo—viz. Poitou, Auvergne, a part of Saintonge, and the country of Aunis, together with the greater part of the county of Toulouſe, that part of the Albigeois which lies to the right of the Tarn; Rouergue, Quercy, Agenois, and the Venaiſſin. But theſe provinces were not properly united to the crown, till the year 1361: till that time the kings of France governed them as counts of that particular diſtrict.

The king was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the ſtates which he inherited from the counteſs of Poictiers, than the king of England ſent to demand the reſtitution of the Agenois and Querci, in compliance with the treaty which had been concluded between Henry and Saint Lewis. Philip, however, was in no haſte to fulfil the engagement contracted by his father; Agenois, in conſequence, was not united to the duchy of Aquitaine till the year 1279, when Edward, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Henry, prevailed on him to give it up. As to Quercy, the king promiſed to inſtitute an enquiry, in order to learn whether it had been aſſigned as a dower to the princeſs Jane of England, on her marriage with Raymond the Sixth. The affair was not terminated till the year 1286, when Philip the Fair purchaſed the rights of the Engliſh to that province, for an annual penſion of three thouſand livres Tournois. The Venaiſſin had been bequeathed to the king of Sicily; Philip, however, took poſſeſſion of it, though

3 Geſt. Philip, liii. p. 526. 4 Saint Marthe, ſur la fin du regne de St. Louis. L. P. Daniel, t. iv. p. 571, 572.

in 1274 he ceded it to pope Gregory the Tenth; and from this period the ſovereign pontiffs have continued to rule that part of the principality of Toulouſe.

A. D. 1272.] At the commencement of this year the king made a tour through his new dominions, and took the neceſſary meaſures for quelling the only revolt that occurred during his reign. Geraud the Fifth, count of Armagnac, laid claim to the ſovereignty of the caſtle of Sompuy, in the dioceſe of Auch[5]; while Geraud de Caſaubon, lord of that fief, maintained that he held it immediately of the king, as heir to the rights of the counts of Toulouſe. The diſpute grew warm between them, and after ſeveral challenges, on both ſides, they prepared to decide it by the ſword. The count firſt took up arms, and repairing to Sompuy, at the head of his troops, dared his enemy to come forth; Caſaubon accordingly ſallied from the caſtle, attacked the count's rear-guard, killed his brother Arnaud Bernard, and put his ſoldiers to flight. The count, enraged at the affront he had ſuſtained, and ſtill more at the loſs of his brother, exhorted all the noblemen of his family to aſſiſt him in the infliction of vengeance. His brother-in-law, Roger Bernard, count de Foix, accordingly raiſed an army, and vowed to effect the deſolation of the caſtle of Sompuy, or periſh in the attempt. Caſaubon, unable to reſiſt the united forces of this powerful family, put himſelf under the king's protection, delivered his caſtle, with all his domains, into the hands of the ſeneſchal of Toulouſe, and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to Philip, ſubmitting to the judgment of the king's court, and conſenting to the confiſcation of his lordſhip, in caſe he ſhould fail to juſtify himſelf with regard to the death of Arnaud Bernard. The king's officers, in conſequence of this ſurrender, took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs with all its dependencies; they hoiſted the royal ſtandard, and forbade any one to attack a ſubject who had demanded juſtice from his ſovereign. But the count of Armagnac, paying no attention to theſe orders, laid ſiege to the caſtle, which he carried by aſſault, then reduced it to aſhes, maſſacred the inhabitants, and laid waſte the domains of Caſaubon, with fire and ſword.

The king was juſtly incenſed at this daring act of outrage and diſobedience, and, being ſenſible of the importance of acting with ſpirit at the commencement of his reign, he reſolved to inflict ſuch a puniſhment on his rebellious vaſſals, as ſhould ſerve for an example to the reſt of the barons. With this view he collected a powerful army, and cited the two offenders to appear before him, in order to anſwer for their conduct. Geraud d'Armagnac obeyed the citation, ſued for mercy, and obtained it, on condition of paying a fine of fifteen thouſand livres Tournois. But the count de Foix, perſiſting in his revolt, deſpiſed the order of his ſovereign, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He depended on the advantageous ſituation of his little territory, which was ſurrounded by

[5] Hiſt. de Lang. t. iv. p. 6, 7, note 2.

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lofty mountains, and defended by a great number of caſtles, ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature. Fully impreſſed with an idea that he was in perfect ſafety, he ventured to attack the ſeneſchal of Toulouſe, who was peaceably paſſing through his country, and, putting his men to flight, took ſeveral priſoners, and plundered his baggage. The king, apprized of this outrage, ſent a detachment of troops into the county of Foix, who took ſeveral of the principal fortreſſes, and ſcoured the open country; but the count, retiring to the mountains, ſtrengthened his fortifications, and, notwithſtanding the check he had received, flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſtill be able to oppoſe the whole power of France.

All the vaſſals of the crown had received orders to aſſemble at Tours, on the eighth of May, when a ſplendid train of nobles attended, and, with their followers, directed their march towards Toulouſe, where they were joined by the vaſſals of that province, and of the circumjacent country. Philip placed himſelf at the head of his army, and advanced towards Pamiers; at the abbey of Bolbonne he was met by James, king of Arragon, and Gaſton, viſcount of Bearn, father-in-law to the count de Foix, who came to negociate a peace, and to obtain a pardon for the rebel. But, when the king had conſented to the terms propoſed, the count refuſed to ſubmit to them; hoſtilities, therefore, were immediately commenced; and the army marched forward till they came within ſight of the caſtle of Foix, in which the count himſelf had taken refuge. The difficulty of approaching this fortreſs compelled them to keep at a certain diſtance; but Philip having taken an oath not to quit the place till he had obtained poſſeſſion of it, either by force or capitulation, the workmen were ordered to cut a way through the rocks which ſurrounded the caſtle. Animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, they diſplayed ſo much ardour in proceeding with their taſk, that the count ſaw he muſt ſoon be obliged to yield: he therefore ſought to avert the reſentment of Philip, by a timely ſurrender; and, repairing to the royal tent, threw himſelf at the king's feet, and ſued for pardon. But he had proceeded too far to be ſo ſoon forgiven; the king confined him in a tower, in the city of Carcaſſonne, and ſeized all his territories, except a ſmall part which was claimed by the king of Arragon, but which that monarch afterwards ceded, in order to accelerate the releaſe of the captive count. After placing ſtrong garriſons in the different fortreſſes, the army was diſmiſſed, and the counteſs de Foix, Margaret de Montcade, was taken to the court of France, where ſhe was treated with all the reſpect due to her rank. The count, after a year's impriſonment, was indebted for his liberty to the generoſity of his ſovereign; he then repaired to Paris, and, expreſſing his contrition for his paſt conduct, was received into favour by Philip, who kept him ſome time at his court; and then, diſmiſſing him with preſents, re-eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of all his domains.

A. D. 1273, 1274.] During theſe tranſactions, Henry the Third of England died, and was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſon, Edward, who went to Paris, and did homage to

to Philip for all the territories he poſſeſſed in France. About the ſame time it was deemed neceſſary to aſſemble a general council, to adopt means for the relief of the Holy Land, and for the reformation of manners. Gregory the Tenth had convened it, in the city of Lyons, which, according to Father Daniel, was not yet reduced under the domination of the French kings. He acknowledges that Saint Lewis [6], before his departure for Africa, held a court of juſtice there, but this he aſcribes to a particular agreement with the chapter, which was only to be in force till the election of a new archbiſhop. Philip, however, refuſed to ſurrender it, till the archbiſhop elect had taken the oath of fidelity to him; and this was afterwards pleaded, in the ſubſequent reign, as one of the titles, on which the right of uniting the Lyonois to the crown was founded. The council was attended by five hundred biſhops, ſeventy abbots, and more than a thouſand other eccleſiaſtics; the pope preſided in perſon, accompanied by fifteen cardinals. Some time before the council was opened, Philip went to ſalute the Roman pontiff, with whom he had a long conference; he aſſured him of his zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land, and left a body of troops, as well to guard the perſon of the pope, as to protect the members of the council from inſult.

It was decreed, that a tenth of the revenues of all churches ſhould be levied, during ſix years, for the ſupport of the holy war; an impoſt that was rigorouſly exacted. This was the laſt effort made by France for expeditions ſo prejudicial to the ſtate, as well from the enormous expence with which they were attended, as from the numbers of people who periſhed in them. Already had the French, with more piety than policy, engaged in five cruſades: the firſt, under Philip the Firſt, was the leaſt unfortunate; the ſecond, under Lewis the Young, proved highly diſaſtrous; the third was productive of little glory to Philip Auguſtus; the fourth involved Saint Lewis in captivity; and the fifth deprived him of his life. They are ſaid to have coſt the kingdom more than two millions of its inhabitants, and two hundred millions of livres, ſuppoſing that each cruſader who loſt his life carried with him only a hundred livres [7]. The expedition to Tunis was fortunately the laſt. The nation at length became ſenſible of its true intereſts; and, diſguſted by a ſucceſſion of unfortunate events, its enthuſiaſm gradually ſubſided. In vain did the Roman pontiffs endeavour to rouſe the torpid zeal of the French; all their efforts for that purpoſe proved ineffectual; and the Holy Land, deprived of all ſuccour from Europe, became a prey to the rage of the Infidels. In the year 1291, the ſultan Calib took the city of Acre, the firmeſt rampart of the Eaſtern Chriſtians, by aſſault; and, after the reduction of that important place, the final expulſion of the cruſaders became a matter of facility. Paleſtine was abandoned to the Saracens; and the wretched enthuſiaſts, who had quitted their native homes in queſt of imaginary glory, were now—ſad effects of miſtaken zeal!—compelled to wander, deſtitute and for-

[6] Tom. iv. p. 338, 339. [7] Eſſai ſur l'Hiſt. Gener. tom. xii. p. 184, 185.

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ſaken on the face of the earth, in ſearch of thoſe real comforts which they had vainly ſacrificed to viſionary hopes.

In order to provide a remedy for the inconvenience occaſioned by the interval which generally occurred between the death of a pope and the election of a ſucceſſor, the council determined[8], that in future, immediately after the death of the ſovereign pontiff, the cardinals ſhould aſſemble in the ſame chamber, without any ſeparations by walls or curtains, and, in every reſpect, ſo well ſecured, that no perſon could enter or leave the room without the conſent of all preſent, and, except in caſe of ſickneſs, under pain of being deprived of his vote.—Such is the origin of the term *conclave*, which was invented for the purpoſe of expreſſing a place in which ſeveral perſons were ſhut up, under one and the ſame key. If the cardinals, in three days after their firſt meeting, had not agreed in their choice of a pope, it was determined, that for the five following days they ſhould have but one diſh at each meal; and, at the expiration of that term, ſhould be confined to bread, wine, and water, till a new pontiff was elected. The cardinals inveighed loudly againſt a ſtatute which was calculated to ſuppreſs, in a manner ſo humiliating, their ambition and avarice. It was farther decided, that, during the vacancy, they ſhould not interfere in any other buſineſs, than that of the election; that they ſhould not receive any thing from the apoſtolic chamber, nor touch any of the other revenues of the church of Rome. The utmoſt exertions of ſkill and intrigue were employed to avert this fatal edict; but Gregory had previouſly ſecured the biſhops in his intereſt; they all ſubſcribed the decree, affixed their ſeals to it, and publiſhed it in their reſpective dioceſes; by which means it received the authority of a law.

Before the council ſeparated, a proper example was made of Henry de Gueldres[9], biſhop of Liege, an ignorant, vain, and profligate prelate, who did not even underſtand his breviary; who wore a ſcarlet dreſs with a ſilver girdle; expoſed livings to ſale; had taken for his concubine an abbeſs of the order of Saint Benedict; debauched another abbeſs in his dioceſe; publickly kept a young nun; and boaſted at a feaſt that he had had fourteen children in the ſpace of two-and-twenty months. The pope, before he proceeded juridically againſt the offender, aſked him, whether he choſe to reſign his biſhoprick, or to abide by the deciſion of the church: Henry, expecting to obtain favour by ſubmiſſion, gave his paſtoral ring to Gregory, who kept it, and obliged him to abdicate his dignity.

A. D. 1275.] A month after the ſeparation of the ſecond council of Lyons, Philip, who was then in his thirty-firſt year, married Mary, ſiſter to John, duke of Brabant, one of the moſt beautiful princeſſes of the age. But, though every circumſtance that

[8] Concil. tom. xi. p. 975, et ſeq. [9] Ibid. p. 929.

could

could enſure attachment ſubſiſted between the royal couple, their felicity was ſpeedily troubled by the intrigues of Peter de la Broſſe, a native of Touraine, who from the obſcure ſituation of a provincial ſurgeon, had, through the king's partiality and favour, been promoted to the firſt offices in the ſtate. Such was the aſcendancy which this man had acquired over the mind of his ſovereign, that all applications for places or preferment were made to him; and even the dignity of chamberlain, which had never before been enjoyed by any but perſons of the higheſt rank, was conferred on him. His brother-in-law, Peter de Benais, was made biſhop of Bayeux, and all his children procured ample eſtabliſhments, and ſplendid alliances. The king's affection for his young wife alarmed this artful favourite, who dreaded a diminution of his own credit; he therefore determined, if poſſible, to deſtroy a paſſion that was founded on the beſt of motives.

At the age of twelve years, Lewis, the king's eldeſt ſon, ſuddenly expired; and a report was induſtriouſly propagated that his death had been occaſioned by poiſon. La Broſſe eagerly ſeized on this circumſtance to inſtil into the mind of Philip ſuſpicions unfavourable to his virtuous conſort. He artfully inſinuated that the queen had committed this crime; and that ſhe had formed a plan for getting rid of the two ſurviving princes, in order to pave the way for the acceſſion of her own children (in caſe ſhe ſhould have any) to the crown of France. Mezeray affirms [10], that he even ſuborned a traitor, who publickly accuſed Mary of having adminiſtered poiſon to the preſumptive heir of the throne. The queen, in conſequence of this accuſation, was actually in danger of being burnt alive; but her brother, the duke of Brabant, ſent a knight to juſtify her innocence by an appeal to the ſword; and the accuſer, not daring to ſupport his charge by a judicial combat, was declared guilty of calumny, and expiated his crime by an ignominious death. The king, however, was greatly embarraſſed: the report that prevailed, though wholly devoid of foundation; the artful inſinuations of his favourite; the intereſt of Mary in the death of his ſons by Iſabella of Arragon; all contributed to favour thoſe ideas which la Broſſe had been ſtudious to excite. In order to clear up his doubts, he reſolved, agreeably to the ſuperſtition of the age, to conſult a nun [11], a *Beguine* of Neville, who profeſſed, or believed, herſelf inſpired. The biſhop of Bayeux, brother-in-law to his favourite, and the abbot of Saint Denis, were entruſted with this ſingular commiſſion: the former arrived firſt, and engaged the pretended propheteſs to impart to him *in confeſſion*, whatever God had revealed to her on the ſubject of the prince's death; when the abbot came to interrogate her, ſhe refuſed to anſwer his queſtions, obſerving, that ſhe had told all ſhe knew to his colleague. On the return of the commiſſioners, the king deſired the biſhop to let him know what information he had been able to collect: "Sire (replied the prelate), the nun refuſed to converſe with me, except in "*confeſſion*, and it is not in my power to diſcloſe what has been entruſted to me in ſo

[10] Abr. tom. ii. p. 739. [11] Geſta Philippi, l. iii. p. 532.

"ſolemn

" lemn a manner." The artifice was too groſs to impoſe even on the credulous Philip, who told him in a rage, that he had not been ſent to confeſs the nun, but to inveſtigate the truth of a circumſtance in which he was deeply intereſted :—" I have other means " (exclaimed the king) of diſcovering that truth; and woe be unto thoſe who have " dared to deceive me!" He immediately diſpatched Thibaud, biſhop of Dol, and Arnaud de Viſemale, a knight-templar, to Nivelle; theſe men had no intereſt in eſtabliſhing the guilt of the queen; they were favourably received by the nun, and brought back a clear and unequivocal anſwer:—" Tell the king (ſaid the propheteſs), that he " ought not to give credit to thoſe who ſpeak ill of his illuſtrious conſort; ſhe is inno- " cent of the crime imputed to her; he may ſafely rely on her fidelity, as well to him- " ſelf as to his children."

This adventure greatly increaſed the queen's credit, and detracted from that of her unprincipled enemy. The king was now confirmed in the ſuſpicions which he had begun to entertain of his favourite; but he was compelled to diſſemble for a while, as he had imprudently entruſted him with the moſt ſecret and important affairs of the ſtate. His treachery, however, in that reſpect, was ſoon rendered manifeſt:—One day, when Philip was at Melun, a monk earneſtly deſired to be admitted to a private audience[12]; and, when his requeſt was granted, he delivered a ſmall box, which he had received from a traveller, who died at his convent, with expreſs orders to give it into the king's own hands. Philip immediately aſſembled his council, when the box was opened, and found to contain ſeveral letters ſealed with the chamberlain's ſeal. The contents of thoſe letters are not known; but in a ſhort time la Broſſe was apprehended, and hanged at Paris, in the preſence of the count of Artois, and the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. The nobles, from jealouſy, applauded the juſtice of his puniſhment; but the people murmured, ſays Velly, *parce qu'il eſt peuple*. The ſecrecy obſerved with reſpect to the crime for which the chamberlain was executed made them forget their natural averſion to favourites, and led them to conclude, that he had been unjuſtly ſacrificed to appeaſe the indignation of the queen. The objects of his protection were involved in the diſgrace of their patron: the biſhop of Bayeux fled to Rome, where he remained a long time in exile, under the protection of the ſovereign pontiff[13].

Although Philip was deſirous of cultivating peace, he never ſhrunk from the dangers of war. He was now induced to take up arms in favour of a young princeſs, his relation, who was oppreſſed by her ambitious neighbours, and deſpoiled of her kingdom by her rebellious ſubjects. Henry the Firſt, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne,

[12] Geſta Philippi, l. iii. p. 536.

[13] Theſe occurrences did not take place till the year 1276; but it was thought neceſſary to bring the queen's misfortunes and the crimes of la Broſſe under one point of view, that the attention of the Reader might not be too often drawn from the thread of the Hiſtory.

died in the prime of youth, leaving an infant daughter, whom he declared ſole heireſs to his dominions; and appointed his wife, Blanche of Artois, niece to Saint Lewis, and daughter to his brother Robert, who was killed at Maſſoura, to be her guardian; recommending her to marry her child to none but a French prince. This pointed excluſion of the natives gave great offence to the nobles of Navarre, who, in contempt of the laſt will of their ſovereign, choſe Don Pedro Sancho de Montague to be lieutenant-general of the kingdom, till ſuch time as the princeſs ſhould have attained the age of maturity. This bold aſſumption of power could not fail to excite a deadly hatred between the nobles and the court. It alſo occaſioned foreign powers to revive their obſolete pretenſions to a crown which tottered on the head of a child but three years old: the king of Arragon laid claim to it, as the adopted heir of Sancho the Seventh; and the king of Caſtille advanced his pretenſions, derived from Sancho the Third.—Both theſe monarchs preferred their claims before the ſtates of Navarre, aſſembled at Puenté-la-Reina. Montague, the leader of the faction, gave his voice in favour of the king of Arragon, whoſe title was frivolous and unfounded; others declared for the king of Caſtille, whoſe anceſtors had formerly ſwayed the ſceptre of Navarre. This difference of ſentiment gave riſe to commotions, which made the queen tremble for the ſafety of her daughter; ſhe therefore ſecretly left the kingdom, with her child, and took refuge at the court of France. Incenſed at her evaſion, the Navarreſe paſſed a formal reſolution not to acknowledge the princeſs Jane for their queen, unleſs ſhe married Alphonſo of Arragon, grandſon to James the Firſt; at the ſame time they requeſted the father of that prince to employ all his forces, in order to prevent a French prince from aſcending the throne of Navarre. Such was their averſion to the French, that they engaged to ſupply him with two hundred thouſand marks of ſilver—a prodigious ſum in thoſe days—to defray the expences of the war.

Philip received the two queens with every poſſible mark of attention and reſpect; aware of the advantage to be derived from their preſence, he reſolved to profit by it, and to marry one of his ſons to the young princeſs. As Blanche ardently wiſhed for this alliance, it was ſpeedily concluded; one obſtacle, however, preſented itſelf—Jane and the French prince were relations within the third degree; it was therefore neceſſary to obtain a diſpenſation, which the pope might poſſibly refuſe. The king ſpared no pains to engage him in his intereſt; he repreſented to him, that Navarre, a Spaniſh province, being united to Champagne and la Brie, which were ſituated in the centre of France, if thoſe territories ſhould paſs into the hands of a foreign prince, already formidable from his own native ſtrength, it would inevitably give riſe to perpetual wars. Gregory was well diſpoſed to favour Philip; but, on the other hand, he was urgently ſolicited by the two Spaniſh monarchs, who repreſented to him that all Europe would be in danger, if the royal family of France, already ſo powerful from the extent of their hereditary dominions, ſhould ſeek for farther aggrandizement by the acquiſition of another crown. The Roman pontiff, ſenſible of the juſtice of theſe remonſtrances, purſued a middle courſe.

courſe. The king had three ſons—Lewis (who was ſtill alive); Philip, ſurnamed the Fair; and Charles, count of Valois. Gregory refuſed to grant a diſpenſation for the firſt, but gave it to the ſecond, who, being confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, did not appear likely to cauſe much uneaſineſs.—The treaty of marriage was accordingly ſigned at Orleans.

Queen Blanche now preſented a petition to the king, entreating him to take the princeſs Jane under his immediate protection; and this requeſt being complied with, Philip ſent Euſtache de Beaumarchais, ſeneſchal of Toulouſe, to take poſſeſſion of Navarre in his name. This officer profited by the diſſenſions which prevailed among the Navarreſe, ſecured a great number of places, which he garriſoned, made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Pampeluna, the capital of the country, where he raiſed ſtrong fortifications.—Every thing wore a favourable aſpect, and the French party was on the point of prevailing, when the imprudence of the governor excited a general inſurrection. Euſtache, from a miſtaken zeal, which ſhould never be exerted on a change of government, undertook to aboliſh certain cuſtoms, which appeared to him unjuſt: all the nobility immediately revolted, and the people, following their example, flew to arms. The governor was beſieged in the caſtle of Pampeluna; Montague attempted to quell the revolt—no longer hoping to derive any advantage from the Spaniſh monarchs, he was anxious to be reconciled to the king of France. He had already entered into a negociation with the principal inſurgents, when he was aſſaſſinated by Don Garcias Almoravid: hoſtilities were then renewed with additional fury; and Beaumarchais, preſſed on all ſides, applied for immediate ſuccours. At length a powerful reinforcement of twenty thouſand men arrived, under the command of Robert, count of Artois, and the conſtable Imbert de Beaujeu: their preſence gave a new turn to affairs; and the beſiegers were themſelves beſieged in the town of Pampeluna.

Don Garcias, and the chief promoters of the inſurrection, finding it impoſſible to hold out long, in a town badly fortified, againſt a regular army, and dreading to incur the puniſhment their rebellious conduct deſerved, reſolved to provide for their own ſafety. But, concealing their deſigns, they informed the citizens that a general ſally would be made the next day; and having thus lulled them into ſecurity, they effected their eſcape during the night. The wretched inhabitants, being left to themſelves, ſued for mercy to the count of Artois, and in the mean time took refuge in the great church of Notre-Dame. The conſtable Beaujeu was already drawing up the terms of capitulation, when the count of Foix and the viſcount of Bearn, obſerving that nobody appeared on the walls, iſſued from the camp with their troops, applied their ſcaling ladders, and mounted the walls without oppoſition. A cruel and indiſcriminate ſlaughter enſued; neither ſex nor age was reſpected; women and virgins were openly violated by the ſoldiery; the temples were profaned, and the manſions of the dead ſacrilegiouſly plundered. As ſoon as the count of Artois entered the town, he endeavoured to ſtop

this ſhameful violence, and by kind treatment to conſole the affrighted citizens. He granted them their liberty, confirmed them in all their privileges, and cauſed their effects to be reſtored. The fate of the caſtle ſuperinduced the ſubmiſſion of the other towns and fortreſſes; the revolt was ſpeedily quelled, and the whole kingdom of Navarre ſubmitted to the conqueror.

A. D. 1280.] During theſe tranſactions, Philip had aſſembled an army for the purpoſe of attacking the dominions of Alfonſo the Tenth, king of Caſtille. That monarch, when he married his ſon, Ferdinand de la Cerda, to the princeſs Blanche, daughter of Saint Lewis, entered into a ſolemn engagement that the children which ſhould ſpring from this marriage, ſhould ſucceed to the throne of Caſtille, even though Ferdinand ſhould die before his father. On this condition alone did Lewis conſent to reſign the pretenſions of his mother to that crown, which are ſaid to have been well-founded. Blanche had two ſons, Alfonſo and Ferdinand; but on the death of their father, Alfonſo, in violation of his promiſe, transferred the ſucceſſion from his grandchildren, to his ſecond and ſurviving ſon, Sancho.

The injuſtice of this conduct, together with the perſecution experienced by his ſiſter, after the death of her huſband, determined Philip to redreſs the wrongs of his family. But he firſt ſent an ambaſſador to Alfonſo, to try the effect of remonſtrance; all the good, however, he derived from this meaſure, was permiſſion for Blanche to return to her native country, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her days. War was now reſolved on, and the neceſſary orders were given for carrying it into execution. The general rendezvous of the troops was fixed at Sauveterre in Bearn, where a more numerous army aſſembled than had been ſeen in France for many years: but when they were about to march it was diſcovered that both proviſions and forage were wanting. The winter was approaching; the heavy rains which began to fall rendered the roads impaſſable, and the king was reduced to the neceſſity of poſtponing this expedition till the enſuing ſpring.

The king of Caſtille in the mean time, alarmed at theſe immenſe preparations, had requeſted a conference with the count of Artois, who, having previouſly obtained the permiſſion of Philip, repaired to Spain. Alfonſo earneſtly beſought him to mediate a peace between France and Caſtille, profeſſing at the ſame time that he was not actuated by fear in his anxiety for the preſervation of tranquillity, becauſe he had certain intelligence that Philip was already on his return to Paris; in ſhort, he gave him to underſtand that he was no ſtranger to the moſt ſecret tranſactions of the French court. Robert, who was ignorant of the king's retreat, was loſt in aſtoniſhment; and could not reflect without horror on the danger to which Philip muſt have been expoſed, had he continued his march. His ſuſpicions immediately fell on the chamberlain; he accordingly returned to Navarre, and having exacted a new oath of fidelity from the Navarreſe,

varreſe, and reſtored the command of the army to the feneſchal de Beaumarchais, haſtened to Paris, where he imparted what he had heard to the king. It was then that the myſtery of the box of papers delivered to Philip by the monk was explained; and the perfidious favourite la Broſſe paid for his treachery with his life.

A. D. 1281.] The farther proſecution of this war was impeded by an order from the pope, who forbade the two monarchs to decide their diſpute by arms; an order which the dignity of Philip ſhould certainly have induced him to reſiſt, but which his partiality to peace, and the attention he was obliged to pay to the ſtate of affairs in Sicily, urged him to comply with.

The ambition of the Sicilian monarch knew no bounds. As ſenator of Rome, and vicar of the empire, his authority in Italy was almoſt abſolute. He had recently purchaſed, for a penſion of four thouſand livres, the rights of Mary of Antioch to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which, though in poſſeſſion of the Saracens, ſtill conferred a title that was deemed highly honourable by the Chriſtians: and he had laid a plan for ſecuring the Imperial crown of Conſtantinople. He would probably, too, have ſucceeded in the attempt, had his prudence been equal to his courage. But, incapable of reflection, in the management of his enterprizes he invariably diſplayed more pride than circumſpection. His vaſt projects, of which he publicly talked; the augmentation of his forces by ſea and land; his courage; his reputation; all conſpired to alarm the princes of Europe, many of whom entered into a conſpiracy for repreſſing that ambitious ſpirit, which they deemed equally hoſtile to their private aggrandizement and to the general welfare. Rome was the firſt to diſplay her enmity: Gregory the Ninth had paid him little reſpect; Innocent the Fifth had been more favourable, but his reign was ſhort; Adrian the Sixth did not live to be conſecrated, and John the Twenty-firſt died ſoon after his elevation to the papal throne. The death of this pontiff was highly detrimental to the Sicilian king, who had received from him the moſt unequivocal marks of affection.

John Gaetano, of the noble family of Urſini, had no ſooner ſucceeded to the pontifical dignity, under the appellation of Nicholas the Third, than he undertook to humble the pride and power of a prince, whom he conſidered as the principal obſtacle to the execution of thoſe ambitious projects which he had formed for the elevation of his own kinſmen; and againſt whom he had alſo ſome private ſubjects of complaint. Charles is ſaid to have cauſed the huſband of a niece of Nicholas to be beheaded, for having, with more loyalty than prudence, declared for Conradine. But what had moſt enraged the ſovereign pontiff, was the arrogant refuſal he experienced when he aſked the hand of a grand-daughter of the king of Sicily, for one of his own nephews [14].

[14] Villani, l. vii. c. 54. Rayn. Ann. 1278. No. 67.

Thus

Thus ſtimulated he took advantage of the diſpute which ſubſiſted between that prince and the emperor Rodolphus, procured himſelf to be appointed arbiter between them, and ſentenced Charles to reſign the dignity of Vicar of the Empire. The monarch obeyed, and gave in his reſignation, which encreaſed the pride of the pontiff; who ſoon after ſent him an order to reſign alſo the office of Senator of Rome, in compliance with the treaty concluded with Clement the Fourth; in this inſtance too the pope experienced the ſame docility on the part of the king, which made his ambaſſador remark, that Charles poſſeſſed all the fidelity of the French in the execution of treaties, all the fineſſe of Spaniſh policy, and all the prudence of the court of Rome—"We may get the bet-"ter of others," ſaid he, "but as for this man, we ſhall never manage him." In fact, the pope only waited for a pretext to deſpoil him of the crown of the two Sicilies; bold as he was, he did not dare openly to deprive him of a throne to which his predeceſſors had raiſed him; he therefore confined himſelf to a ſecret engagement with the king of Arragon to aſſiſt him with men and money.

Don Pedro, king of Arragon, a prince who poſſeſſed more cunning than generoſity, had an *apparent* claim to the throne of Sicily, in right of his wife Conſtance, who was daughter to Mainfroy; but as Mainfroy himſelf was a baſtard, and an uſurper alſo, to the prejudice of Conradine, the lawful heir, it was maintained that he could not poſſibly tranſmit to his children a right which he had never poſſeſſed himſelf. Charles was on the point of embarking on ſome important enterprize, for which he had made the moſt formidable preparations; according to Nangis the object of his expedition was the recovery of Paleſtine; but moſt of the Spaniſh, Greek, and Italian writers, affirm that it was his intention to depoſe Michael Paleologus, emperor of Conſtantinople. Be that as it may, Don Pedro maintained a ſecret correſpondence with all the towns of Italy, whoſe inhabitants were eager to ſhake off the yoke of the French, whoſe tyranny had become unſupportable. In the exertion of a deſpotic ſway, they neither reſpected the rights of humanity, nor the laws of religion and honour [15]. The people were oppreſſed by onerous exactions, and expoſed to the inſolence of a licentious ſoldiery. Such as ventured to complain only experienced an accumulation of inſult; and there was ſcarcely a ſingle family exempt from perſecution, for a pretended attachment to the cauſe of Conradine, which ſerved as an eternal excuſe for oppreſſion. Fathers could not diſpoſe of their daughters in marriage without the conſent of government, who compelled them, when rich, to take French huſbands. Neither the privileges of cities, nor the prerogatives of the clergy, were reſpected. The Sicilians were excluded from all eccleſiaſtical benefices, which were invariably beſtowed on the children of their conquerors. But the ſhameful treatment which the women experienced, enraged even more than theſe inſtances of oppreſſion (flagrant as they were) a people naturally diſ-

[15] M. de Burigny, Hiſt. de Sicil. t. ii. p. 184.

poſed

poſed to jealouſy. It is ſaid, that the French governors ordered the young brides to be brought to them, and did not ſend them back to their huſbands till they had paſſed the firſt night with them. The ſoldiers, too, under pretence of executing the king's orders, forced an entrance into private houſes, and took the moſt indecent liberties with the wives and daughters of the citizens. In ſhort, ſcarcely a day paſſed without the commiſſion of a rape, or an act of adultery [16].

All attempts to procure redreſs for theſe intolerable grievances proved ineffectual; Charles, intoxicated with power, rejected the cries and prayers of his ſubjects, and treated with contempt thoſe murmurs and thoſe menaces, which he conceived to be impotent; he ſoon, however, learned, from fatal experience, this important leſſon—That no monarch, however mighty, can long oppreſs with impunity; that the obligations between prince and people are mutually binding; that ſo long as the former exerts his authority to promote the general happineſs, by maintaining the laws in their full vigour, by a ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, his rights are ſacred, and any attempt to invade them is unjuſt and tyrannical; but when he neglects thoſe duties which are impoſed on him by his ſtation, when he employs the power veſted in his hands for the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, when, in ſhort, he openly violates thoſe *laws* which it is his firſt duty to protect and enforce, then (and *then only*) does he forfeit all claim to allegiance; the *Original Compact*, to which alone all ſubordination in a government can be rationally aſcribed, is then diſſolved, and the people are juſtified in reſiſting what, in vain, they have attempted to remedy by lenient and pacific meaſures.—Among the Sicilian nobles was one who engaged the univerſal eſteem of his countrymen; a man of talents and reſolution; a good ſoldier, an able captain, a ſkilful negociator; artful, inſinuating, fertile in expedients, in deliberation cautious, in execution prompt, he was fully capable of conducting a political intrigue; in the preſent inſtance his patriotic ardour was inflamed by a thirſt of revenge; the French had diſhonoured his wife, and their prince, on the defeat of Conradine, had confiſcated his property. This man, ſo famous in the annals of Sicily, was John de Procida, ſo called from a ſmall iſland in the vicinity of Naples, of which Charles had deſpoiled him for his ſteady attachment to the houſe of Suabia.

Procida was now at the court of Arragon, where he was courteouſly received by Don Pedro, who, by the advice of his wife, had given him ſome valuable poſſeſſions in the kingdom of Valencia. In return for theſe favours, from reſpect to the blood of Mainfroy, and from averſion to the tyranny of Charles, he reſolved to place the crown of Sicily on the head of Pedro. In the diſguiſe of a Cordelier he viſited Malta, Sicily, Conſtantinople and Rome, and his negociations at thoſe different places were attended

[16] Velly, t. vi. p. 355.

with

with ſucceſs. The Greek emperor promiſed to aſſiſt him with money; the ſovereign pontiff, bribed by a conſiderable ſum [17], of which his nephew Orſo largely partook, urged, moreover, by a lively reſentment againſt Charles, not only approved the conſpiracy, but wrote very preſſing letters to the king of Arragon, exhorting him to perſevere in the purſuit of his plan.

But the death of Nicholas, during theſe negociations, had nearly put an end to the conſpiracy. He was ſucceeded in the pontifical throne by the cardinal Saint Cecilia, the ſame prelate who had been employed in ſettling the terms on which Charles accepted the kingdom of Sicily. The friendſhip of Martin the Fourth—that was the title aſſumed by the new pontiff—for the king of Sicily, was as ſtrong as the enmity of his predeceſſors had been violent. He ſoon gave unequivocal proofs of his attachment, by reſtoring to Charles the office of ſenator of Rome, which had been taken from him by the late pope; by excommunicating, at his requeſt, the Greek emperor, who had failed to execute the conditions preſcribed by the council of Lyons; and by prohibiting, under the pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, all perſons whatever from holding any commerce with that prince.

A. D. 1281 to 1284.] The death of Nicholas ſomewhat damped the ardour of the king of Arragon; but it had a verydifferent effect on Michael Paleologus, who diſpatched Procida with thirty thouſand ounces of gold as a preſent to Don Pedro. This perſuaſive argument carried conviction to the mind of that monarch, who immediately gave orders for collecting a powerful armament, under pretence of waging war againſt the Saracens. Philip, whoſe firſt wife was ſiſter to Don Pedro, apprized of his preparations, ſent to aſk him to what quarter he meant to direct his forces, offering, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt him with men and money; but the only anſwer he received was, that the king of Arragon had it in contemplation to revenge the inſults which the Chriſtian religion had ſuſtained during the reign of Saint Lewis; and that he ſhould be glad if, to forward his purpoſe, Philip would lend him forty thouſand livres tournois; a requeſt which was inſtantly complied with. The Sicilian monarch was equally credulous; he ſupplied Don Pedro with twenty thouſand ducats to aid the equipment of a fleet that was deſtined to be employed againſt himſelf. The pope, however, was wiſer; to him the proceedings of the king of Arragon wore a doubtful aſpect; he therefore diſpatched a monk to the court of Arragon to forbid him, on his peril, to make war on any Chriſtian prince.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the inhabitants of Palermo, on Eaſter-Monday, propoſed to attend veſpers at the church of the Holy Ghoſt, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance,

[17] Velly, t. vi. p. 358.

from

from the city. Though there was nothing uncommon in theſe parties of devotion, a report prevailed that ſome grand project was in agitation; and that every precaution, therefore, was neceſſary, in order to prevent its execution.—With this view the governor of the place gave orders to have all perſons examined as they went to the church, to ſee that they were unarmed. The ſoldiers took advantage of the circumſtance to inſult the women; one, in particular, ſtopped a young lady of extraordinary beauty, and, under pretence of examining whether ſhe had not a poniard concealed beneath her cloaths, proceeded to take the moſt indecent liberties [18]. Her cries called her father and huſband to her aſſiſtance; theſe were joined by their friends; the tumult became general through the city; the ſoldiers were attacked, overpowered, and maſſacred. Eight thouſand of the French are ſaid to have periſhed in this general ſlaughter, which obtained the name of the *Sicilian Veſpers*.

The ſignal of revolt was now given; the different towns of Sicily haſtened to follow the example of Palermo; and the French were every where expelled with great ſlaughter. The numbers that fell on this occaſion are variouſly related; ſome making them to amount to twenty-eight thouſand; while others reduce them to fourteen. Be that as it may, the inſurrection was general, and the ſucceſs complete.

Charles was at Monte-Fiaſcone, tranſacting ſome buſineſs with the pope, when he received intelligence of theſe fatal events; his paſſion was, for ſome time, too ſtrong for utterance; when he recovered his ſpeech, the violence of his exclamations was equal to the magnitude of his loſs; he talked of nothing but death and retribution; and ſwore that he would tranſmit to poſterity a terrible example that ſhould make all future rebels tremble [19]. But his prudence was blinded by his paſſion; though he had a powerful fleet and army prepared

[18] Nicol. Special. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. x. chap. 4. p. 925; Maleſp. ibid. tom. viii. p. 1029; Giov. Villani, l. vii. c. 61, p. 205.

[19] After mentioning this threat, the abbè Velly obſerves: "Il le devoit; les Siciliens etoient des traitres abominables, qui ne meritoient aucune grace" (He ought to have put his threats in execution; the Sicilians were abominable traitors, who deſerved no favour). What! when this unfortunate people had ſo long laboured under every ſpecies of oppreſſion; when for years they had oppoſed patience to inſult, meekneſs to outrage, obedience to tyranny; when every attempt at remonſtrance had only produced an augmentation of miſery; and when, at laſt, their reſiſtance (as the abbè himſelf admits) was not the reſult of premeditation, but proceeded from the commiſſion of injuries the moſt groſs and intolerable—injuries, the ſuffering whereof would be a degradation of human nature:—Wives and daughters raviſhed in the preſence of their huſbands and their parents, who were maſſacred for endeavouring to defend them from violation!—If ſuch acts of violence were not ſufficient to plead the excuſe of the Sicilians, ſo far as to ſcreen them from the barbarous effects of a tyrant's revenge, oppreſſion muſt be lawful, and cruelty juſt! Humanity ſhudders at the thought! We are ſtrenuous advocates for that rational ſubmiſſion, which, in a ſocial ſtate, every man is bound to pay for the protection he receives; but the diſtance between ſuch ſubmiſſion and paſſive obedience is (thank Heaven!) immenſe;—the bond of ſociety is conditional: withhold the conſideration, the obligation ceaſes of courſe.

for his intended expedition to Conſtantinople, he refuſed to follow the advice of the pope, and to employ them in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to enſure ſucceſs. He laid ſiege to Meſſina, indeed; but, intent on vengeance, rejected the proffered ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, and, by urging them to a deſperate reſiſtance, defeated his own purpoſe. The king of Arragon, in the mean time, had arrived at Palermo, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people, and unanimouſly proclaimed king of Sicily. By the advice of Procida he ſent his fleet to Meſſina, and compelled Charles to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with diſgrace.

Charles, however, ſoon received a powerful reinforcement, which, with proper conduct, might have enabled him to retrieve his affairs; but, inſtead of leading his troops againſt the enemy, he was induced, by an artful challenge from Pedro, to decide their quarrel by a combat between a hundred knights on either ſide, led by their reſpective monarchs, to remain in a ſtate of fatal inactivity. The firſt of June was the appointed day, and a plain near Bourdeaux the place agreed on for this ſingular combat: Charles was punctual; but his adverſary rather choſe to ſubmit to the imputation of cowardice than to riſk a certain good for a precarious advantage.—Charles had now recourſe to that line of conduct which, purſued in time, might have prevented the calamities he had experienced, and the diſgrace he had incurrred. He propoſed to his ſubjects to make every reformation they could require in the government; to aboliſh every ſpecies of oppreſſion; and to reſtore the laws that had been eſtabliſhed under their favourite monarch, William the Good. Theſe propoſals had a great effect on the Sicilians, many of whom evinced a diſpoſition to return under the domination of the Houſe of Anjou.—The thunders of the vatican were launched a-new againſt the enemies of Charles; and Michael Paleologus, the firmeſt ally of Pedro, had juſt expired; thus his affairs ſeemed once more to wear a favourable aſpect—when one fatal and irreparable action blaſted all his hopes:—His ſon Charles, prince of Salermo, was left at Naples (while he was in Provence preparing a freſh armament) with orders not to riſk an action, but patiently to await the arrival of his father. The youth, however, provoked by the inſults of the fleet of Arragon, hazarded an engagement, in which he was defeated, with the loſs of forty-two veſſels, and taken priſoner by the enemy.

A. D. 1285.] Charles, in the mean time, returned with a powerful fleet and a ſtrong reinforcement of troops: when informed of the defeat and captivity of his ſon, he exclaimed: "Would he were dead, ſince he diſobeyed my orders!" Entering Naples, where the inhabitants had ſhewn a diſpoſition to revolt, he ordered one hundred and fifty of them to be hanged; he then advanced towards Reggio, in order to conſult with the count of Artois on the plan of operations, but the ſeaſon was too far advanced to embark in any enterprize of importance. A prey to ſorrow and deſpair, the life of Charles became burdenſome; at Foggia he was attacked by a violent fever, which ſoon brought

brought him to the grave, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign, as king of Sicily.

Pope Martin the Fourth died ſoon after, and was ſucceeded by James Savelli, a noble Roman, who aſſumed the appellation of Honorius the Fourth. The new pontiff followed the maxims of his predeceſſor; and, almoſt immediately after his elevation, granted to Philip the tenth of the revenues of the dioceſes of Liege, Metz, Verdun, and Baſle; exhorting him, at the ſame time, to haſten the equipment of an armament, which he hoped might ſtill effect the reſtoration of the Houſe of Anjou. The king of France had alſo another motive for complying with the injunctions of the pope; the late pontiff having, when he excommunicated the king of Arragon, beſtowed his ſceptre on Charles of Valois, a younger ſon of Philip; that monarch, therefore, to eſtabliſh the pretenſions of his ſon, levied an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he paſſed the Pyrenees, and, penetrating into Catalonia, laid ſiege to Gironne. The town, ſurrounded by rocks, was ſtrong both by nature and art; the inhabitants defended themſelves with vigour; and the beſiegers were farther haraſſed by Pedro, who had left Sicily on the news of this invaſion, and placed himſelf at the head of his troops. The French fleet lay at the neighbouring port of Roſez, and ſupplied the army with proviſions; a conſiderable convoy was to be forwarded to the camp on the day of the Aſſumption, of which Pedro being apprized, he placed himſelf in ambuſh, at a convenient ſpot, with five hundred horſe and two thouſand foot: Philip, by means of a ſpy, was informed of his plan; he accordingly diſpatched Ralph de Neſle, with five hundred picked men, who, taking the Spaniards by ſurprize, threw them into confuſion, killed the greater part, and wounded the king himſelf, who died ſoon after.

The conſequence of this victory was the ſurrender of Gironne by capitulation; but the exceſſive heat of the weather, in a climate always ſultry, occaſioned an epidemic diſorder that proved very deſtructive to the troops; this circumſtance determined the king to repaſs the Pyrenees, and ſpend the winter in his own dominions; but before he decamped he permitted a great part of his fleet to return to France; and theſe ſhips being met by the Spaniſh admiral, with a ſuperior force, a deſperate action enſued, in which the French were totally defeated, with the loſs of thirty veſſels: thoſe which were left behind experienced a ſimilar fate; they were attacked by ſurprize in the port of Roſez, when the crew were aſhore, and not a ſingle ſhip eſcaped. The inhabitants of Roſez having favoured the attack, the French ſet fire to the town, and reduced it to aſhes. This misfortune, which deprived the army of its accuſtomed ſupplies, haſtened the king's retreat. When he had advanced as far as Villeneuve, he began to experience a want of proviſions; the heavy rains that fell about this time rendered the roads almoſt impaſſable; and, to add to his diſtreſs, the Arragonians had ſeized the principal paſſes of the Pyrenees, and inceſſantly haraſſed the troops on their march. All the baggage fell

into the hands of the enemy; and, ere the king could quit the country, he was ſeized with the ſame fatal diſorder that had made ſuch ravages in his camp. Unable to bear the motion of a horſe, he was placed in a litter; and, having with difficulty forced the paſſage of the Pyrenees, arrived at Perpignan, where he expired, on the fifth of October, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign.

Philip was liberal, munificent, and humane; attentive to the happineſs of his people, he was careful not to burden them with oppreſſive impoſts; aware of the calamities produced by war, he diſplayed a laudable anxiety for the preſervation of peace, except towards the concluſion of his reign, when he ſuffered the dictates of ambition to ſilence the ſuggeſtions of prudence. By accepting from the pope a crown which belonged to another, he tacitly acknowledged the right of the ſovereign pontiff to diſpoſe of thrones at his pleaſure; and engaged his ſucceſſor in a conteſt, from which neither honour nor advantage could be reaſonably expected. Why the appellation of *Hardy* was conferred on him we know not, as no tranſaction of his life could give him a claim to that epithet. Though Philip poſſeſſed no ſplendid endowments, he had many amiable qualities, which rendered his loſs an object of lamentation to his ſubjects.

Philip was twice married: by his firſt wife, Iſabella of Arragon, he had Lewis, ſuppoſed to be poiſoned; Philip, ſurnamed the Fair, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Charles, count of Valois; and Robert, who died in his infancy. By his ſecond wife, Mary of Brabant, he had Lewis, count of Evreux; Margaret, who was afterwards married to Edward the Firſt, king of England; and Blanche, wife to Rodolphus, duke of Auſtria, eldeſt ſon of the emperor Albert the Firſt. The domains of the crown were augmented, during this reign, by the acquiſition of the county of Toulouſe, the port of Barfleur, ſome other eſtates in the Pays de Caux, the barony of Montmorillon in Poitou, and the foreſt of Chavigni[20].

20. P. Daniel, t. iv. p. 690.

PHILIP

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J. Jones fecit.

PHILIP IV.

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PHILIP THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE FAIR.

A. D. 1285 to 1291.] PHILIP the Fourth, the beauty of whoſe face, and the graces of whoſe perſon, had acquired him the appellation of *The Fair*, was but in his eighteenth year when his father died; yet, with a ſpirit ſuperior to his ability, he undertook to accompliſh all the ſchemes of his predeceſſor—to ſeat his brother Charles of Valois on the throne of Arragon; to aſſert the claims of the Infants de la Cerda to that of Caſtille; and to conſtrain the rebels of Sicily to renew their ſubmiſſion to the houſe of Anjou. Before he entered on the execution of his plans, he repaired to Rheims, where he was crowned with his conſort Jane, who, in her own right, was alſo queen of Navarre; and who, with her hand, had beſtowed on her huſband the important counties of Champagne and Brie.

A very ſhort time ſufficed to convince the young monarch, that the ſchemes he had undertaken were far beyond his power, and to ſhew him the folly of his viſionary projects. After many vain and unſucceſsful attempts on the territories of the king of Arragon, he was compelled to liſten to an accommodation. By abandoning the intereſts of the Infants de la Cerda, he adjuſted the diſputes with Caſtille; and the terms of peace between Alfonſo, who had ſucceeded his father Pedro in the throne of Arragon, and Philip, were ſettled by the mediation of Edward the Firſt of England. At the interceſſion of that monarch, Charles, prince of Salerno, ſurnamed *The Lame*, was releaſed from captivity; part of his ranſom was paid by the generoſity of Edward himſelf; and Charles conſented to renounce his claim to Sicily, and to prevail on Charles of

of Valois to withdraw his pretenſions to Arragon; to this the brother of the king of France readily aſſented, on receiving the hand of Margaret, eldeſt daughter to Charles the Lame, and the valuable dowry of the important counties of Anjou and Maine.

A. D. 1292 to 1294.] But the tranquillity eſtabliſhed by this accommodation was ſpeedily interrupted by a diſpute with England; a diſpute more ſerious in its nature, and more dangerous in its conſequences:—A Norman and an Engliſh veſſel met off the coaſt near Bayonne, and both of them having occaſion for water, they ſent their boats to land, and the ſeveral crews came at the ſame time to the ſame ſpring; a quarrel enſued, when a Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to ſtab an Engliſhman; who, grappling with him, threw his adverſary on the ground; and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his own dagger, was ſlain[1]. This ſcuffle between two ſeamen about water, ſoon kindled a bloody war between the two nations, and involved a great part of Europe in the quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ſhip carried their complaints to the French king; and Philip, without enquiring into the fact, without demanding redreſs, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter[2]. The Normans, who had been more regular than uſual in applying to the crown, needed but this hint to proceed to immediate violence: they ſeized an Engliſh ſhip in the channel; and hanging, along with ſome dogs, ſeveral of the crew on the yard-arm, in preſence of their companions, diſmiſſed the veſſel[3], and bade the mariners inform their countrymen that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. This injury, accompanied with ſo general and deliberate an inſult, was reſented by the mariners of the Cinque Ports, who, without carrying any complaint to the king, or waiting for redreſs, retaliated, by committing ſimilar barbarities on all French veſſels without diſtinction. The French, provoked by their loſſes, preyed on the ſhips of all Edward's ſubjects, whether Engliſh or Gaſcon: the ſea became a ſcene of piracy between the nations: the ſovereigns, without either ſeconding or repreſſing the violence of their ſubjects, ſeemed to remain indifferent ſpectators: the Engliſh made private aſſociations with the Iriſh and Dutch ſeamen; the French with the Flemiſh and Genoeſe[4]; and the animoſity of the people on both ſides became every day more violent and barbarous. A fleet of two hundred Norman veſſels ſet ſail to the ſouth for wine and other commodities; and in their paſſage ſeized all the Engliſh ſhips which they met with, hanged the ſeamen, and took poſſeſſion of the goods. The inhabitants of the Engliſh ſea-ports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of ſixty ſail, ſtronger and better manned than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return: after an obſtinate battle, they put them to the rout, and ſunk, deſtroyed, or took the greater part of them[5]. No quarter was given; and it is pretended that the loſs of the

[1] Walſing. p. 58. Heming. vol. i. p. 39. [2] Walſing. p. 58. [3] Heming. vol. i. p. 40. M. Weſt, p. 419.
[4] Heming, vol. i. p. 40. [5] Walſing. p. 60. Trivet, p. 274. Chron. Dunſt. vol. ii. p. 609.

French

French amounted to fifteen thouſand men, which is accounted for by this circumſtance, that the Norman fleet was employed in tranſporting a conſiderable body of ſoldiers from the ſouth.

The affair was now become too important to be any longer overlooked by the ſovereigns. On Philip's ſending an envoy to demand reparation and reſtitution, the king diſpatched the biſhop of London to the French court, in order to accommodate the quarrel. He firſt ſaid, that the Engliſh courts of juſtice were open to all men; and if any Frenchman was injured, he might ſeek reparation by courſe of law[6]. He next offered to adjuſt the matter by private arbiters; by a perſonal interview with the king of France; or by a reference either to the pope or the college of cardinals, or any particular cardinals agreed on by both parties[7]. The French, probably the more diſguſted as they were hitherto loſers in the quarrel, refuſed all theſe expedients: the veſſels and the goods of merchants were confiſcated on both ſides: depredations were continued by the Gaſcons on the weſtern coaſt of France, as well as by the Engliſh in the Channel. Philip cited Edward, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court, at Paris, and anſwer for theſe offences; and the king of England, apprehenſive of danger to that province, ſent John Saint John, an experienced ſoldier, to Bourdeaux, and gave him directions to put Guienne in a poſture of defence[8].

In order, however, to prevent a final rupture between the nations, Edward diſpatched his brother Edmond, earl of Lancaſter, to Paris; and as this prince had eſpouſed the queen of Navarre, mother to Jane, queen of France, he ſeemed, on account of that alliance, the moſt proper perſon for finding expedients to accommodate the difference. Jane pretended to interpoſe with her good offices; Mary, the queen-dowager, feigned the ſame amiable diſpoſition: and theſe two princeſſes told Edmond, that the circumſtance the moſt difficult to adjuſt was the point of honour with Philip, who thought himſelf affronted by the injuries committed againſt him by his ſub-vaſſals in Guienne: but if Edward would once conſent to give him ſeiſin and poſſeſſion of that province, he would think his honour fully repaired, would engage to reſtore Guienne immediately, and would accept of a very eaſy ſatisfaction for all the other injuries. The king of England was conſulted on the occaſion; and as he then found himſelf in immediate danger of war with the Scots, which he regarded as the more important concern, this politic prince, blinded by his favourite paſſion for ſubduing that nation, allowed himſelf to be deceived by ſo groſs an artifice[9]: he ſent his brother orders to ſign and execute the treaty with the two queens; Philip ſolemnly promiſed to execute his part of it; and Edward's citation to appear at the court of France was accordingly

[6] Trivet, p. 275. [7] Idem, ibid. [8] Idem. p. 276. [9] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 619, 620. Walſing. p. 61. Heming. vol. i. p. 42, 43. Trivet, p. 277.

recalled.

recalled. But no ſooner was Philip put in poſſeſſion of Guienne, than the citation was renewed; Edward was condemned for non-appearance; and Guienne, by a formal ſentence, was declared to be forfeited, and annexed to the crown [10].

A. D.

[10] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 620, 622; Walſ. p. 61; Trivet, p. 278; Hume.

Such is the account of the rupture between the two monarchs, as given by all the Engliſh hiſtorians. The French writers, however, differ from them moſt eſſentially; the abbè Velly, in particular, conſiders the circumſtance of the treaty ſigned by the earl of Lancaſter and the two queens as entirely fabulous; he rejects the teſtimony of Edmond, as that of an intereſted evidence; and regards the neglect to produce the treaty, either at the time, or at any ſubſequent period, as an infallible proof that it never exiſted.—In the ſcuffle between the two ſailors, he makes the Engliſhman the aggreſſor, obſerving that his inability to cope with his adverſary induced him to draw his knife and ſtab him; he is ſilent as to the application of the Normans to Philip for redreſs; and makes Edward a party in the depredations afterwards committed on the ſubjects of France; he denies the ceſſion of Guienne by the king of England, and affirms that that duchy was reduced by Philip, in conſequence of Edward's refuſal to appear in the court of his ſuperior lord; nay, farther, he aſſerts that Edward connived at its reduction, "becauſe he had long been forming projects of "iniquity" (tom. vii. p. 77). Quoting a paſſage from William de Nangis, he adds: "Edward flattered himſelf that "he ſhould recover that province, with the aid of his allies; and that, having re-conquered it by force of arms, he "ſhould no longer hold it as a fief of the French crown, but enjoy it by the right of war, and in all ſovereignty." In conſequence of this reſolution, he tells us, Edward ſent two friars to Philip to declare that he no longer acknowledged him for his ſovereign, and ſhould not in future pay him homage. With regard to the aſſertion of William de Nangis, it is not only uncorroborated by any contemporary hiſtorian, but is flatly contradicted by the accounts of all other writers, and by the whole tenour of Edward's conduct. Had Edward really had ſuch a project in contemplation, would he have exerted himſelf in the manner he did to ſettle the affairs of Sicily, and to eſtabliſh a peace between France and Arragon? Would he not rather have widened the breach between the two monarchs, in order to profit by their diſſenſion for the more eaſy and effectual accompliſhment of his own plan? To have ſtrengthened the hands of an adverſary, whom he was about to attack, would have diſplayed a degree of imbecility highly repugnant to the known character of Edward: this aſſertion, therefore, muſt, in our opinion, fall to the ground. As to the circumſtance of the ſcuffle between the ſailors, and the conduct of the two kings upon this occaſion, the abbè Velly, with all the other French writers, derives his intelligence ſolely from the author of the Spicilegium, whoſe ſingle teſtimony is certainly inſufficient to overturn that of the different hiſtorians we have quoted in the text, and on whoſe authority the Engliſh writers have founded their narrative of the tranſaction.

The abbè Velly's attempt to juſtify Philip from the charge of treachery, with regard to the ceſſion of Guienne, is not more ſucceſsful.—The non-exiſtence of the treaty, ſaid to be ſigned by the two queens, is by no means to be inferred from its not having been produced; ſince it does not appear that any period occurred during the reign of Philip at which its production was requiſite.—His objection to the teſtimony of the earl of Lancaſter, merely becauſe he was the brother of Edward, is neither liberal nor ſolid.—On what grounds is the authority of Walter Hemingford and Nicholas Trivet to be rejected? They were both contemporary writers; the latter, in particular, was well qualified to write on French affairs, ſince he tells us, in his preface (Nicolai Triveti Annales, edit. Oxon. 1719, p. 2), that "he ſtudied at Paris, where he read the hiſtories of France and Normandy with great care; and faithfully ex-"tracted out of them every thing that related to the Engliſh nation." From theſe extracts, from what came to his own knowledge, and from what he learned from the information of men worthy of credit, he tells us, he compoſed his work. He was not, therefore, a man likely to be impoſed upon by popular reports, or to be ſwayed by popular prejudice: indeed his 'Hiſtorical Annals' betray no marks either of partiality, precipitation, or inaccuracy. Velly reſts ſolely on the improbability of the circumſtance, and on the non-production of the treaty; he adduces no proof, no authority, in ſupport of his opinion: evidence thus vague and preſumptive (if indeed it can be called evidence) cannot ſurely be oppoſed to the poſitive teſtimony of contemporary writers. Velly frequently accuſes Matthew Paris and Rapin of prejudice and partiality; how far ſuch accuſations become him, will beſt appear from the following preface to his account of the preſent tranſaction.

"If prudence forbid us to pay implicit belief to the French, who always cheriſhed honour as their deareſt idol,

"greater

A. D. 1295.] The two monarchs now prepared for war, and each ſought to ſtrengthen himſelf by forming alliances with the neighbouring powers. Edward, ſenſible of the difficulties he ſhould encounter in the recovery of Gaſcony, where he had not retained a ſingle place in his hands, endeavoured to compenſate that loſs, by attaching to his cauſe ſeveral princes who, he projected, ſhould attack France on all quarters, and make a diverſion of her forces. Adolphus de Naſſau, king of the Romans, entered into a treaty with him for that purpoſe [11]; as did alſo Amadæus, count of Savoy; the archbiſhop of Cologne; the counts of Gueldres and Luxembourg; and the duke of Brabant and the count of Bar, who had married his two daughters, Margaret and Eleanor. Philip, on his ſide, concluded a treaty with John Baliol, king of Scotland [12]; and alſo engaged, as allies, Albert duke of Auſtria, ſon to the emperor Rodolphus; Humber, dauphin of Vienne; and Hugh de Longwy, and James de Châtillon, lords of Leuſe and of Condè. The count of Flanders had not yet declared himſelf, though his intentions were ſtrongly ſuſpected by Philip, who, having drawn him to Paris, on ſome pretext or other, arreſted him and his wife, and impriſoned them both in the Louvre [13], for having violated their duty as vaſſals. It was in fact, ſays Velly, an eſtabliſhed law of the realm, that the nobles who attended the court, and thoſe who held immediately of the crown, could not marry, themſelves, nor give their children in marriage, without the king's conſent. The count, by promiſing his daughter to the eldeſt ſon of the king of England, had violated this indiſpenſable duty; and Philip became judge in his own cauſe, and puniſhed him without a trial. To obtain his liberty, Guy was willing to promiſe whatever was required of him; the king, therefore, inſiſted on his daughter being left with him as a hoſtage for the fidelity of her father; and, on that condition, he releaſed his noble captives.

A. D. 1296.] At length hoſtilities commenced; the Engliſh fleet entered the Garonne, landed a large body of troops, under the command of John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and other officers of reputation [14], who made themſelves maſters of the town of Bayonne, as well as of Bourg, Blaye, Reole, Saint Severe, and other places, which ſtraitened Bourdeaux, and cut off its communication both by ſea and land. The favour which the Gaſcon nobility bore to the Engliſh government facilitated theſe conqueſts, and ſeemed to promiſe ſtill greater ſucceſſes; but this advantage was ſoon loſt by the miſconduct of ſome of the Engliſh officers [15]. The French army, under the conduct of the king's brother, Charles de Valois, having laid ſiege to Podenſac, a ſmall fortreſs

" greater credit is certainly not due to the Engliſh writers, who, as we learn from daily experience, do not ſcruple " to advance facts, that owe their exiſtence but to their own prejudice." Such an author muſt be read with caution, on all matters in which the oppoſite intereſts of the rival kingdoms are concerned; and his authorities muſt be carefully conſulted!

[11] Heming. vol. i. p. 51. [12] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 680; Prynne's Collect. vol. iii. p. 602; Heming. vol. i. p. 76, 77. [13] Spicil. t. iii. p. 150. [14] Trivet, p. 279. [15] Hume, vol. ii. p. 264.

near Reole, obliged Giffard, the governor, to capitulate; and the articles, though favourable to the Engliſh, left all the Gaſcon priſoners at diſcretion, of whom about fifty were hanged by Charles as rebels; a policy, by which he both intimidated that people, and produced an irreparable breach between them and the Engliſh [16]. That prince immediately attacked Reole, where the earl of Richmond himſelf commanded; and, as the place ſeemed not tenable, the Engliſh general drew his troops to the water-ſide, with an intention of embarking with the greater part of the army. The enraged Gaſcons fell upon his rear, and, at the ſame time, opened their gates to the French, who, beſides making themſelves maſters of the place, took many priſoners of diſtinction. Saint Severe was more vigorouſly defended by the earl of Oxford; but was, at laſt, obliged to capitulate. Philip, not content with theſe ſucceſſes in Gaſcony, threatened England with an invaſion; and, by a ſudden attempt, his troops took and burnt Dover [17]; but, though they were ſufficiently ſtrong, ſays the *ſagacious* William de Nangis, to conquer the whole Engliſh monarchy—they ſoon after retired.

Thus the war was confined to Guienne, whither Edward ſent a freſh army of ſeven thouſand men, under the command of his brother, the earl of Lancaſter. That prince gained, at firſt, ſome advantage over the French at Bourdeaux; but he was ſoon after ſeized with a violent diſtemper, of which he died at Bayonne. The command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who, unable to cope with the ſuperior forces of the count of Artois, was obliged to remain in a ſtate of inactivity [18].

The king of England, however, being reſolved to recover the ancient patrimony of his family, laid a plan for carrying the war into a quarter where Philip was leſs prepared for reſiſtance. With this view, he married his daughter, Elizabeth, to John count of Holland, and, at the ſame time, contracted an alliance with Guy, count of Flanders, ſtipulated to pay him the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, and projected an invaſion, with their united forces, upon Philip, their common enemy [19]. He hoped, that when he himſelf, at the head of the Engliſh, Flemiſh, and Dutch armies, reinforced by his German allies (to whom he had promiſed or remitted conſiderable ſums), ſhould enter the frontiers of France, and threaten the capital itſelf, Philip would, at laſt, be obliged to relinquiſh his acquiſitions, and purchaſe peace by the reſtitution of Guienne [20].

The numerous enemies which Philip had to encounter demanded the whole ſtrength of the kingdom: he therefore publiſhed an ordonnance, by which he forbade all private wars, and ſuſpended thoſe which were already begun [21]. All noblemen who were en-

[16] Heming. vol. i. p. 49. [17] Trivet, p. 284; Chron. Dunſt. vol. ii. p. 642. [18] Heming. vol. i. p. 72, 73, 74.
[19] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 761; Walſing. p. 68. [20] Hume. [21] Ordon. des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 328.

gaged

gaged in hoſtilities, received orders to conclude truces, or to give ſureties that they would not attack each other, till the king's war was terminated. During that period alſo tilts, tournaments, and judicial combats, were proſcribed; and ſuch as were injured were compelled to apply for redreſs to the eſtabliſhed courts of juſtice. Creditors were forbidden to ſeize the arms and horſes of knights for debt, by which means many were induced to join the royal ſtandard, who would otherwiſe have been afraid to appear.

About this time Celeſtine the Fifth reſigned the triple crown, and was ſucceeded by Boniface the Eighth, a man of a violent and enterpriſing ſpirit, who, inſtead of promoting the intereſts of religion, ſought to uſurp a temporal ſovereignty over all the monarchs of Europe; arrogating to himſelf the right of diſpoſing of crowns.—Already had he fixed, in an arbitrary manner, the ſucceſſion to the throne of Hungary, and beſtowed Sardinia and Corſica on the king of Arragon; he next caſt his eyes on France and England, and ſent two legates[22], Berard, biſhop of Albany, and Simon, biſhop of Paleſtine, with orders to negociate a peace between the two monarchs; or, ſhould they fail in that, at leaſt to make them, under pain of excommunication, conclude a truce. Philip, juſtly offended at this dictatorial method of proceeding, told them that a king of France was not accuſtomed to receive orders from any one with reſpect to the government of his dominions; that his diſpute with England was not a matter of religion; that the pope, on ſuch an occaſion, ſhould confine himſelf to exhortations, and not preſume to iſſue commands, which muſt neceſſarily be treated with contempt. This proper exertion of ſpirit enraged Boniface, who determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of being revenged; and a circumſtance ſoon occurred, which he thought favourable for his purpoſe.

The count of Flanders, unable to obtain from Philip the releaſe of his daughter, had ſent to Rome, to deſire that the matter might be examined before the tribunal of the ſovereign pontiff[23]; the appeal flattered the vanity of Boniface, and, at this period, was peculiarly pleaſing to him: his firſt care was to order the biſhop of Meaux to ſummon the king to do juſtice to the count; or, if he ſhould perſiſt in his refuſal, to cite him to appear at the foot of the pontifical throne, where his ſentence would be pronounced. The prelate did not forget a ſingle circumſtance of his commiſſion; and, perceiving that the king treated his citations with proper contempt, he thought to intimidate him, by declaring, that the pope was reſolved to employ even the thunders of the church, in order to enforce obedience to his mandates. Philip, more enraged at the audacity, than alarmed at the threats of the pontiff, anſwered, like a prince who entertained a juſt ſenſe of his own dignity, "That he thought it ſtrange that Boniface ſhould preſume

[22] Rayn. An. 1295, n. 46; 1296, n. 18. [23] Démêlés, p. 24; P. Dan. tom. iii. p. 41.

" to talk in ſuch a lofty ſtyle on a matter which was foreign from his juriſdiction; that " he had a court of his own, in which his ſubjects and his vaſſals were tried; that he " acknowledged, in temporal concerns, no ſuperior but God, to whom alone he was " obliged to give an account of his conduct; that he adviſed the pope to ſave himſelf " ſo much uſeleſs trouble, ſince all his menaces would prove inſufficient to introduce " popiſh maxims into the French empire."

Boniface, more angry than diſcouraged at the inutility of his efforts, made one other attempt, which, though it cauſed a great diſturbance, proved equally unſucceſsful. The king, ſurrounded by powerful enemies, againſt whom he was compelled to make immenſe preparations, which, of courſe, were attended with conſiderable expence, found himſelf under the neceſſity of impoſing additional taxes on his ſubjects.—The firſt impoſt to which he had recourſe was oppreſſive, becauſe partial; it conſiſted in the exaction of a hundredth, and afterward a fiftieth, part of all property belonging to people in trade[24]. The evil effects of ſuch a tax ſoon became manifeſt; when the king, inſtead of dividing it, as equally as the nature of his government would admit, on every claſs of people, transferred the whole of it from the tradeſmen to the clergy. This was certainly an attempt to avoid one act of injuſtice by the commiſſion of another, and betrayed either a ſhameful want of political knowledge, or a culpable inattention to one of the firſt duties of a monarch. The mode, however, by which ſome part of the clergy ſought to obtain redreſs, was equally inexcuſable: they appealed from the edict of their ſovereign to the authority of the pope; the Roman pontiff was happy to embrace any opportunity for humbling the pride, and checking the power, of a refractory monarch; and he thought that, by undertaking to defend the immunities of the clergy, he ſhould excite an inſurrection that might ſhake the throne of Philip.

With this view he publiſhed the famous bull, which is ſo well known in hiſtory by the appellation of *Clericis Laicos*—a bull equally terrible to princes who exact ſubſidies from the clergy, and to eccleſiaſtics who ſubmit to ſuch exactions. It begins by a ſtrong and pathetic declamation on the ancient enmity of the laity to the clergy; on the ſhameful conduct of ſovereign princes, who, in times of public neceſſity, aſſumed the power of impoſing taxes on the temporalities of the church; on the weakneſs of prelates, who, timid and groveling, ſhrunk before kings, who had *no power either over their perſons or their property*, authorizing, by their ſilence, ſuch deteſtable abuſes: it concludes with this curious deciſion—" That no clerk, prelate, or monk ſhall pay to the temporal power, " on any account whatever, either a tenth, a twentieth, a hundredth, or any other tax, " under the name of aid, loan, voluntary gift, grant, or ſubſidy, *without the expreſs permiſſion of the ſovereign pontiff.* All thoſe who ſhall attempt to exact any impoſt,

[24] Spicil. tom. iii. p. 52.

" kings,

" kings, princes, miniſters, officers, and clerks, are loaded with the anathemas of the " church: all univerſities who ſhall preſume to conſent to it are laid under an inter- " dict; and ſuch prelates as do not oppoſe it to the utmoſt of their power are de- " graded."

The prohibition was general, and the penalties announced by the Bull were equally levelled at all ſovereigns, without any particular mention of France: Philip, nevertheleſs, thought the Bull was principally directed againſt himſelf; he knew that ſome of the clergy had complained to the pope of the new impoſt; he imagined that the general terms of the Bull were calculated to conceal ſome artifice; he was apprehenſive that Boniface intended, by degrees, to render all the princes of Europe vaſſals of the holy ſee, or, at leaſt, to uſurp the ſame authority over them, as he exerciſed over the petty ſtates of Italy; and he, therefore, determined to make repriſals; and, for that purpoſe, iſſued two edicts, which, without mentioning Rome, affected that court moſt ſenſibly [25]. The firſt contained an order to all his revenue officers and others, not to ſuffer the exportation of gold, ſilver, jewels, precious ſtones, horſes, proviſions, arms, or ammunition, *without a paſſport ſigned by himſelf*. The ſecond forbade all foreigners to enter the kingdom, or ſettle there, for the purpoſe of carrying on commerce. Both edicts were general; and confiſcation of property was the penalty annexed to a violation of them.

The intention of Philip could not poſſibly eſcape the notice of Boniface, who took the earlieſt opportunity of expreſſing his reſentment; he ordered the biſhop of Viviers to deliver to the king a new bull [26], more replete with pride, preſumption, and arrogance, than the former: " If it was the intention of thoſe who framed the two edicts (ſays the " pontiff) to extend them to eccleſiaſtics, it was not merely an imprudent, but a mad " ſcheme: that pretenſion alone, if it ever entered your thoughts, ſubjects you to the " anathemas pronounced againſt thoſe who invade the liberty of the holy church, which " was made to command, and not to be commanded. Learn, O king! that neither " you, nor any ſecular prince, has the leaſt authority over the clergy." Boniface then entered into an explanation of his laſt Bull, which, he declared, was neither meant to deprive the king of thoſe ſervices which certain prelates were bound to pay him, as vaſſals; nor even to oppoſe impoſts upon the clergy, when levied with the permiſſion of the holy ſee: he next proceeded to the moſt bitter reproaches, and reminded Philip, that the oppreſſive taxes which he had impoſed on his ſubjects had cauſed a ſenſible diminution of their affections for him; that he had given riſe to the war which ruined his people; that the deciſion of that diſpute belonged to the holy ſee, ſince the point to be decided was, whether he could, without being guilty of a ſin, retain thoſe places which he had taken from Edward in Guienne, as well as the ſovereignty of the county of Bur-

[25] Preuv. Diff. p. 13. [26] Ibid. 15; Rayn. n. 25.

gundy,

gundy, which he had uſurped from Adolphus; that it was ſhameful in him to reject the authority of a tribunal, which poſſeſſed an univerſal juriſdiction, and by which even the two kings, his enemies, had conſented to be judged; he finiſhed with the accuſtomed threat of reducing him to obedience by means of excommunications, interdicts, and all the eccleſiaſtical artillery of the vatican.

Philip, undiſmayed by the menaces of his ſpiritual adverſary, anſwered his Bull by a long Manifeſto, in which it was obſerved, that at all times, even before the clergy formed an integral part of the French empire [27], the kings of France poſſeſſed the right of publiſhing ordonnances for th preſervation of the ſtate, which, he ſaid, was the only object he had in view in his late dicts (an aſſertion, by the bye, inconſiſtent with his dignity, as it was evidently falſe); that the church was an undivided whole, comprehending both laity and clergy, both alike intitled to the enjoyment of that liberty which was procured for them by the Holy Founder of their faith; that particular privileges or immunities, granted by the pope to eccleſiaſtics, with the permiſſion of their ſovereigns, ought not to be prejudicial to the welfare of the ſtate; that the clergy were members of the ſtate equally with other ſubjects, and conſequently ought to contribute, at leaſt with their money, to its defence—an obligation which became more indiſpenſable, in proportion to the extent of their poſſeſſions; that they were themſelves unable to defend theſe poſſeſſions from pillage; and that, in order to ſecure them from invaſion, the nobles and the ſoldiers daily expoſed their lives; that it was contrary to the law of nature to forbid them, under the ſevereſt penalties, to accede to ſuch contributions, while they were permitted to diſſipate their revenues, with impunity, in equipages, feaſting, rich furniture, plays, and a thouſand worldly vanities, to the great prejudice of the poor; that it was ſhameful in the chief miniſter of religion, to iſſue anathemas for preventing the payment of a tribute to Cæſar, which Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and his apoſtles in imitation of their maſter, paid to the princes in whoſe territories they reſided; that the king paid a juſt adoration to the Deity, and honoured the miniſters of the church, but that he was not to be intimidated by the unjuſt threats of men; that he had ſeized Guienne, a fief of his crown, becauſe the king of England, his vaſſal, refuſed to appear in his court, whither he had been ſummoned; and that he had conquered the county of Burgundy, becauſe he had been provoked by the pride and miſconduct of Adolphus.

At the ſame time Peter Barbet, biſhop of Rheims, wrote to the pope, in concert with the biſhops and abbots of his dioceſe [28], to entreat he would put a ſtop to the confuſion occaſioned by his Bull, with regard to eccleſiaſtical immunities; he repreſented the dangerous diſcontents to which it had given riſe in France; obſerved that the attempts of his holineſs to extend the rights of the clergy might prove fatal to that body;

[27] Preuv. Diff. p. 22. [28] Ib. p. 26.

and

and that, by ſeeking to obtain for them new prerogatives, it expoſed them to the loſs of thoſe privileges which they already poſſeſſed; that the princes and nobles, moſt of whom had eccleſiaſtics for vaſſals, were as much offended with the proceedings of the court of Rome, as the king himſelf; that it was in agitation to convene an aſſembly of prelates, who were chiefly vaſſals to the king, in order to adopt meaſures for maintaining the liberties of the kingdom, the honour of the ſovereign, and the independence of the crown; that all his brethren earneſtly beſought him to reſpect the engagements they had contracted, and to have recourſe to mild and conciliatory meaſures for enſuring the tranquillity of the Gallican church, which muſt depend on its union with the king, princes, and nobles of the empire. The archbiſhop ſent ſome prelates of his dioceſe with this letter to the ſovereign pontiff, who were likewiſe deſired to point out to his holineſs the urgent neceſſity of immediately revoking the Bull in queſtion, or elſe of explaining it in ſuch a manner as would ſatisfy the king and the nation.

Philip, in the mean time, had tried to ſoothe the pope by ſuſpending the execution of his late edicts; but, convinced by experience of the inutility of ſubmiſſion [29], he again put them in force, and gave the moſt poſitive orders for the rigorous enforcement of the penalties annexed to a violation of them. Boniface complained bitterly of his conduct, in a brief, in which he repeated the ſtale maxims of the court of Rome: "That the "king has neither right nor power over the clergy; that he can neither diſpoſe of "their property nor their perſons; and that, if he be raſh enough to attempt it, he in-"curs the penalties inflicted by the canons." The king, however, perſiſted in his reſolution; and the pope, aſtoniſhed at the vigorous oppoſition he experienced, even from thoſe who, he expected, would have eſpouſed his cauſe, at length conſented to publiſh ſuch an explanation of his Bull, as would, in his opinion, remove the principal objections to it. This curious manifeſto is addreſſed to Philip [30]: it declares, in ſubſtance, "That "his holineſs is willing that the clergy of France ſhould pay ſome contribution to the "king, provided it proceed from their own free will, under the name of a voluntary "gift or a loan, not as a duty or impoſt levied by the authority of the ſovereign; that "he does not comprehend, in the exemptions ſpecified in the Bull, either thoſe who "hold fiefs of the crown, or married clerks, or ſuch as aſſume the clerical habit, for the "mere purpoſe of exempting themſelves from public *taxes*; that he *permits* the king, or "his officers in his name, to have recourſe to the holy ſee, on preſſing occaſions, for "obtaining permiſſion to levy ſubſidies on the other prelates, or members of the clergy, "who are, by their ſtation, *exempt, privileged, independent of the ſecular authority, and the "royal juriſdiction.*"

Such a declaration as this was not likely to produce the deſired reconciliation; and

[29] Diff. Pr. p. 24, 25. [30] Rayn. n. 49.

ſome

ſome of the proceedings of the pope, about this time, rendered the breach ſtill wider: he publiſhed a brief, by which the king was enjoined to forward the money which had been collected from the clergy, as a ſubſidy for the Roman pontiff; and all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe its exportation from France, where it was ſo much wanted, were threatened with excommunication[31]: the truce, too, which the pope had before ordered to be immediately concluded, under pain of anathema, was now publiſhed, by the legates, throughout the kingdom, without the king's permiſſion. Thus inſulted by an ambitious prieſt, Philip reſolved to aſſert his own dignity, and the independance of his crown; he, accordingly, iſſued a proteſt, by which he declared, that the care and adminiſtration of the temporal power, in the kingdom of France, belonged to him, ſolely and excluſively; that he neither acknowledged nor would ſubmit to any ſuperior; that he was determined to exerciſe, with independance, the authority which Heaven had given him over his ſubjects, an authority which he knew how to maintain againſt all the efforts of the court of Rome; that it had never been his intention to ſubmit to the pope in temporal matters, nor to partake with him a juriſdiction for which he was indebted only to God and his ſword; but that, in ſpiritual concerns, he was always ready, in imitation of his predeceſſors, to pay ſuch obedience to the holy ſee, as a true child of the church could and ought[32].

A. D. 1297.] After this proteſt had been circulated throughout the kingdom, Philip aſſembled his army, and, marching towards Flanders, repulſed the troops who were deſtined to guard the frontiers, and puſhed forward to Lille, where Robert, ſon to the count of Flanders, commanded in perſon: the king laid ſiege to this important town, which was ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon; while the count of Artois made an invaſion into the circumjacent country, and at Furnes obtained a ſignal victory over the Flemings. The ſurrender of Furnes, Caſſel, and all the neighbouring forts, was the conſequence of this defeat: another detachment repelled the troops of the count of Bar, who had entered Champagne, and purſuing them into their own territories, laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. Philip, in the mean time, had preſſed the ſiege of Lille with vigour, though with little effect; he was, at length, indebted to the treachery of the inhabitants for the poſſeſſion of the place; and Robert, the governor, was ſuffered to march out with his troops, and retire to Bruges. The victorious progreſs of Philip was next diſtinguiſhed by the capture of Courtray; but the king of England, who arrived in Flanders with an army of fifty thouſand men, was able to ſtop the career of his victories; and the French monarch, finding all the weak reſources of the kingdom already exhauſted, began to dread a reverſe of fortune, and to apprehend an invaſion of France itſelf. Edward, on the other hand, diſappointed of aſſiſtance from Adolphus, king of the Romans, which he had purchaſed at a very

[31] Rayn. p. 27. [32] Velly, vol. vii. p. 123.

high

high price, and finding many urgent calls for his preſence in England, was deſirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war, which ſerved only to divert his force from the execution of more important projects[33]. This diſpoſition in both monarchs ſoon produced a ceſſation of hoſtilities for two years; when Philip was left in poſſeſſion of Lille, Courtray, Furnes, Caſſel, and Bruges, which advantage was chiefly owing to a powerful faction which then prevailed in Flanders[34].

The pride of Boniface was, by this time, ſomewhat humbled: the king's laſt proteſt, with the remonſtrances of the clergy of Rheims, and the general murmurs of the whole kingdom, alarmed the aſpiring pontiff. Another bull was now publiſhed, by which the former one received new modifications and explanations, and in which the pope, at length, declared fully and unequivocally—"That the bull, entitled CLERICIS LAICOS, *did not relate to France*, and that the king and his ſucceſſors, might, for the defence of the ſtate, in times of neceſſity, receive ſubſidies from the clergy, without aſking the permiſſion or obtaining the conſent of the ſovereign pontiff; that the neceſſity of the caſe was to be decided by the monarch and his privy council; and, finally, that he never *intended* to invade the liberties, franchiſes, or cuſtoms of the kingdom, nor the rights of the king, his counts and barons."—This declaration, which, bearing a falſhood on the face of it, might more juſtly be termed a *retractation*, was read in a general aſſembly of the prelates of France; but notwithſtanding the power thus acknowledged to be veſted in the king of levying taxes on the clergy by his own authority, Velly obſerves, that till the reign of Francis the Firſt no tenths were impoſed on them without the pope's conſent; but this circumſtance is aſcribed by the French hiſtorians ſolely to the *piety* of their monarchs, diſplayed, doubtleſs, in their reſpect for the head of the church.

Boniface did not ſtop here; aware of Philip's love of money, he granted him a tenth of the revenues of the clergy for three years; he alſo promiſed to exert his influence in order to promote the elevation of his brother, the count of Valois, to the imperial throne; and, farther to flatter him, he canonized his anceſtor, Saint Lewis, after *ſixty-three miracles* had been duly verified: "A canonization (ſays the pope in one of "his panegyrics on that monarch) which produced more writings than an aſs could "carry."

A.D. 1298.] But theſe amicable proceedings, on the part of the pope, proceeded leſs from friendſhip than policy: he was anxious to obtain the produce of the tenth which had been levied on the clergy, and which the edict for prohibiting the exportation of money had hitherto prevented him from receiving. The king now ſuffered this ſum to be ſent him; and, at the ſame time, accepted his mediation for concluding a peace with

33 Hume, vol. ii. p. 296. 34 Meyer.

England; but Philip and Edward, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to inſert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of the difference, by their conſent, as a private perſon, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without ſeeming to be offended at this mortifying clauſe, proceeded to give a ſentence between them, in which they both acquieſced [35]. He brought them to agree that their union ſhould be cemented by a double marriage: that of Edward himſelf, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's ſiſter; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, daughter to the king of France [36]: Philip was likewiſe willing to reſtore Guienne to the Engliſh, which, indeed, he had no good pretence to retain; but he inſiſted that the Scots, and their king, John Baliol, ſhould, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and reſtored to their liberty. The difference, after ſeveral diſputes, was compromiſed by their making mutual ſacrifices to each other: Edward agreed to abandon his ally, the count of Flanders, on condition that Philip ſhould treat, in like manner, the king of Scots. The proſpect of conquering theſe two countries, whoſe ſituation made them ſo commodious an acquiſition to the reſpective kingdoms, prevailed over all other conſiderations; but the final diſappointment, which both of them experienced in their hopes, was a juſt puniſhment for the treacherous deſertion of their allies.

A. D. 1299.] No ſooner was the truce expired than the count of Valois led a French army into Flanders, at whoſe approach Douay and Bethune opened their gates [37]. In vain did Robert, the ſon of Guy, attempt to impede their progreſs; he ſuſtained a total defeat; after which Dam was taken, and all the neighbouring country reduced, except Ghent, whither Guy himſelf had retired. The unhappy count, though openly protected by the pope, found himſelf unable to reſiſt the power of Philip; he knew likewiſe that his treacherous ſubjects were ſecretly negociating with the enemy for the ſurrender of his capital; he therefore reſolved to ſue for peace: to his applications for that purpoſe he received for anſwer, That the only poſſible means of obtaining pardon, was to repair to Paris, with his two ſons, Robert and William, and throw himſelf on the king's mercy [38]; on condition, that if he could not ſettle the terms of accommodation within a year, he ſhould be at liberty to return to Flanders. Abandoned by his ally, deſerted by his own ſubjects, Guy was compelled to accede to theſe hard terms; he accordingly went to Paris with his ſons; but the imperious Philip received his ſubmiſſion with ſcorn, and, treacherouſly refuſing to ratify the treaty concluded with his brother, pronounced a ſentence worthy a tyrant.—He firſt made a merit of not putting theſe unfortunate victims to death; he then ordered Guy and his two ſons, with forty Flemiſh noblemen, who had accompanied them, to be confined in different priſons; and declared the count's territories to be forfeited to the crown. Having thus acted as judge in his own cauſe, he proceeded to the execution of his ſentence, by taking poſſeſſion of Flanders, which he

[35] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 817; Heming. vol. i. p. 149. Trivet, p. 310. [36] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 823. [37] Spicil. t. iii. p. 53. [38] Ibid. p. 224.

declared

declared to be united to the crown. The government of this important province was entruſted to Peter de Châtillon, the Queen's uncle, whoſe miſconduct puniſhed Philip for his tyranny.

The king of France having thus become maſter of the dominions and perſon of an enemy who was highly formidable, as well from the ſituation of his country as from the protection he received from the court of Rome, ſought farther to ſtrengthen himſelf by forming alliances that might enable him to oppoſe more ſucceſsfully the attempts of the ſovereign pontiff. With this view he had a conference with Albert, the new king of the Romans, at Vaucouleurs, when the antient alliance between France and the empire—which had been interrupted by Adolphus—was renewed. They engaged to defend the dominions of each other, and to maintain the rights of their reſpective crowns. It is pretended alſo, that the king of the Romans reſigned all pretenſions to the kingdom of Arles; and that Philip, on the marriage of his ſiſter Blanche with Rodolphus, the eldeſt ſon of Albert, ceded his rights to Alſace and Lorraine. The pope, who, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had given to the count of Valois, had ſtrenuouſly ſeconded the promotion of Albert, in the hope of counterbalancing, by his means, the overgrowing power of France, was extremely enraged when he heard of this alliance. The king of the Romans, appearing the leſs formidable enemy of the two, was the firſt to experience the effects of the pontiff's reſentment. He refuſed to confirm the election of Albert, and threatened to deprive him of the dignity he enjoyed; but that prince, heedleſs of his menaces, and aſſured of the protection of France, continued to purſue ſuch meaſures as he thought moſt conſiſtent with his own dignity, and the welfare of his kingdom.

A. D. 1301.] Philip and the pope, mutually irritated againſt each other, could not long preſerve even the appearance of harmony. Boniface appointed Bernard, biſhop of Pamiers, a prelate who was peculiarly diſagreeable to the king, his legate in France; and he had orders to exhort Philip to enter into a league with the Perſians, for the expulſion of the infidels from Paleſtine, and alſo to urge him to reſtore the count of Flanders to liberty[39]. The legate in fulfilling his commiſſion, diſplayed all the pride and arrogance of his maſter; but he ſoon had occaſion to perceive, that the imperious tone he aſſumed only ſerved to excite contempt. He then gave way to the natural impetuoſity of his temper, and, loſing ſight of that reſpect which he owed to his ſovereign, told Philip before his council "that he held nothing of him; that although his epiſcopal "town was ſituated within the kingdom of France, he was the ſubject of no man; he "acknowledged no other power than that of the pope, as well in temporal concerns as in "ſpiritual matters." He carried his inſolence ſtill farther, by telling the king, that his conduct to Boniface richly deſerved that puniſhment which had been too long deferred; and that, in a ſhort time, he would ſee his kingdom laid under an interdict, and a ſen-

[39] Baill. p. 79, 80. P. Daniel, t. v. p. 63. Du Puy, Hiſt. du Diff. de Bonif. p. 9.

tence of excommunication pronounced againſt himſelf. He then began a long diſcourſe to prove the temporal ſuperiority of the pope over all the princes of Chriſtendom; when Philip, whoſe patience was totally exhauſted, very properly drove him from his preſence, and ordered him to repair to Rome, to give an account of his embaſſy to the pope. Boniface, accuſtomed to diſappointment, was by no means diſcouraged; he commanded the prelate to return to his dioceſe without delay, being convinced that his turbulent diſpoſition would ſoon urge him to excite cabals againſt a prince whom he hated: nor was he deceived in the man; Bernard, preſuming on the protection of the ſovereign pontiff, ſpared no pains to render the king odious to his ſubjects.

He conducted himſelf, however, with ſo little caution, that it ſoon became neceſſary to take ſerious notice of his conduct; the king therefore appointed ſix commiſſioners to repair to his dioceſe, and ſecretly to inveſtigate the facts of which he was accuſed. Theſe commiſſioners accordingly heard a variety of evidence, which tended to eſtabliſh the guilt of Bernard, who was, in conſequence, cited to appear in the king's court; a citation which he thought it prudent to obey. The charges preferred againſt him were, that he had been heard to ſay, that Saint Lewis had told him, that under the reign, and through the miſconduct, of his grandſon, the kingdom would be deſtroyed, and irretrievably reduced under the dominion of foreigners; that Philip had no one good quality[40]; that he was neither ſprung from Charlemagne, nor was he of the true blood of the kings of France; that he was deſcended from baſtards[41]; that he was neither man nor beaſt, but a phantom, a beautiful image, fit for nothing but to look and be looked at; that the only title he deſerved was that of *coiner*; that he did all the evil he could to the inhabitants of Toulouſe, who groaned beneath the tyranny of his extortions; and finally, that he had no authority in the town of Pamiers, which was wholly independent of France. Various other accuſations were preferred againſt the biſhop, who denied them all, and proteſted againſt the proceedings; affirming, that the witneſſes had been led, by the fear of being applied to the torture, to depoſe againſt him. As the council could come to no deciſion, he was conſigned to the care of his metropolitan, the archbiſhop of Narbonne, who, after much heſitation, conſented to take charge of him, declaring, however, at the ſame time, that he would never ſuffer him to be kept a priſoner, nor to ſubmit to any puniſhment.

The king, perceiving that this affair might be attended with ſerious conſequences, reſolved to ſend an ambaſſador to Rome, in order to explain to the pope the juſtice of his proceedings. The inſtructions, drawn up on the occaſion, ſet forth, that, being de-

[40] Marten. Anec. p. 1330 et ſuiv. Hiſt. de Lang, t. iv. p. 101, 102. Preuv. du diff. p. 632 et ſuiv. 653 et ſuiv. Baill. p. 81. P. Dan. t. v. p. 64, 65. [41] The biſhop alluded to the kings of Arragon, who were all baſtards, and from whom Iſabella, the king's mother, was deſcended.

ſirous

ſirous of gaining more ample information with reſpect to the charges exhibited againſt Bernard de Saiſſet[42], he had ſummoned all the witneſſes to appear in his court, who, on a ſecond examination, had diſcovered circumſtances of a ſtill darker nature than thoſe which they had before imparted; that ſeveral of them, men of weight and credit, affirmed that the prelate had advanced opinions, that were ſcandalous, erroneous, and heretical; —for example—"that the ſacrament of penitence was a mere human invention; that "fornication, even in perſons admitted to holy orders, was no ſin; that the moſt holy "father our lord, pope Boniface, was a devil incarnate, who, againſt God, Truth, and "Juſtice, had canonized Saint Lewis, who was in hell;"—that, although it had been decided, in the council of the nobles of the realm, that his majeſty ought to puniſh this prelate as a convicted traitor, a crime which ſet aſide all privileges and dignities, and that he had alſo a right to proceed againſt him by depriving him of his temporalities, yet nevertheleſs, from reſpect for the church, from regard to its miniſters, from deference to the holy ſee, he had thought proper to make his holineſs acquainted with the circumſtances; that all France encouraged the hope that the ſovereign pontiff would the more willingly puniſh the culprit, as he was obliged to revenge any inſult offered to God, as the author of all lawful power; to the king as a ſon of the church; to the kingdom as forming a conſiderable part of the Chriſtian world; that, therefore, his holineſs was earneſtly entreated to deprive him of his epiſcopal dignity, and to declare he had forfeited all his clerical privileges, in order that the king might be enabled to bring him to condign puniſhment, ſince there was no probability of a reformation, having been bad from his youth. It is uncertain whether this embaſſy took place or not; the pope, however, was made acquainted with the foregoing inſtructions, but inſtead of granting the king's requeſt, he employed all the thunders of the Vatican, to revenge an affront which he conceived was offered to himſelf, in the perſon of the biſhop of Pamiers.

Bull after bull appeared, all dated on the ſame day, but each more violent than the preceding one. The firſt contained a declaration, "that princes had no power over the "perſons of eccleſiaſtics[43]," an order to the king to ſuffer Bernard de Saiſſet to repair to Rome, and to reſtore all his effects; and laſtly, an intimation, that, unleſs he had good reaſons to offer in juſtification of his conduct with regard to that prelate, he had incurred the penalty, impoſed by the canons on thoſe who ſhould raſhly lay their hands on a biſhop. So imperfectly were ſovereigns, in theſe days, acquainted with their own rights, or rather ſo much was their reaſon blinded by ſuperſtition, that a bull of this nature involved them in the greateſt perplexity. Philip was for ſome time at a loſs how to act. At length, a ſecond bull, enjoining the archbiſhop of Narbonne to impriſon Bernard, by authority of the holy ſee, to inveſtigate all the circumſtances of the caſe, and to ſend them to Rome, together with the depoſitions, &c. under a ſure guard, induced him to give up the proſecution, and to deliver the culprit into the hands of the legate, with

[42] Preuv. du Diff. p. 627 et ſuiv. [43] Ibid. p. 661.

orders,

orders, however, to quit the kingdom immediately. The diſpute with regard to the temporal authority of the pope daily growing warmer, the king, wholly employed by that important object, appears to have forgotten the prelate, whoſe poſſeſſions and effects, however, he took care to ſeize. Bernard, thus reduced to poverty, was obliged to remain at Rome till the concluſion of this famous quarrel; he then returned to France, and by ſubmiſſion obtained a pardon, together with the reſtitution of his temporalities.

A. D. 1301, 1302, 1303.] The renewal of hoſtilities between Philip and Boniface was announced by a bull from the latter, which ſuſpended all the privileges granted by his holineſs, not only to the king and his ſucceſſors, but even to the eccleſiaſtical and other members of his council; revoked *the favours* obtained from the holy ſee, for defraying the expences of the war in which France was engaged; and finally prohibited the clergy to grant either tenths, or ſubſidies, to the crown, without the expreſs permiſſion of the court of Rome[44]. This ſingular mandate, however, failed of its effect; it was deſpiſed by the nation, and the public tranquillity remained undiſturbed.

The pope next appointed the archdeacon of Narbonne as his nuncio, and ordered him to deliver another bull to Philip, in which he explained himſelf more clearly than he had hitherto ventured to do. The bull is conceived in theſe terms[45], "Boniface, biſhop, "ſervant of the ſervants of God, to Philip, king of the French. Fear the Lord, and "keep his commandments. We would have you to know that you are ſubject to us as "well in temporal matters as in ſpiritual concerns; that the collation to livings and pre-"bendaries does no wiſe concern you; and that if the care of churches, during a "vacancy, be committed to you, it is only for the purpoſe of enabling you to reſerve "the produce for thoſe who ſhall be elected. If you have appointed to any livings, "we declare ſuch appointments null in law, and revoke all tranſactions of a ſimilar na-"ture. Such as ſhall maintain a different opinion ſhall be reputed heretics."

The king anſwered him in the ſame ſtyle—"Philip, by the grace of God king of the "French, to Boniface, the pretended pope, little or no health. Be it known to your "ſuperlative folly that we are ſubject to no one in temporal matters; that the appoint-"ments to livings and vacant ſees belong to us by the rights of our crown; that the "revenues of vacant churches are ours; that the appointments we have made, and "may make, are valid, for the paſt as for the future, and that we will ſupport, with all "our power, thoſe whom we have appointed, and thoſe whom we ſhall appoint. Such "as ſhall maintain a different opinion ſhall be reputed fools and madmen[46]."

[44] Preuv. du Diff. p. 42. [45] Glo. in Concil. gener. Conſtit. de Elect. in 6; Pr. du Diff. p. 190, 191; Villan. l. 8, c. 62, 63.

[46] This letter is ſtill to be ſeen among the manuſcripts in the Library of the Vatican, whence a copy of it has been taken by M. de Saint Palaye of the French academy.—Velly.

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The pope ſtill perſiſted, and a fourth bull appeared: It began thus[47], "Attend, O my "ſon, to the precepts of your father; open your heart to the inſtructions of a maſter, "who holds the place of him who is the ſole Maſter and Lord; receive with docility "the advice of the holy Church, your mother; execute her orders with fidelity, "and ſubmit with reſpect to her will, which is ours." Boniface next proceeded to make a falſe quotation from ſcripture, by ſaying, that God had ſet him over the kings and the kingdoms, to root out, and to deſtroy, to diſperſe, and to build, and to plant[48]. Then, exhorting the king not to encourage the idea, that he has no ſuperior upon earth, and that he is not ſubject to the head of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, he declares that ſuch an opinion would ſubject him to the imputation of folly, madneſs, and infidelity. Adverting to the ſituation of the kingdom, he obſerves, that Philip "oppreſſed "his ſubjects by a multiplicity of onerous impoſts, and by a frequent adulteration of "the coin; that he tyrannized over the clergy, by forcibly compelling them to appear "at his tribunal; by exacting from them tenths and ſubſidies, although no layman "could have any power over the church; by forbidding them to employ the ſpiritual "ſword againſt ſuch as offended them, and to exerciſe their juriſdiction over the mo-"naſteries, which he pretended were ſubject to himſelf; by haraſſing, in the moſt deſpo-"tic manner, the noble church at Lyons, although it was not within his kingdom; "and by treating it ſo cruelly that it found itſelf reduced to a ſtate of poverty the moſt "wretched; that he gave offence to all the nobles of the realm by his violent proceed-"ings, by refuſing to grant them juſtice when they aſked it, and to acknowledge the "competence of any court to decide between them and their ſovereign; and that he ap-"pointed to vacant livings, in contempt of the holy ſee, which alone had the right to "diſpoſe of them." Beſides theſe grounds of complaint Boniface enumerates a long liſt of grievances of a ſimilar nature, and concludes by citing Philip to appear, either in perſon, or by a repreſentative, at the court of Rome, "in order to hear *God's judg-"ment and his own.*"

By a fifth bull, which followed cloſe upon the preceding one, the arrogant pontiff ſummoned all the clergy of France to attend a council, which he had convened at Rome, for the purpoſe of adminiſtering a remedy to the dreadful diſorders which, he ſaid, prevailed in the kingdom.

Philip committed to the flames the moſt offenſive of theſe bulls, and expelled the le-

[47] Preuv. du Diff. p. 48, et ſuiv.

[48] The text runs thus: "See I have this day ſet thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and "pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant" (Jer. i. 10). Beſides, as M. Fleury has juſtly obſerved (Hiſt. Eccl. t. xix. l. 80, p. 16) the order given to Jeremiah, "to root out and to plant," related only to his miſſion as prophet, and to his commiſſion to predict the revolutions of kingdoms: it was, therefore, groſſly abſurd in Boniface, to quote this paſſage as a confirmation of his power over temporal as well as ſpiritual matters.

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gate from his preſence. But the ſuperſtitious reverence which the people were wont to pay to the ſovereign pontiff rendered it neceſſary to act with a certain degree of caution: he therefore ſought to intereſt his ſubjects in his cauſe, and to ſtrengthen himſelf with their approbation, in oppoſing the unjuſt machinations of the pope.—With this view he convened the nobles and prelates of the kingdom; two deputies from each town, community, chapter, and univerſity, with the ſuperiors, or heads, of religious houſes.—This was the firſt time that the commons were ſummoned to attend theſe national aſſemblies.—The members all met, on the tenth of April, 1302, in the church of Nôtre-Dame, at Paris; and, after duly inveſtigating the conduct and pretenſions of the pope, were unanimous in their opinion, that Philip ſhould perſevere in the ſame line of conduct he had hitherto purſued, in order to preſerve the rights and franchiſes of the kingdom from all illegal invaſions and foreign encroachments: the clergy, indeed, deſired permiſſion to obey the ſummons they had received from Boniface, to attend the council; but this the king and nobility proteſted they would never allow; many of them, however, notwithſtanding the prohibition, repaired to Rome, where the council was holden, on the thirtieth of October. The pope there expreſſed his determination of enforcing the claims he had already advanced—new diſputes were the conſequence; and all the thunders of the Vatican were launched againſt Philip, who, in revenge, formed a project for ſeizing the perſon of the ſovereign pontiff, at Anagni: the plan was conducted with ſecrecy, and executed with ſucceſs; but the pity of the inhabitants operated in his favour, and releaſed him from captivity. The quarrel continued to rage with unabated violence; and the pope haſtened to Rome, in order to prepare freſh cenſures for his perſevering foe; but ſoon after his arrival, the anxiety occaſioned by the inſults he had ſuſtained threw him into a fever, which put an end to his exiſtence, on the eleventh of October, 1303.

During theſe tranſactions the king and queen had made the tour of Flanders, and endeavoured to reconcile the Flemings to their new maſters; but the oppreſſive conduct of the count of Saint Paul, to whom the government of that province had been entruſted, rendered their efforts ineffectual, and rouſed the latent ſparks of freedom which glowed in the boſoms of the natives. This nobleman paid an implicit obedience to the orders of Peter Flotte, chancellor of France, whoſe ingenuity was inceſſantly exerted in the invention of new taxes, without any regard to the ability of the people to bear ſuch additional burdens; not content with renewing all the impoſts which had been taken off by the king, he levied a conſiderable ſum, for the purpoſe of building citadels at Bruges, Courtray, Caſſel, and Lille, to keep the inhabitants in awe. The patience of the Flemings being at length exhauſted, they publickly diſplayed the banners of revolt; and choſe for their leader one Peter le Roi, a weaver, a man advanced in years, and ſmall in ſtature, but endued with a daring ſpirit, a ſtrong underſtanding, and a mind every way capable of taking the lead in any intricate and arduous enterprize. Le Roi was aſſiſted by John Breyel, a butcher, who had recently diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſucceſsful attack

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on a body of French troops, who had been ſent to ſeize his perſon, for having killed, in a ſcuffle, the ſervant of the governor of Male.

The firſt ſymptoms of revolt appeared at Bruges; where the citizens were enraged at the partiality ſhewn in the diſtribution of a tax, which had been levied for the purpoſe of defraying the expences incurred by the king's viſit to that place[49]. Peter le Roi, as one of thoſe who had betrayed the greateſt diſcontent on the occaſion, was, with five and twenty of his companions, arreſted, and thrown into priſon; but they were ſoon releaſed by the people. Châtillon, inſtead of ſoothing the minds of the citizens, thought to ſecure obedience by ſeverity; he approached the town with five hundred horſe; and the ſound of a particular bell was to be the ſignal for the magiſtrates to fly to arms, and, after ſecuring the different paſſages, join him in putting all the inſurgents to the ſword. The inhabitants, however, being apprized of their intentions, made every preparation for giving them a vigorous reception; and, having laid their plan with great ſecrecy, fixed on the ſame ſignal as their enemies; accordingly, when the fatal bell rang, they iſſued from their houſes, attacked the French party, and killed a great number of them. Châtillon, informed of what was paſſing in the town, kept aloof with the cavalry, till he was joined by a ſtrong reinforcement, under the command of his brother: he then inveſted the place; but, through the mediation of the magiſtrates, a capitulation was concluded, by which it was agreed that the principal inſurgents ſhould leave the town, and the remainder throw themſelves on the mercy of the governor.

A proper exertion of lenity might probably have ſtifled the revolt in its infancy; but the ſoul of Châtillon was a ſtranger to all the milder virtues; he proceeded to demoliſh the fortifications of this devoted town, to pull down its gates, to load the citizens with new taxes, and, finally, to deprive them of all their rights and privileges. In vain did their deputies appeal to Philip for redreſs; all their remonſtrances were treated with diſdain, and their only hope of relief was founded on their own reſolution. Driven to deſpair, they at length ſummoned their exiled champion to their aid; and the return of Peter le Roi, who had been negociating at Namur, with two of the ſons of Guy, count of Flanders, was ſignalized by the expulſion of the French from Bruges; Ghent, Dam, Ardembourg, and Male, next ſhook off the yoke of oppreſſion; but the appearance of Châtillon, with a formidable body of troops, occaſioned a temporary change in the ſituation of affairs; the brave Peter le Roi, deſerted by his faithleſs countrymen, was compelled to return to Namur, while Bruges conſented to capitulate, on condition that the inſurgents might have liberty to retire whither they choſe; and that the governor would only enter the place at the head of three hundred horſe. The terms of capitulation were rigorouſly obſerved on the part of the citizens; but Châtillon, enraged at a

[49] Meyer, Annal. p. 89.

ſucceſsful attack on Oſtbourg, where the French garriſon was put to the ſword, marched into Bruges, with ſeventeen hundred horſe, and inſultingly diſplayed two hogſheads of ropes, the inſtruments of the executions he impatiently meditated. The danger to which the people were reduced revived their courage; they invited their exiled comrades to return; and Peter le Roi accordingly arrived, during the night, with ſeven thouſand of his countrymen, and maſſacred all the French. Fifteen hundred horſe, and two thouſand foot, are ſaid to have periſhed on this memorable occaſion; but Châtillon had the good fortune to eſcape in the diſguiſe of a prieſt, and, repairing to court, ſheltered his own imprudence beneath the influence and authority of his niece.

This event proved fatal to the authority of Philip; the Flemings, being joined by Guy, one of the ſons of their captive count, bore down all before them; Furnes, Bergue, Vindale, the town of Courtray, Oudenarde, and Ypres ſurrendered to their arms; and ſuch was the rapidity of their progreſs, that the king deemed it neceſſary to oppoſe them with an army of forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, under the command of the count of Artois, an able general, but obſtinate, imperious, and violent[50]. He advanced againſt the enemy; and the hatred he bore them leading him to hold them in too great contempt, he neglected thoſe precautions which prudence ſhould have ſuggeſted. The Flemings, who were now commanded by Peter le Roi, were ſtrongly entrenched between Bruges and Courtray, covered by the river Lis to the north, protected on the eaſt and weſt by deep ditches, and defended on the ſouth by a large canal. The conſtable de Neſle, and ſome other officers of note, were of opinion that they ought not to be attacked in entrenchments that were almoſt inacceſſible; but that an attempt ſhould be made to reduce them by cutting off their proviſions: the count, however, regarding them as a vile rabble, undiſciplined and inexperienced, deemed all ſuch precautions uſeleſs; and, accuſing the conſtable of a wiſh to ſpare the ſeditious mob, becauſe he had married his daughter to a ſon of the count of Flanders, gave orders for the attack: "You ſhall ſee (replied the brave warrior), that I am no traitor; you "have only to follow me—I'll lead you ſo far, that you'll never return."—The event verified the prediction.

The French ruſhed forward to the attack with more impetuoſity than order, not doubting but that the enemy [they ſo much deſpiſed would fly at their approach[51]: they were, however, miſtaken in their conjectures; the Flemings, inſpired by the love of freedom, ſtood their ground with firmneſs and reſolution; and ſuch was the vigorous reception which the French experienced, that they were ſoon obliged to fly with precipitation, leaving, according to ſome hiſtorians, twenty thouſand men dead on the

[50] Contin. Nang.; Spicil. t. iii. p. 15; Meyer, p. 93, 94. [51] Cont. Nang. p. 55; Meyer, ibid.

field.

field. Among thoſe who fell were the count of Artois; Châtillon; the conſtable de Neſle, who refuſed quarter, though repeatedly preſſed to accept it; his brother Guy de Neſle, a mareſchal of France; Peter Flotte, keeper of the ſeals; Godfrey of Brabant, and his ſon; the counts of Eu, Aumale, Dammartin, Dreux, and Soiſſons; John, ſon to the count of Hainault; the count of Tancarville, grand chamberlain; Renaud de Trie; Henry de Ligni; Alberic de Longueval; the count de Vimeu; Simon de Melun, a mareſchal of France; near two hundred knights, and a great number of eſquires. "It is a certain fact," ſays Mezeray[52], with greater confidence than truth, "that "France never received ſuch an affront as this." Their loſs, indeed, muſt have been very great, ſince four thouſand pairs of gilt ſpurs, the ſpoils of as many gentlemen, were taken by the Flemiſh, who ſuſpended five hundred of them in the church at Courtray. The entire conqueſt of Flanders was the reſult of this victory; the citadel of Courtray, which made a brave reſiſtance, was at length compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion; Ghent followed the example; and the caſtle of Caſſel, with the important cities of Lille and Douay, next ſubmitted to the conquerors. Thus the whole province, except Dendermonde, which held out till the middle of winter, was loſt to the French; and John, count of Namur, ſon to the count of Flanders, by his ſecond wife, was proclaimed lieutenant-general of Flanders, till ſuch time as his father or eldeſt brother ſhould be releaſed from captivity.

Philip, enraged at this ſecond diſaſter, reſolved to raiſe ſuch an army as ſhould amply ſuffice for the recovery of the places he had loſt, and for the chaſtiſement of thoſe who had dared to oppoſe his authority. But, as his treaſury was exhauſted, he was obliged to have recourſe to extraordinary means for raiſing the money he wanted; a tax therefore, of one fifth of his revenue, was impoſed on each individual, and ſuch as had to the amount of five hundred livres in moveables, were made to contribute five-and-twenty. The value of money was alſo enhanced a third; without making any alteration in the weight, each coin was made to paſs for a third more than it had paſſed for in the preceding reign—an oppreſſive regulation that excited great murmurs both in and out of the kingdom.

By reſources thus ruinous to his people, the king was enabled to collect an army of eighty thouſand men; but, though the Flemings advanced with an inferior force, within a league of the French camp, Philip neither dared to attack them, nor to make any attempt for avenging the diſgrace which his arms had recently ſuſtained. This inactivity is, indeed, aſcribed to the artful policy of the Engliſh monarch, who, beholding with concern the danger of his allies, imparted, as a ſecret to his queen, a feigned correſpondence of the nobles of France with the hoſtile court of Rome: Margaret communicat-

[52] Mezeray, tom. ii. p. 132.

ed the intelligence to her brother Philip, and the king, diſtruſtful of the fidelity of his army, diſmiſſed his troops, and returned, without glory, to his capital [53].

But neither the war in Flanders, nor the inclinations of the pope, could ſo far engroſs the attention of Philip, as to make him neglect the internal government of the ſtate. A famous ordinance appeared, on the eighteenth of March, 1303 [54], by which ſeveral abuſes, that had crept into the adminiſtration, were aboliſhed; regulations, in particular, were adopted, for enforcing a ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and for putting a ſtop to the venality of judges. But the moſt remarkable article of this edict is the ſixty-ſecond, which gave riſe to the inſtitution of parliaments in France; it appointed that of Paris to be holden twice a year. It is the ancient court of the king's palace new-modelled, rendered ſedentary, and inveſted with an extenſive, and aſcertained juriſdiction. This regulation, however, did not take place till the following year, or the year 1305. The officers and members of the parliament were at firſt nominated by the king, were paid by him, and, on ſeveral occaſions, were removed by him at pleaſure. The parliament was originally compoſed of the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom. The peers of France, eccleſiaſtics of the higheſt order, and noblemen of illuſtrious birth, were members of it, to whom were, afterwards, added ſome clerks and counſellors learned in the law [55].

The Flemings, intent on the total expulſion of the French, laid ſiege to Tournay, which Philip had garriſoned previous to the diſmiſſion of his troops; and though, by two different ſallies, they had loſt three thouſand men, they perſevered in their attack, and reduced the place to the laſt extremity; the king, apprized of this circumſtance, collected a freſh army [56], but when he had advanced as far as Peronne, he was prevailed upon, by the duke of Savoy, to conclude a truce with the Flemings for eight months, during which time attempts were made to ſettle a laſting peace. For this purpoſe the old count of Flanders was releaſed from priſon, and ſent to negotiate with his former ſubjects; but, elated by their recent ſucceſſes, the Flemings refuſed to ſubmit to Philip, and Guy, unable to accompliſh the object of his miſſion, returned to his priſon at Compiègne, where he ſoon after died.

A. D. 1304.] The truce being expired, both parties prepared for renewing the war. John of Hainault had lately ſucceeded to the county of Holland, by the death of count Florent, and his ſon John. The Flemings, pretending that that principality was a fief of the county of Flanders, made incurſions into Zealand, defeated William, the count's ſon, took his uncle, the biſhop of Maeſtricht, priſoner, and reduced a great part of the province. William, however, had the good fortune to eſcape, and ſhut himſelf up in a

53 Meyer, p. 96. 54 Laur. Ord. tom. i. p. 357, et ſuiv. 55 Paſquier Rech. de la Fra. p. 44, &c.; Encyclopédie, tom. xii. (Art. Parlement), p. 3 et 5. 56 Spicil. t. iii. p. 56.

ſtrong

ſtrong fortreſs; and as the houſe of Hainault had conſtantly adhered to the French, Philip equipped a naval armament, which he ſent, under the command of Grimaldi, a noble Genoeſe, to his relief. The fleet was ordered to ſteer toward Zuric-Zee, which was beſieged by an army of fifteen thouſand Flemings, aſſiſted by ſome rebel Zealanders, commanded by Guy of Flanders. After an obſtinate action the Flemiſh fleet was diſperſed, Guy taken priſoner, and Zuric-Zee relieved.

The king, in the mean time, entered Flanders, at the head of fifty thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe, accompanied by his two brothers, Charles, count of Valois, and Lewis, count of Evreux, with all the chief nobles of the realm. The enemy, under the conduct of Philip of Flanders, who had left Sicily, where he had extenſive poſſeſſions, to come to the aſſiſtance of his country, was encamped between Lille and Douay, at a ſmall diſtance from *Mons-en Puelle* on *Pevelle*, their camp was haſtily fortified with their carriages; it was attacked, however by the French, who, after ſecuring ſome of the baggage, retreated. But the Flemings, eager to revenge this affront, followed them to their own camp, which they endeavoured to force, when a fierce conflict enſued; for ſome time fortune appeared to favour the Flemings, who put the count of Valois, with the braveſt of the nobility, to flight, and even penetrated to the royal tent; but, animated by the example of their ſovereign, the French ſoon rallied, when the Flemings were compelled to retire, and to abandon their camp with precipitation. Their loſs, on this occaſion, is ſaid, by Velly, to have amounted to ſix thouſand men; but Mezeray affirms, with leſs probability indeed, that ſix-and-thirty thouſand Flemings, among whom was William de Juliers, grandſon to the old count of Flanders, were left on the field. On the part of the French, five hundred gentlemen, and ſeveral noblemen of diſtinction, were ſlain.

Still undiſmayed, and reſolved to die ſooner than reſign their liberty, the Flemings ſpeedily returned, to the number of ſixty thouſand. Philip was then engaged in the ſiege of Lille, the garriſon of which had already conſented to ſurrender, unleſs relieved before the firſt of October. After a defeat ſo recent and deſtructive, he was aſtoniſhed at the ſight of an army thus numerous, and could not forbear exclaiming, "*Shall we never "have done?—I verily believe it rains Flemings!*" But his ſurprize encreaſed on the arrival of their heralds, who came to offer him the choice of an immediate battle, or an honourable peace: the king, doubtful of the event, wiſely preferred the latter. He conſented to releaſe Robert, the eldeſt ſon of the count of Flanders; to receive his homage for the county; to give up all the Flemiſh priſoners; to accept of two hundred thouſand livres as an indemnification for the expences of the war, for the payment of which ſum he was to retain Lille, Douay, Orchies, and Bethune [57].

57 Velly, tom. vii. p. 332.

A. D.

A. D. 1305, 1306, 1307.] The acceſſion of the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux to the Papal throne, under the title of Clement the Fifth, gave Philip an opportunity of procuring a reconciliation with the church. As he had been inſtrumental in the elevation of that prelate, Clement immediately took off all the cenſures which had been inflicted on the king and the kingdom by pope Boniface; granted him a tenth of all the revenues of the church of France during five years; and created ten cardinals, nine of which were either Frenchmen or Gaſcons, and all of them friends, creatures, or ſubjects of Philip. It is pretended, indeed, by Villani [58], that the king had made a previous treaty with the prelate, and inſiſted on his compliance with *ſix* requeſts he had to make, before he would conſent to his promotion; and theſe friendly meaſures are cited by Velly [59] as a confirmation of Villani's aſſertion;—but as that author allows that the conference between them took place in a wood (the foreſt of St. Jean d'Angeli) to prevent a poſſibility of being overheard, and that either party took an oath of ſecrecy; and conſidering, moreover, that, independent of an obligation ſo ſacred, they were both intereſted in concealing a tranſaction by no means honourable—we cannot but regard the account of Villani, which diſplays all the particulars of this ſecret interview, as doubtful, if not fabulous. Be that as it may, Philip had no longer occaſion to fear the thunders of the Vatican; the pope was his friend, and every aſſiſtance the church could afford him he had reaſon to expect.

But though the kingdom was releaſed from the dread of foreign attacks, or eccleſiaſtical cenſures, the conduct of Philip had excited a ſpirit of diſcontent among his ſubjects that evinced itſelf in frequent murmurs. During the late wars, he had not only recourſe to the dangerous and impolitic practice of debaſing the coin, and of raiſing its value; but finding a ſcarcity of ſilver, he compelled [60] all his ſubjects, except the barons and prelates, to carry one half of their ſilver plate to the mint; he alſo forbade the exportation of gold and ſilver, and commanded all men, under the moſt ſevere penalties, to receive the baſe coin which he put in circulation; this was naturally attended with great detriment to the national commerce, and with various other inconveniences that rendered him odious to the people. In ſhort, ſuch was the confuſion it occaſioned, that in 1303 the prelates of the kingdom offered the king two twentieths of their revenues [61], on condition that neither he nor his ſucceſſors would debaſe the coin, unleſs it ſhould become indiſpenſably neceſſary; which neceſſity ſhould be certified by the privy-council, and confirmed by an aſſembly of nobles and prelates; and the moment it ſhould ceaſe, the coin ſhould be reſtored to its primitive purity. This propoſal, however, was rejected, which ſufficiently proves that the king preferred his own intereſt to the welfare of his ſubjects. The exceſs to which this ſhameful debaſement of the coin was carried, may be known from the price of ſilver: at the commencement of Philip's reign the mark of ſilver was

[58] L. viii. c. 80. [59] tom. vii. p. 374. [60] Laur. Ord. tom. i. p. 482, 372, 379. [61] Le Blanc. Traité des Monnoies, p. 187.

worth

worth fifty-five *ſols* ſix *deniers*; in 1305 it was worth eight *livres* ten *ſols*; and in 1306 *one denier* of the old coin was worth *three* of the new.

The king's inattention to the remonſtrances of the people on a circumſtance in which their intereſt was ſo materially affected, at length produced an inſurrection at Paris, where Philip was beſieged in his palace, and expoſed to every kind of inſult and indignity; with the aſſiſtance of his troops, however, he contrived to quell the tumult, and eight-and-twenty of the inſurgents were hanged at the gates of the city. In Normandy, too, the people revolted, in conſequence of an oppreſſive tax, which the king found himſelf obliged to repeal. The univerſal clamours that began to prevail in the kingdom, at length induced him to think of finding a remedy for a grievance that was productive of ſo many diſorders; he accordingly aſſembled the ſtates, and made ſeveral regulations for reſtoring the coin to its ancient ſtandard, but they were never enforced, and the evil was ſuffered to continue during his whole reign.

Nor was the oppreſſion of his ſubjects the only inſtance in which Philip diſplayed his rapacity; the Jews, alternately baniſhed and recalled, encouraged and perſecuted, offered him a rich harveſt, which he haſtened to reap, by the publication of an ordinance, in conſequence of which they were all arreſted on the ſame day, baniſhed the kingdom, forbidden to return under pain of death, and all their effects confiſcated. Some of them, indeed, eſcaped by receiving baptiſm; many died on the road, from fatigue or vexation; and all of them were reduced to a ſtate of poverty, as they were only permitted to carry with them as much money as would defray their expences to the frontiers.

On the death of Edward the Firſt (who died in July, 1307) his ſon Edward the Second ſucceeded to the throne of England. This prince was betrothed to Iſabella, the daughter of Philip, and in conſideration of his marriage he endeavoured to obtain from the king the ſovereignty of Guienne. But Philip was too jealous of his authority to ſuffer the ſmalleſt diminution of it; Edward, therefore, was compelled to do homage for his continental dominions, and having celebrated his nuptials at Boulogne, took his queen with him to England[62]. About the ſame time, Philip's eldeſt ſon, Lewis Hutin, who was king of Navarre in right of his mother, (who died on the ſecond of April, 1305) was crowned at Pampeluna, amidſt the acclamations of the people. Immediately after the ceremony was performed, he advanced againſt Don Fortunio Almoravid, who, having been entruſted with the government of the kingdom, had formed a powerful faction, and even aſpired to the throne. Lewis, however, ſoon reduced him to obedience, and, having re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his own dominions, returned to his father's court.

[62] Nothing can more ſtrongly prove the ignorance, or the prejudices, of the French writers, on all matters relating to England, than the aſſertion of the abbé Velly with regard to Iſabella, wife to Edward the Second, who, he has the confidence to tell us, tom. vii. p. 387, was highly reſpected and beloved by the Engliſh, though ſhe is known to have diſhonoured the bed of their ſovereign, and is ſtrongly ſuſpected of having been an accomplice in his murder.

A. D. 1308, 1309, 1310.] The Imperial throne becoming vacant by the death of Albert, who was aſſaſſinated by his own nephew, John duke of Suabia, Philip was anxious to procure the election of his brother Charles of Valois, as king of the Romans[63]. It is pretended that he had previouſly ſecured the intereſt of the pope, by exacting from him a ſolemn promiſe to comply with a requeſt which he would not then mention, but which ſhould be made known to him in due time. He therefore aſſembled his council, to whom he communicated his intentions, and they were unanimous in their opinion, that an immediate application ſhould be made to the ſovereign pontiff. Clement, who was ſecretly apprized of the king's deſigns, foreſaw the danger to which the holy ſee would be expoſed, from ſuch an acceſſion of power to a family, whoſe influence was already ſo extenſive; on the other hand, his obligations to Philip rendered him extremely cautious of offending that monarch. In this dilemma, he applied to the Cardinal di Prato, who adviſed him ſecretly to diſpatch couriers to the different electors, in order to apprize them of Philip's intentions, and ſtrenuouſly to recommend, as an object worthy of their choice, Henry of Luxembourg, whoſe courage and integrity were known to the whole world[64]. The intrigue was conducted with ſo much ſkill and ſucceſs, that, in the courſe of a week, the electors aſſembled, and unanimouſly elected that nobleman, king of the Romans. Philip was greatly enraged at the diſappointment, and gueſſing from whence the blow came, diſplayed the moſt lively reſentment againſt the pope, who in vain attempted to excuſe himſelf, by pleading ignorance of his deſigns; they were apparently reconciled indeed; but, in their future connections, true friendſhip was ſuperſeded by artifice and diſſimulation.

A. D. 1312.] It was neceſſary for Philip to maintain a good correſpondence with the pope, ſince he had a project in view, in which the aſſiſtance of the ſovereign pontiff was indiſpenſably requiſite; viz. the abolition of the order of Knights-templars. This order had been eſtabliſhed at Jeruſalem, in the year 1118, by Hugh des Payens, Geoffrey de Saint Omer, and ſeven other French gentlemen, who took a vow of chaſtity and obedience, and devoted their lives and fortunes to the ſervice and defence of Chriſtian pilgrims. Alike famous for their piety and their valour, they excited the admiration and gratitude of the Chriſtian world, and ſoon acquired, from the generous devotion of the faithful, ample poſſeſſions in every country of Europe, eſpecially in France. Their great riches, joined to the courſe of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the ſeverity of theſe virtues; and the templars had, in a great meaſure, loſt that popularity, which firſt raiſed them to honour and diſtinction. Acquainted, from experience, with the fatigues and dangers of thoſe fruitleſs expeditions to the Eaſt, which had given birth and ſtrength to their order, they rather choſe to enjoy in eaſe their opulent revenues in Europe: and being all men of birth, educated, according to the cuſtom of that age,

[63] Villani, l. viii. c. 101. [64] Spicil. t. iii. p. 62.

without

without any tincture of letters, they ſcorned the ignoble occupations of a monaſtic life, and paſſed their time wholly in the faſhionable amuſements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleaſures of the table. To the laſt they were peculiarly addicted, and a French proverb is ſtill in uſe—*Boire comme un Templier* (to drink like a Templar), which atteſts their attachment to the bottle. Their rival order, that of Saint John of Jeruſalem, whoſe poverty had as yet preſerved them from like corruptions, ſtill diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their enterprizes againſt the Infidels, and ſucceeded to all the popularity which was loſt by the indolence and luxury of the Templars. But, though theſe reaſons had weakened the foundations of this order, once ſo celebrated and revered, the immediate cauſe of their deſtruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive ſpirit of Philip, who, having entertained ſome private diſguſt againſt ſome eminent Templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in an undiſtinguiſhed ruin.

As it was neceſſary, however, to preſerve ſome colour of juſtice in his proceedings, he waited for a favourable opportunity, before he would ſignify his intentions; but as his enmity to the Templars was ſufficiently known, it was not likely he ſhould be kept long in ſuſpence. We are told by the author of the life of Clement the Fifth, that a citizen of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, being confined in the ſame priſon with an apoſtate Templar, whoſe life, like his own, was juſtly forfeited to the offended laws of his country, propoſed to his fellow-priſoner, that they ſhould confeſs their ſins to each other, a circumſtance by no means uncommon in thoſe days, when a criminal was never allowed to have a confeſſor; accordingly, having heard the confeſſion of the Templar, he ſent to a magiſtrate, and informed him, that he had a ſecret to impart of more importance to the king than the conqueſt of a new kingdom; but that he would not diſcloſe it to any other perſon than Philip; impatient to diſcover this myſtery, the king ordered the culprit to be conveyed to Paris, and, when he was brought into his preſence, he aſſured him, that if he ſpoke the truth, he might rely on not only obtaining a pardon, but on being amply rewarded. Squin, who had previouſly formed the plan of his accuſation, then charged the whole body of Templars with crimes ſo atrocious and abſurd, that, as an Engliſh hiſtorian has juſtly remarked[65], they were of themſelves ſufficient to deſtroy all the credit of the charge; though Velly obſerves, that they are ſo well atteſted by authentic records that it would be imprudent to call the truth of them in queſtion.

It was pretended, that every one whom they received into their order, was obliged to kiſs the ſuperior on the mouth, navel, and breech[66]; that they employed exhortations, menaces, and even tortures, to make him renounce his Saviour, and ſpit three times on

[65] Hume, vol. ii. [66] Du Puy, Hiſt. des Temp. p. 17 et ſuiv.

a crucifix that was preſented to him [67]—a cuſtom adopted by one of their grand-maſters, who, having been taken priſoner by an Eaſtern ſultan, could only obtain his releaſe on condition of ſwearing to introduce it into the order [68]; that at their nocturnal meetings the knights worſhipped a gilded head [69]; that they were forbidden to have any criminal connection with women, leſt the objects of their amours ſhould caſt reflections on the order; but, in return for theſe ſacrifices, they were permitted to indulge in vices the moſt ſhocking to human nature: that if, by chance, a Templar had commerce with a girl, and a child was the reſult of their connection, it was brought to their aſſemblies, when the knights ranged themſelves in a circle, and toſſed the infant from one to the other, till it expired: they then roaſted it, and, with the fat that iſſued from the body, they anointed the head and whiſkers of their idol, which was covered with a human ſkin; that when a Templar died, his body was burnt, and the aſhes mixed with a beverage which the knights drank, in the hope that it would increaſe their intrepidity, and render them more faithful to each other: that when the prieſts of the order celebrated the maſs, they omitted the words of the conſecration; and, finally, that, having ſecretly abjured their religion, and embraced the tenets of Mahomet, they had ſold the Holy Land to the Infidels.

Philip mentioned theſe accuſations to the pope in the month of May, 1307; but it does not appear that Clement was diſpoſed to favour his iniquitous projects, ſince, by a bull dated the twenty-fourth of Auguſt in the ſame year, he declared the crimes aſcribed to the Templars appeared to him to be not only incredible, but impoſſible; that the heads of the order, informed of the charges exhibited againſt them, demanded juſtice on thoſe who had calumniated them, in caſe the accuſation ſhould prove to be falſe, and ſubmitted themſelves to the moſt ſevere puniſhments ſhould they be found guilty; that, in conſequence, he was about to enter into a juridical examination of the matter, for the ſatisfaction of the king, whom he requeſted to ſend him all the proofs he had collected, that could tend to eſtabliſh the charge. But a trial of this ſolemn and public nature would not have anſwered Philip's purpoſe; the proceedings of *juſtice* were, he pretended, too ſlow for him; he, therefore, had recourſe to a violent exertion of authority: he iſſued a ſecret order, which was executed on the thirteenth of October, 1307, to arreſt, in one day, all the Templars in France, and throw them into priſon; he then took poſſeſſion of the Temple, their place of reſidence at Paris, and ſeized all their property. In order to juſtify this act of violence, he aſſembled all the canons of the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, and the doctors of the univerſity, to whom he imparted the motives for his conduct; two days after this, the clergy and their pariſhioners were ſummoned, by ſound of trumpet, to attend in the garden of the palace, where the long

[67] Chron. de S. Denis, en la Vie de Phil. le Bel.; Walſing. p. 73. [68] Rob. Gaguin. Hiſt. p. 12; Bzovius, Ann. 1308. p. 103; Guil. Paradin. Hiſt. de Savoie. l. ii. c. 106. [69] Noſtrad. Hiſt. de Prov. p. 324; Hiſt. de Malthe, t. i. p. 509; Spicil. tom. iii. p. 69.

Hiſt.

liſt of charges againſt the perſecuted Templars was read to them. The credulous mob was impoſed upon; but every man of common ſenſe ſaw through the ſhallow artifice.

Philip would fain have had the Templars tried by his own officers; but, on conſulting the univerſity, he was told, that no ſecular judge could take cognizance of hereſy, unleſs required ſo to do by the church [70]; that the Templars, as belonging to a religious order that had been confirmed by the holy ſee, were exempt from all civil juriſdiction; and that their poſſeſſions ought certainly to be preſerved, that they might be appropriated to thoſe purpoſes for which they were deſtined by the donors. The king, on this deciſion, ordered William de Paris, a Dominican, his own confeſſor, and a member of the inquiſition, to interrogate the priſoners, in the preſence of ſeveral of the nobility.—The monk executed the commiſſion with a degree of zeal that he knew would be highly agreeable to his maſter.

The impriſonment of the Knights-templars excited a general ſurprize throughout the Chriſtian world; the pope, in particular, expreſſed his indignation at the conduct of Philip, and regarded the proceedings of the inquiſitor as an encroachment on his own authority [71]; in the firſt heat of paſſion, he ſuſpended the powers of William de Paris, and forbade the French prelates to take cognizance of an affair, the deciſion of which he reſerved to himſelf. He wrote to the king, at the ſame time, to complain of his conduct, in impriſoning a ſet of men who were ſolely dependent on the ſee of Rome; and informed him, with ſome warmth, that he had ſent two cardinals, into whoſe hands he deſired the perſons and effects of the Templars might be immediately reſigned.

The king, enraged at theſe obſtacles to the completion of his ſanguinary projects, arrogantly replied, That he had done nothing but at the requeſt of the inquiſitor, who was an officer of the court of Rome; that by ſuſpending the powers of that monk, and of the prelates of the kingdom, who were the actual judges in points of doctrine, he did a great prejudice to religion; that the Templars would not fail to avail themſelves of that circumſtance; that they already began to vary in their depoſitions; that they even flattered themſelves with the idea of being ſupported by the court of Rome; that it was ſhameful in a ſovereign pontiff to diſplay ſuch tardineſs in ſeconding a prince in the purſuit of ſo juſt a cauſe; that God deteſted lukewarm minds; that not to puniſh a crime with ſufficient promptitude was, in ſome degree, to approve of it; that, far from prohibiting the prelates from diſcharging thoſe functions attached to their dignity, he ought, on the contrary, to excite their zeal for the extirpation of an order ſo corrupted; that, after all, the biſhops were appointed to partake with him the care of the church of God; that

[70] Du Puy, p. 10; Hiſt. de Malthe, t. i. p. 515. [71] Du Puy, p. 11.

it would be a flagrant injuſtice to deprive them of a power which they had received immediately from Jeſus Chriſt; that they had not deſerved ſuch treatment, nor would they endure it; and that he himſelf could not, conſiſtent with his coronation oath, ſuffer it to paſs unnoticed; he concluded his letter with ſome threatening expreſſions to the pope, and many profeſſions of his own diſintereſtedneſs; as a proof of which he conſented to ſurrender the Templars and their property into the cuſtody of the pope's miniſters; but they ſtill continued to be guarded by his own ſubjects.

Philip had convened the ſtates of his kingdom, at Tours, in the month of May, 1308, when the meeting was very numerous: he preſided in perſon, and his chancellor was ordered to detail all the various proofs that had been collected in ſupport of the charges preferred againſt the Templars [72]. From thence the king repaired to Poitiers, where he had a private interview with the pope, at which it was ſettled—That the knights ſhould be kept in the king's cuſtody, in the name of the pope, the prelates, and the church; that the two powers ſhould engage, in caſe the order was aboliſhed, to devote their property to the defence of the Holy Land; that their revenues ſhould be employed for no other purpoſe, and that they ſhould be immediately conſigned to the care of ſome truſty perſons choſen by the Roman pontiff. This regulation, however, produced but a trifling change in the affairs of the Templars; among thoſe who were appointed to take charge of their property, were two of the king's domeſtics, William Pidoue and Renè Bourdon; and, at Philip's ſolicitation, his confeſſor was ſuffered to exerciſe thoſe functions which the pope had ſuſpended, and to conduct the proſecution, or rather *perſecution*, againſt the knights.

The pope, however, continued to manifeſt a miſtruſt of Philip, and diſplayed, in the different bulls he publiſhed on the occaſion, an anxiety to preſerve the property of the Templars from the avidity of that rapacious prince. Such precautions could not fail to enrage the king, who accordingly expreſſed his reſentment very freely [73]; and Clement, intimidated by his threats, appears to have ſacrificed his own ſentiments of propriety, to the gratification of his vindictive ſpirit. All obſtacles being thus removed, the tyrant proceeded to the examination of the devoted victims. Tortures were employed to extort a confeſſion of their guilt; ſeveral, to procure immediate eaſe, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them; forged confeſſions were imputed to others; but many of them preſerved their fortitude in the midſt of pain, and bravely refuſed to purchaſe eaſe by the promulgation of a falſhood.

The pope, in the mean time, inſtigated the different powers of Europe to imitate the example of Philip; and the Templars were every where thrown into priſon. "They

[72] Du Puy, p. 37, &c. Hiſt. de Malthe, p. 508. [73] Du Puy, p. 15, 108.

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"confeſſed," ſays Velly [74], "in England, and Provence, at Ravenna, Piſa, and Florence "all the abominations of which they had been accuſed in France." But this aſſertion is evidently falſe; Hume, with a greater regard to truth, obſerves [75], that, though their conduct underwent a ſtrict ſcrutiny, and the power of their enemies ſtill purſued and oppreſſed them, no where, except in France, were the ſmalleſt traces of their guilt pretended to be found; England, ſays that author, *ſent an ample teſtimony of their piety and morals.* In Arragon, the knights retired to their own fortreſſes, which they had erected for defending the country againſt the incurſions of the Moors. From thence they wrote to the ſovereign pontiff, to repel the baſe imputations that had been urged againſt them; they inſiſted on the purity of their faith, in defence of which they had ſo often ſhed their blood; they obſerved that a great number of the Templars were then priſoners with the Moors, who daily offered them their liberty on condition that they ſhould abjure their religion; that it was ſhameful to burn thoſe knights as Infidels, whoſe brethren, ſlaves to the enemies of their God, were inceſſantly expoſed to the moſt cruel puniſhments as Chriſtians; that if ſome individuals of the order had acknowledged themſelves guilty of crimes, whether they had really committed them, or had been induced to ſay ſo from the pain of the torture, they deſerved puniſhment, either as criminals, or as cowards who had belied their conſcience; but that an honourable order, which for two centuries had deſerved well of the church, ought not to ſuffer for the guilt or prevarication of a few of its members; that it was eaſy to perceive their great wealth was the true cauſe of the perſecution they experienced; they entreated his holineſs either to grant them his protection, or elſe to ſuffer them, according to the cuſtom of the times, to defend their innocence with their ſwords. It is not known what reply Clement made to this ſpirited requeſt; but the king of Arragon beſieged the knights in their caſtles, and having taken them priſoners, confined them in different places, till they could be tried by the biſhop of Valencia, who had received the pope's orders for that purpoſe.

In France, they were preparing to continue the proceedings againſt them, when, to the aſtoniſhment of the judges, moſt of the knights diſavowed their confeſſions [76], which they declared had been extorted from them by the violence of their agonies. This retractation embarraſſed the king, who was at a loſs how to proceed; but as one iniquity too frequently leads on to another, it was ſoon determined that ſuch as diſavowed their firſt confeſſions ſhould be conſidered as *relapſed heretics*—by which wiſe deciſion hereſy was made to conſiſt in an adherence to the doctrine of Chriſtianity; fifty-nine of theſe unhappy victims, among whom was one of the king's chaplains, were accordingly condemned to the ſtake [77]; and, in a field near the abbey of Saint Anthony, in the ſuburbs of Paris, they were all conſumed by a ſlow fire. In the midſt

74 Tom. vii. p. 436. 75 Hiſt. of Eng. vol. ii. 76 Ex Secundâ vitâ Clem. v. p. 37. 77 Chron. de S. Denis, An. 1309.

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of the flames, they called aloud upon their God, and ſtedfaſtly refuſed to accept the pardon that was offered them on condition of abiding by their firſt confeſſions. Numbers periſhed, in the ſame cruel manner, in different parts of the kingdom; but not one of them could be prevailed on to purchaſe his life by retracting his laſt aſſertion.

Though all the knights had been tried, the grand queſtion, with regard to the abolition of the order, as well as the trial of the grand-maſter, and the principal officers, ſtill remained to be decided; as the pope had reſerved this deciſion for himſelf, he appointed eight commiſſioners—all eccleſiaſtics—who cited the whole order to appear before them at Paris. When the grand-maſter came into their preſence, he was aſked what he had to offer in defence of the order; he replied that the order having been confirmed by the holy ſee, it was ſtrange they ſhould think of aboliſhing it without mature deliberation; that, for his part, he was unable to undertake the defence of ſo large a body of men, who had been groſsly calumniated, but that the obligations he had received from them were ſuch, that he ſhould be a wretch indeed were he not to exert his utmoſt efforts for that purpoſe; he therefore would engage to defend their intereſts, difficult as was the taſk in his ſituation—a priſoner to the pope and the king, with no aſſiſtance but that of a ſingle domeſtic; unable either to read or write, and plundered of all his money, except four deniers; he concluded by demanding the aſſiſtance of council.

His judges, however, informed him that in trials for hereſy, no advocate was allowed; they adviſed him to reflect ſeriouſly before he embarked in ſuch an undertaking; and reminded him of the confeſſion he had made at Chinon, which was immediately read to him. The unhappy knight evinced the utmoſt ſurprize; twice he croſſed himſelf, and then exclaimed, that if the three cardinals, who had ſubſcribed his interrogatory, were of a different profeſſion, he ſhould know how to talk to them. On being admoniſhed that prelates could not accept a challenge, he affirmed, that what he had ſaid had been groſsly miſtated. When preſſed to explain himſelf farther, he was unable to contain his reſentment, and declared that ſuch men deſerved the puniſhment inflicted by the Saracens and Tartars, on liars and forgers;—"They rip up their bel-"lies,"—ſaid he, "and cut off their heads."

At a ſubſequent examination, the grand-maſter defended his order with great ſpirit; but ſtill perſiſted in his demand for farther aſſiſtance, and the king, afraid to preſs a ſentence thus important without obſerving, at leaſt, ſome *appearance* of juſtice in his proceedings, iſſued letters-patent (on the twenty-ſixth of November, 1309) authorizing ſuch of the Templars as were confined in the provinces, and choſe to ſtand forward in defence of their order, to repair to Paris. Seventy-four knights accordingly appeared before

before the judges, in the month of March following, when the pope's commiſſion, and the articles on which they were to be interrogated, were read to them; after which they were remanded to priſon, whilſt notaries were ſent to take their defence in writing. Peter de Boulogne, a prieſt, who was attorney-general to the order, dictated, in the name of them all, a ſhort apology, in which he obſerved, "That the Templars had a "chief, without whoſe permiſſion they were unable to appoint agents; that never-"theleſs, they were ready to appear before the commiſſaries of his holineſs, in order to "juſtify themſelves with regard to the crimes of which they had been accuſed; that "the charges ſent by the pope were infamous, deteſtable, abominable, horribly falſe, "fabricated by impoſtors who were their enemies; that the religion of the Temple was "pure and unpolluted, exempt from the abominations which had been falſely aſcribed to "it; that thoſe who dared to maintain the contrary, ſpoke like infidels and heretics; "that they were reſolved to defend the honour of their order at the riſk of their lives; "that, for this purpoſe, they required to be ſet at liberty, and permitted to attend the "general council, or at leaſt to entruſt their cauſe to ſuch of their brethren as might "be ſuffered to go thither; that thoſe knights who had advanced falſhoods for truth "were either cowards, who had been induced, through the fear of tortures, to make "ſuch confeſſions; or elſe wretches that had been bribed by money, won by ſolicitations, "or intimidated by threats; whoſe depoſitions could not, of courſe, be ſuffered to ope-"rate to the prejudice of the order."

Some time after a freſh apology appeared, in which the knights renewed their com-plaints of the violence of the proceedings againſt them, unaccompanied by any of the uſual forms of juſtice. They repreſented to the commiſſaries that the moſt unfair methods had been employed to extort a confeſſion of the crimes laid to their charge; that they had been aſſured the abolition of their order had been reſolved on, and that it was to be ſolemnly confirmed by the pope, at the council of Vienne; they had been ſhewn letters-patent, with the king's ſeal annexed, by which they were offered their lives and their liberties, together with an annual penſion, if they would but make the confeſſion required of them; that ſuch as had reſiſted thoſe temptations, had been put to the torture; that it was a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the depoſitions of a few men, who, unable to withſtand pain, had confeſſed whatever their tormentors had required of them, ſhould receive more credit than the affirmations of thoſe generous warriors, who had ſupported the ſevereſt torments ſooner than advance a falſhood; that many of theſe unfortunate knights had expired in obſcure dungeons; that their brethren requeſted their gaolers and their executioners might be examined, to know in what ſentiments they had died, and whether it was not true, that in thoſe moments when man has nothing farther to hope or to fear, they had perſiſted in maintaining their own innocence, and the purity of their faith to the laſt; that it was not to be ſuppoſed any man of com-mon ſenſe would enter or remain in a ſociety which led to the deſtruction of his ſoul; that their order was compoſed of gentlemen of the firſt families in Europe; and it was

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not probable that ſo many men of illuſtrious birth would have been ſilent, had they known, ſeen, or heard, the abominations with which they had been charged. They concluded by appealing to the pope, from all the deciſions of the provincial ſynods.

As this proſecution, however, was not conducted according to the uſual forms of juſtice, the appeal was rejected, and matters went on as before; two hundred and twenty-one depoſitions were taken in different parts of the kingdom, between the month of Auguſt, 1309, and May, 1311; when the examinations were finiſhed, two copies of them were drawn up, one of which was forwarded to the pope, and the other depoſited in the treaſury of the cathedral at Paris.

A. D. 1313, 1314.] All the proceedings having been read in full council, the pope aſked the fathers, ſeparately, if they did not think it proper to ſuppreſs an order againſt which more than two thouſand witneſſes had been heard; an order which had been guilty of ſuch flagrant abuſes, and ſuch enormous crimes. All the prelates, and the moſt celebrated doctors, unanimouſly replied, that, previous to the abolition of ſuch an illuſtrious ſociety, which ſince its firſt inſtitution had rendered ſuch eſſential ſervice to religion, it would be neceſſary to hear what the grand-maſter, and principal officers, had to urge in its defence; this juſtice required, this humanity enforced [78]. All the biſhops of France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, and Ireland, were of the ſame opinion, except one Italian prelate, and the archbiſhops of Rheims, Sens, and Rouen: theſe four, againſt every principle of natural equity, pretended that the Templars had had ſufficient opportunities of defending themſelves before the commiſſaries appointed by the holy ſee; that there was nothing new to ſay, and that they had now a perfect knowledge of the whole affair. Though Clement himſelf inclined to this latter opinion, he was fearful of acting in direct oppoſition to the general ſentiments of the council; ſix months therefore were paſſed, not ſo much in deliberation, as in ſecret negociations on this important object; the purport of which intrigues was to perſuade the prelates that, in a cauſe which appeared ſo *clear*, the uſual forms of juſtice ſhould be overlooked. It is even affirmed [79], that the pope, enraged at the reſiſtance he experienced from all the members of the aſſembly, petulantly exclaimed, that the plenitude of his pontifical power ſhould ſupply any defect in form, and he was reſolved to condemn the Templars at any rate, *ſooner than offend his dear ſon, the king of France.* In fact, having aſſembled the cardinals, and ſeveral of the prelates whom he had brought over to his ſide, he pronounced, on the twenty-ſecond of March, 1312, in a *ſecret* conſiſtory, the fatal ſentence, which broke, ſuppreſſed, and annulled the military order of the Temple; a ſuppreſſion which he publiſhed in the ſecond ſeſſion of the council, April the third, in preſence of the king, the princes, (ſons to Philip), and the whole court of France. *Although,* ſaid he, *it could not be done according*

[78] Ex ſecundâ vitâ Clem. v. p. 43. [79] Hiſt. de Malthe, t. i. p. 530.

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to law, we ſuppreſs it proviſionally, and by apoſtolic authority, reſerving to ourſelves and to the church of Rome, the diſpoſal of the perſons and poſſeſſions of the Templars[80]. This proviſional ſentence was *definitive*; the order was finally proſcribed and aboliſhed; and the riches belonging to it were beſtowed on the Knights-hoſpitallers[81].

The fate of the grand maſter, and the principal officers, ſtill remained to be decided; the pope, who had reſerved to himſelf the right of pronouncing their ſentence, had reſolved only to condemn them to perpetual impriſonment; but, in order to convince the people that the numerous executions they had witneſſed were founded in juſtice, he wiſhed to extort from them a confeſſion of the crimes imputed to their order. Two cardinals were deputed to aſſiſt at the ceremony, and, on a ſcaffold erected before the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame at Paris, the four great officers of the order were brought into their preſence—theſe were James de Molay, grand maſter, who had ſtood godfather to one of the king's ſons; Guy, commander of Normandy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne; Hugh de Peralde, grand-viſitor of France; and the grand-prior of Aquitaine, who, previous to his impriſonment, had been miniſter of the finances. The confeſſions which they had before made of the abominations of their order, and the ſentence of perpetual impriſonment, were read to them; one of the legates then made a long harangue which he finiſhed by calling on the grand maſter to renew in publick the confeſſion which he had privately made before the pope; but he was greatly ſurprized, when this reſpectable perſonage, ſhaking the chains with which he was loaded, advanced to the front of the ſcaffold, with a ſteady countenance, and, raiſing his voice, pointing to the pile which the executioners were preparing in order to burn him ſhould he retract what had been extorted from him, thus addreſſed the ſurrounding multitude: "The horrid ſpec-"tacle now preſented to my ſight can never make me confirm my firſt deviation from "truth, by the utterance of a ſecond falſhood—I have belied my conſcience; it is time "that truth ſhould triumph in her turn—I ſwear, then, in the face of Heaven and "earth, that all which has been now ſaid of the crimes and impiety of the Templars is "a horrible calumny; it is a holy, juſt, and orthodox order; I deſerve to die for having, "*at the ſolicitation of the pope and the king*, dared to accuſe it. Why cannot I expiate this "crime by a puniſhment ſtill more dreadful than that of fire? It is the only means now "left me for obtaining the compaſſion of men and the mercy of God!"[82] Guy, brother to the dauphin, held nearly the ſame language; and ſolemnly aſſerted the innocence of their brethren. The other two were leſs courageous; they perſiſted in their former confeſſions, and were treated accordingly.

The embarraſſment into which the legates were thrown by this unexpected incident could only be equalled by their diſappointment. At a loſs how to proceed, they ad-

[80] Du Puy, p. 106. [81] Ibid. p. 184. [82] Villani, l. viii. c. 92. Pap. Maſs. in Phil. Pul. Paul. Emil. in eumd. Mariana, t. iii. l. 15. p. 332.

journed the buſineſs to the next day; and, making the unfortunate noblemen deſcend from the ſcaffold, they delivered them into the hands of the provoſt of Paris. The king, informed of their retractation, immediately aſſembled the lay-members of his council [83], and, in the evening of the ſame day, James de Molay, and Guy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, were conducted to a ſmall iſland on the Seine, ſituated between the king's garden and the convent of the Auguſtins, where they were conſumed by a ſlow fire. In the midſt of the flames they evinced the ſame firmneſs they had diſplayed in the morning, and renewed the proteſtations which they then made; with their laſt breath they aſſerted the innocence of their order, and acknowledged, with the utmoſt humility and contrition, that they had deſerved death, for having maintained the contrary in the preſence of the pope and the king [84]. The eyes of the people were now opened; terrified at the ſcene of *murder* before them, and aſtoniſhed at the reſolution of the victims, they lamented their cruel fate with tears, and did that juſtice to their memory which they had refuſed to their conduct.

Thus finiſhed that dreadful perſecution which reflects an eternal diſgrace on the memory of Philip, and brands with infamy the name of Clement—the firſt as the projector, the ſecond as the inſtrument, of a plan, which, for its iniquity, is ſcarcely to be exceeded in the annals of human depravity. The king is ſaid, by Velly, to have received only one third of the money and moveable effects belonging to the Templars, in order to defray the immenſe expence of the proſecution; but, as he neither tells us what was the amount of that property, nor of thoſe expences, we may ſafely admit the juſtice of his aſſertion, without, however, exempting Philip from the charge of rapaciouſneſs, which the whole tenor of his conduct moſt ſtrongly corroborates. That the pope had been influenced, in this affair, by motives of avarice has likewiſe been aſſerted; though it muſt be confeſſed that no proof has been adduced to eſtabliſh the accuſation [85]—but, whatever were their motives, the manner in which they conducted the proſecution is *alone* ſufficient to prove, that they were not ſwayed by any regard to juſtice. The crimes, too, imputed to the Templars, are, from their abſurdity and inconſiſtency, incredible; of all the numerous depoſitions taken in behalf of the proſecution, *one* only is preſerved in hiſtory—that of Ralph de Preſle, an advocate for the king's court (quoted by Du Puy); and this does not furniſh the ſhadow of a proof, ſince it merely relates to a converſation which the deponent had with one of the knights, who told him that there were ſo many ſtrange things paſſed at their meetings, that he would ſooner loſe his head than reveal them; and that, at their general chapter, there was one point, with regard to which ſuch ſecrecy was obſerved, that were any man, by chance, to become acquainted

[83] Spicil. t. iii. p. 67. [84] Pap. Maſs. l. iii. p. 393. [85] Voltaire indeed (t. xii. p. 268.) has gravely advanced, "that the frank and preciſe Du Puy ſays the pope did not forget himſelf, in the diviſion of the ſpoil;" but unfortunately for this faithleſs hiſtorian, no ſuch aſſertion is to be found in the author he quotes; nor, indeed, is it probable that Du Puy ſhould have made ſuch a remark, when it is well known that he wrote his account of this famous (or rather infamous) tranſaction, for the expreſs purpoſe of juſtifying Philip and Clement.

with

with it, the knights would certainly put him to death. The extorted confeſſions of the knights themſelves were, we have every reaſon to believe, the principal grounds of condemnation; and, by the ſevere puniſhments inflicted on ſuch as retracted, we may form ſome idea of the means which were employed to procure them. Had any farther proofs exiſted, it is fair to preſume, they would have been preſerved either in the Vatican, or in the royal library at Paris; we cannot, with Walſingham, Albert Krants, Zurita, Volaterran, Blondus, Belleforeſt, Du Puy, and Father Daniel, conceive theſe to have been ſufficient to juſtify the execution of the knights, and the abolition of the order; on the contrary, we fully ſubſcribe to the opinion of thoſe numerous writers, both ancient and modern, who conſider the Templars as objects of an unjuſt and unprincipled perſecution.—The *vindictive* Philip we regard as an inhuman tyrant; the *ſervile* Clement as a faithleſs miniſter of Chriſt.

A. D. 1313, 1314.] On the king's return from the council of Vienne, he conferred the honour of knighthood on his three ſons, on which occaſion there were great rejoicings at Paris, which laſted for ſeveral days; but the attention of Philip was ſpeedily called from ſcenes of joy to the diſmal theatre of war.—The count of Flanders having refuſed to appear in the king's court, his dominions were confiſcated, and declared to be annexed to the crown. An army was accordingly aſſembled to put this ſentence in execution; and the troops had advanced as far as Courtray, when the count offered to ſubmit to ſuch terms as Philip ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe. In conſequence of this propoſal, the nobles of either army had a meeting, and it was ſettled[86], that the Flemings ſhould pay the king the remainder of the ſum that had been fixed on at the laſt treaty of peace; that the count ſhould diſmantle all his fortreſſes, at ſuch time as the king ſhould appoint, beginning by Bruges and Ghent; that the expences of this demolition ſhould be defrayed by the Flemings, in the preſence of commiſſaries nominated by Philip; and that, till the final execution of theſe articles, Courtray, with all its forts, ſhould be ſurrendered to the French, together with the count's youngeſt ſon, Robert de Caſſel.—The Flemings, however, embraced the firſt opportunity of violating this ignominious treaty; they flew to arms, and expelled the French governor of Courtray; and, though Philip ſent a freſh army to reduce them to obedience, he was glad to accept the propoſals of the count of Flanders, to reſtore the hoſtages he had received, and to conclude a truce. By theſe indeciſive meaſures he exhauſted his treaſury, without extending his dominions.

The ſituation of his kingdom, indeed, was not ſuch as to juſtify any attempts at conqueſt; the people were loud in their complaints of the taxes which had been recently impoſed; a new debaſement of the coin had almoſt driven them to an open inſurrection;

[86] Spic. t. iii. p. 66.

in Champagne, Picardy, Artois, Forez, and Burgundy, confederacies had been formed, as well for reſiſting the exaction of impoſts hitherto unknown, as for effecting the reſtoration of certain privileges, of which the nobles pretended to have been unjuſtly deprived; in ſhort, there was every reaſon to apprehend a general revolt. Philip, to quiet the minds of the people, ſuppreſſed the taxes complained of, and endeavoured to throw all the odium on his miniſters, by inſinuating that they had impoſed and levied them without his orders.

The king's uneaſineſs at the diſpoſition of his ſubjects to reſiſt thoſe proceedings which they deemed tyrannical and oppreſſive, was greatly increaſed by a calamity of a more domeſtic nature. He had three ſons, Lewis Hutin, king of Navarre; Philip the Long, count of Poitiers; and Charles the Fair; they were all three married, and ſo ſingularly unfortunate had they been in the choice of their wives, that an accuſation of adultery was exhibited againſt each of them, about the ſame time. Margaret, queen of Navarre, daughter to Robert the Second, duke of Burgundy; and Blanche, the youngeſt daughter of Otho the Fourth, count palatine of Burgundy [87], wife to Charles, were convicted of the crime, and impriſoned in a caſtle at Andely, after undergoing the ignominious operation of having their hair cut off and their heads ſhaved, the puniſhment annexed by the law to the crime of adultery in females. The former was afterwards ſtrangled by order of her huſband; the latter, after remaining ſeven years in priſon, was removed to the caſtle of Gauroy, near Coutances, and from thence to the abbey of Maubuiſſon, where ſhe took the veil, and paſſed the remainder of her days. Suſpicions were equally ſtrong againſt Jane, counteſs of Poitiers, eldeſt ſiſter to Blanche, and heireſs of Burgundy; but after a ſtrict inveſtigation of the fact, the cauſe was tried by the parliament, in preſence of the count of Valois, the count of Evreux, and many other of the nobility, when the princeſs was acquitted—*Inculpabilis et omnino innoxia judicatur*. Her huſband was the firſt to acknowledge her innocence:—"thus was he more fortunate, or at leaſt more *prudent*," ſays Mezeray, "than his "brothers."

The objects of the princeſſes criminal attachment were two brothers—Philip and Gautier de Launai, gentlemen of Normandy, and officers of the houſhold to Lewis and Philip [88]. They were tried by an aſſembly, purpoſely convened by the king, at Pontoiſe; and the ſentence paſſed on them ſavoured not a little of the barbarity of the age. They were firſt flayed alive, then dragged through a ſtubble field, after which their private parts were cut off; and, laſtly, their heads were ſevered from their bodies. When dead, they were ſuſpended, with an uſher of the chamber, the confidant of their amours, on a public gibbet. Many perſons of both ſexes were involved in their

[87] Chron. envers de Godefroy de Paris; MSS. du Roi. N. 6812. [88] Spicil. t. iii. p. 68.

diſgrace,

disgrace, either as accomplices, or as being suspected of having observed a criminal silence. Some of these were drowned, and others privately smothered. A bishop, in particular, of the order of Saint Dominick, is said to have been privy to the intrigue, but historians differ as to the nature of his punishment. They agree, however, in blaming the king for making public an affair which a just regard for the honour of his family should have induced him to bury in oblivion.

These various sources of anxiety proved fatal to Philip's constitution; finding his strength decay, he repaired to Fontainbleau, in the hope that his native air would prove favourable to his health; but nature was too far advanced to admit of recovery. He, therefore, thought of making a final settlement for his children; his second son, Philip, had already received, as his appanage, the county of Poitiers; Charles, the youngest, he now invested with the county of Marche, but on condition that, in case he should die without male heirs, it should revert to the crown. This was the origin of a new order of jurisprudence; at the commencement of the third race of kings, appanages had been considered as fees-simple, they were then subjected to some restrictions, afterwards limited to the heirs of the person to whom they were granted, and now they were confined to the male heirs. The motive for these restrictions was to prevent them from passing, by marriage, into the hands of foreigners; a circumstance which endangered the tranquillity of the kingdom.

A. D. 1315.] On his death-bed, Philip cast a retrospective eye on the various transactions of his reign; and, at that moment when the voice of adulation had lost its wonted power, he found that his own gratifications had ever been consulted, in preference to the welfare of his people. Stricken with remorse, he sought to repair, as far as in him lay, the misery he had occasioned. To Lewis, his eldest son and successor, he gave the most salutary advice: he strictly enjoined him to suppress the new taxes, and revoked, himself, all the edicts by which they had been established; he conjured his children to relieve his subjects from the oppression under which they laboured; gave orders for reducing the current coin to its just value, and for repairing all the injuries he had committed. After he had made some other just and pious regulations, he expired, at Fontainbleau, on the twenty-ninth of November, in the year 1315, which was the thirtieth of his reign, and the forty-sixth of his age[39]. His body was conveyed to Saint Denis, and his heart to Poissy.

Philip is said, by contemporary writers, to have been the handsomest man of the age; but the beauties of his mind by no means corresponded to those of his person. Prodigal and ambitious, he sacrificed the happiness of his subjects to the gratification of his

[39] P. Anf. Hist. Gen. t. i. p. 52.

own deſtructive paſſions; cruel and vindictive, the objects of his hatred or revenge were expoſed to perſecution the moſt unprincipled and ſanguinary; his conduct to the Templars was alone ſufficient to ſtamp him a tyrant. But while, in recording his defects, we pay a tribute to juſtice, candour requires we ſhould notice his virtues as a huſband and a parent; and beſtow a juſt commendation on his patronage of the ſciences, and on the firmneſs and vigour he diſplayed in aſſerting the rights of his crown againſt the daring pretenſions of Boniface the Eighth.

Philip had by his queen, Jane of Navarre, four ſons and three daughters. Lewis, Philip, and Charles, who ſucceſſively attained to the regal dignity; and Robert, who was affianced to Conſtantia of Arragon, daughter of Frederic the Third, king of Sicily, but died in his twelfth year. His daughters were, Margaret, who was promiſed to Ferdinand the Fourth, but who died ere the marriage was celebrated; Iſabella, wife to Edward the Second, king of England; and Blanche, who was betrothed to Ferdinand, Infant of Caſtille, but died young.

Philip was attached to the ſtudy of the belles-lettres, and extended his patronage and protection to all who cultivated the ſciences. He founded the univerſity of Orleans; beſides which ſeveral colleges were founded during his reign: that of Navarre, by his queen; that of the cardinal le Moine, by a prelate of that name; and that of Montagu, by Gilles Aycelin de Montagu, archbiſhop of Narbonne.

Among the celebrated characters that flouriſhed during this reign, were William de Nangis, John de Meun, and William Duranti. The firſt of theſe, who was a monk of Saint Denis, finiſhed the life of Saint Lewis, which had been begun by one of his brethren, named Gillon de Rheims; he alſo compiled that of Philip the Hardy, and continued the hiſtory of Sigebert, the monk of Gemblours, from 1114 to 1300. John de Meun is famous for his continuation of the celebrated poem entitled "The Romance "of the Roſe", which was begun forty years before by William de Lorris; he was likewiſe author of a French tranſlation of the Epiſtles of Abelard, and of ſome other works of inferior note.

William Duranti, a native of Puimiſſon in the dioceſe of Beziers, one of the moſt learned lawyers of the age, was firſt law-profeſſor at Bologna and Modena, then chaplain and auditor of the holy palace, governor of the patrimony of Saint Peter, general of the eccleſiaſtical troops, legate to pope Gregory the Tenth at the council of Lyons, canon of Beauvais and Narbonne, dean of Chartres, and, laſtly, biſhop of Mende. He has left ſeveral curious works; his two principal publications are, *Speculum Juris*, by which he gained the appellation of *Speculator*; and *Rationale divinorum, Officiorum*.

The

The celebrated John Duns Scotus, ſo famous for his genius and learning, that England, Scotland, and Ireland have contended for the honour of his birth [90], was commanded by the general of his order (the Franciſcans) to remove from Oxford to Paris, in the year 1304, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which is generally believed to have been firſt maintained by him, though Velly aſſerts [91], that it had been taught by many of the Pariſian doctors before his time. Be that as it may, it was now impugned by the divines of Paris, who were ſucceſsfully oppoſed by Duns Scotus, before an aſſembly of the univerſity, called for the determination of that important queſtion. The adverſaries of the immaculate conception collected all their force on this occaſion, and produced no leſs, it is ſaid, than two hundred objections to that doctrine. "Scotus heard them with great compoſure; and in his "reply, he recapitulated all their objections, and refuted them with as much eaſe as "Sampſon broke the cords of the Philiſtines; after which he proved by many ſtrong "arguments, to the amazement and conviction of all who heard him, that the moſt "holy Virgin conceived without the ſtain of original ſin. The univerſity of Paris "beſtowed on him the title of the *Subtle Doctor*, as a reward for his victory in this "famous diſpute [92]." One of the aſſembly, who was a ſtranger to the perſon, but not to the fame, of Scotus, was ſo highly delighted, that he exclaimed—"This is either an "angel from Heaven, a devil from Hell, or John Duns Scotus [93]."

When Scotus had paſſed about four years at Paris, he was ſent by Gonſalvo, the general of the Franciſcan order, to Cologne, in the year 1308, to found an univerſity in that city, in imitation of that of Paris, and to defend his favourite doctrine of the immaculate conception againſt the diſciples of Albert the Great [94]. He experienced a moſt favourable reception at Cologne, but died, ſoon after his arrival, in November, 1308.

John Duns Scotus poſſeſſed a great fertility of invention, a very retentive memory, an acute and penetrating genius, and an unremitting application to ſtudy; but his talents, from the falſe taſte of the age, were unfortunately miſapplied to the ſubtilties of ſchool-philoſophy, and the abſurdities of ſcholaſtic theology. When the ſhortneſs of his life is conſidered, he was one of the moſt voluminous writers that ever lived. Many of his writings have been ſeveral times publiſhed; but the moſt complete edition of his works is that publiſhed by Waddingus, at Lyons, in 1639, in twelve volumes folio [95].

[90] Du Pin. Cent. xiv. p, 52. [91] Tom. vii. p. 500. [92] Bulœi Hiſt. Univ. Paris, t. iv. p. 70. [93] Hugo Cavillus in vitâ J. Duns Scoti. [94] Bulœi Hiſt. tom. iv. p. 70. [95] Du Pin. Cent. xiv.

A great

A great depravity of manners prevailed in the thirteenth century, particularly among the clergy; it appears, by the acts of the council of Virſbourg [96], which was holden in 1287, that the eccleſiaſtics wore gaudy dreſſes, frequented public-houſes, attended tournaments, and publicly kept miſtreſſes [97]. By another council aſſembled at Rouen, in 1299, we learn that vicars and curates appeared in public with ſhort coats and ſwords by their ſides; that they took women of ſuſpicious characters to their houſes; that they filled civil offices; lent money on uſurious intereſt, and were groſsly addicted to the pleaſures of the table, and every other ſpecies of debauchery. In the annals of the counts of Oldemberg, it is related, that in certain dioceſes, the *officials* granted licences, for a ſtipulated ſum, to commit adultery during a year; that, in other places, a perſon who had committed fornication was excuſed on paying a quart of wine—a tax which was exacted for the remainder of his life—once inſcribed on the regiſter, his tribute was perpetual, although he ceaſed to have the inclination, or ability, to commit that ſin, for which it ſerved as an abſolution.

The vices and irregularities of the clergy were amply detailed in two memorials, preſented by two French biſhops, to the council of Vienne, in 1312. Theſe may be ſeen in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of M. Fleury. After noticing the groſs ignorance and depravity of manners which pervaded the different orders of the clergy, they obſerved that the archdeacons, in their viſitations, either from want of knowledge, or abuſe of power, excommunicated people for the moſt trivial offences; one of the prelates aſſerted that he had known *ſeven hundred* perſons under a ſentence of excommunication in one pariſh. The canons were accuſed of behaving with the utmoſt indecency during the celebration of divine ſervice; the monks quitted their cloiſters to attend fairs and markets, where they carried on a regular trade, and gave themſelves up to the moſt ſhameful vices. The nuns wore ſilks, and rich furs; dreſſed their hair in the faſhionable ſtyle; went to balls, concerts, and all public places, and walked the ſtreets, even at night. Rome is repreſented as the ſeat of deſpotiſm, cupidity, and licentiouſneſs; where money alone could enſure preferment; whence it was that men, deſtitute of knowledge, and depraved in manners, obtained the beſt livings, and diſhonoured religion by the irregularity of their lives. Incontinence was ſo common, that brothels were eſtabliſhed cloſe to the churches, and even near the palace of the pope, the marſhal of whoſe court received a part of the wages of proſtitution. The ſovereign pontiff himſelf was accuſed of an intrigue with a lady of quality; and ſome hiſtorians [98] have made no ſcruple to aſcribe the removal of the holy ſee to France (which took place at this period) to the pope's attachment to the counteſs of Perigord, daughter to the count de Foix, a lady of exquiſite beauty, from whom he could not bear to part.

[96] Concil. tom. xi. p. 1319, 1332, 1426. [97] Rer. Gerin. Meibom. t. ii. p. 17, &c. [98] Villani, l. ix. c. 58. S. Anton. de Conc. Vien. tit. xxi. parag. 3.

During

During the reign of Philip the Fourth, in 1293, a ſumptuary law was paſſed, preſcribing the number of diſhes which a perſon was to have on his table at each meal; the number of dreſſes he was permitted to buy every year, and the price of the ſtuffs of which they were compoſed, with various other economical regulations. It enacted, that no perſon ſhould give more than two diſhes of meat, and a ſoup or ragout for ſupper, which was the principal meal[99]; and at dinner, one diſh of meat and an *entremets*. On faſt days (when he had only one meal) he was allowed to have two diſhes of herrings and two of meat, or one of herrings and three of meat—but never more than four diſhes on faſt-days, and three on others[100]. But, leſt this law might be evaded, it was farther enacted, that no diſh ſhould contain more than one kind of meat or fiſh—cheeſe, however, was not conſidered as meat, unleſs encloſed in a paſte, or boiled. The ſame economical regulations which the kings preſcribed to their ſubjects they obſerved themſelves; they never ſuffered more than three diſhes to appear at their tables; and never drank any wine but ſuch as came from their own vineyards, which were all ſituated in the Orleanois.

By another part of this law it was decreed, that no duke, count nor baron, poſſeſſing a territorial revenue of ſix thouſand livres, ſhould have more than four robes a year, and their wives as many; prelates and knights were reſtricted to two, except ſuch knights as had a landed eſtate of three thouſand livres a year, who were allowed to have three; an eſquire, two; a bachelor, one; and every woman, ſingle or married, who had leſs than two thouſand livres a year in land, one. It was uſual for noblemen to make preſents of their robes to their dependants; theſe alſo were limited; knights were forbidden to give more than two, and prelates more than one. The uſual dreſs of the men, in theſe times, were the long tunic, with a robe or a cloak, and ſometimes both, over it; the ſhort jacket, except in camp, was confined to ſervants. At one time the robes had no ſleeves; and when ſleeves were introduced, they were at firſt very tight, and afterwards very full and large. The cloak, particularly when trimmed with fur, was only worn by perſons of a certain rank. It was faſtened with a claſp on the right ſhoulder, ſo as to leave the right arm at full liberty: tucked up on the left ſide above the ſword, and hung looſe behind as low as the ground. The different claſſes of nobility were diſtinguiſhed by the breadth of the border of their cloaks, by the quality of the fur or ermine with which it was trimmed, the ſize of the cape, and length of the train. The cloak of a duke, count, baron, or knight, was made of ſcarlet or violet cloth; this laſt colour was generally uſed by the peers for their long court dreſs. Hats were not yet known; caps were worn of velvet, or of cloth; the firſt which were laced, were confined to kings, princes and knights. Over the cap a kind of hood was worn with a cuſhion at top, and a tail hanging down behind; this part of the head-

[99] Traité de la Police, l. iii. tit. 50. p. 386, 387.

[100] Cont. de Beauv. Obſerv. p. 371, 372. Mœurs des François, p. 157, 158. Lettr. Hiſt. ſur le Parl. 2. Part. p. 344, & ſuiv.

dreſs, which was called a *chaperon*, was common to both ſexes. The *chaperons* of people of diſtinction were larger than the others, and trimmed with fur; thoſe of the common people were plain, and formed like a ſugar-loaf.

With regard to the price of the different ſtuffs of which the robes were compoſed, it was decreed, that no prelate or baron ſhould wear a robe that coſt more than five-and-twenty ſous an ell; the wives of barons were allowed to exceed this price, by one fifth. The knight-banneret could not exceed eighteen ſous the ell; the baron's ſon fifteen; the eſquire, ten; the dignified clerk, or ſon of a count, ſixteen; the ſimple clerk, twelve and a half, and the canon of a cathedral, fifteen. Citizens who were worth two thouſand livres, were limited to twelve ſous ſix deniers the ell; their wives allowed to go as high as ſixteen; others, leſs opulent, were limited to ten ſous, and their wives to twelve.

By an account of the expences of the king's houſhold in 1202, it appears that the complete dreſs of a page coſt a *hundred and ſeven ſous*; that of a lady of the court, *eight livres*; of women of inferior rank, one third leſs; of female domeſtics *fifty-eight ſous*. The price of cloth for the ſhifts of women of the higheſt rank, was fixed at *one ſol, eight deniers* the ell; the ſcarlet robe, which Philip Auguſtus wore at the feſtival of Eaſter, coſt *ſixteen livres and a half*; his tunics, each *fifteen ſous*; and the queen's beſt robe and furred cloak, *twenty-ſeven livres, ſeventeen ſous*. Another account of the year 1217, ſtates that the robes of M. Lewis, the king's eldeſt ſon, and thoſe of the princeſs his wife, amounted to a *hundred and ſixteen livres, eleven ſous*—the richeſt which the prince had, in the month of September, coſt *nine livres, fifteen ſous*; there was one which coſt only *thirty-ſix ſous*.

In thoſe days, as in the preſent times, the citizen affected to ape his ſuperiors, and to mimic the manners of the courtier; like him he had his carriage, his flambeaus, his rich dreſſes, and brilliant trinkets. The new edict ſought to reſtrain theſe abuſes, and to make men live according to their reſpective ſituations in life; it was ordained that no citizen's wife ſhould have a carriage, or be lighted home at night with waxen torches; that neither ſhe nor her huſband ſhould wear ermine or any other expenſive furs, or gold, or precious ſtones, or *crowns of gold or ſilver*.

But no ſumptuary law could ſuffice to check the vanity of the times; the fines annexed to a violation of the edict proved inadequate to enforce its execution; and as ſoon as one article of luxury was forbidden, another was introduced in its place. During the reign of Philip, the long ſhoes, turned up at the toes, were introduced into France; they are ſaid to have been firſt worn by a nobleman, who had a large fleſhy excreſcence at the end of his foot, for the purpoſe of concealing that defect. They ſoon became general, and thenceforth a man's rank was known by the length of his ſhoes; the

ſhoes

ſhoes of a prince were two feet and a half in length; thoſe of a baron two feet, while a ſimple knight was reduced to eighteen inches, and a plain cit to twelve. Hence the French proverb—*Etre ſur un grand pied dans le monde.* The ſhoes were frequently adorned with horns, claws, or ſome groteſque figure; the more ridiculous it was, the greater its beauty. The biſhops long exclaimed in vain againſt this abſurd cuſtom, which the continuator of William de Nangis calls—"a ſin againſt nature," "an inſult "to the Creator;" and the wearing ſuch ſhoes was very near being declared *hereſy*[101]. Charles the Fifth, in order to pleaſe the clergy, declared the cuſtom to be "contrary to "good manners, invented in deriſion of God and the church, by worldly vanity, and mad preſumption[102];" to affect its abolition, all thoſe who followed it were ſentenced to pay a fine of ten florins. This regulation had the deſired effect; but the long ſhoes were ſucceeded by large ſlippers, above a foot wide[103].

An abſurd and moſt irrational credulity prevailed, in all the nations of Europe, during the thirteenth century, not only among the vulgar, but among perſons of the higheſt rank and beſt education. No prince engaged in any enterprize of importance till his aſtrologers had conſulted the ſtars, and diſcovered the auſpicious moment for carrying it into execution. Of this a very curious example is exhibited by Matthew Paris, in his account of the marriage of Frederic, emperor of Germany, with Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry the Third, of England, in the year 1235.—"Nocte vero primâ quâ concubuit "imperator cum eâ, noluit eam carnaliter cognoſcere, donec competens hora ab aſ-"trologis ei nunciaretur[104]."

[101] Spicil. tom. iii. p. 138. [102] Liv. Vert. ayc du Châtelet, fol. 148. [103] Paradin, Hiſt de Lyon, ch. v. [104] M. Paris, p. 285. ad Ann. 1235.

LEWIS THE TENTH,

SURNAMED HUTIN[1].

A. D. 1314.] ON the acceſſion of Lewis to the throne of his anceſtors, all Europe was convulſed by inteſtine commotions. Edward the Second, of England, a weak but well-diſpoſed prince, was haraſſed by his factious and turbulent barons, for entruſting to others the weighty cares of government which he was unable to bear himſelf. His kingdom was divided into parties; the ſtandard of revolt was hoiſted in every quarter; and juſtice and order gave way to violence and bloodſhed.

Germany, by the death of the emperor, Henry of Luxembourg, was equally convulſed by two contending factions[2]. The princes, on whom the appointment of a ſucceſſor devolved, were divided in their choice; and the want of a proper regulation to prevent diſorder, on the deceaſe of the ſovereign, occaſioned an interregnum of

[1] Why the appellation of 'Hutin' was beſtowed on this monarch has not been determined; the literal ſignification of this obſolete term is, 'imperious,' 'peeviſh,' or 'quarrelſome;' but there was nothing in the diſpoſition of Lewis the Tenth that could poſſibly juſtify the annexation of ſuch epithets to his name. Mezeray is of opinion, that he was called 'Hutin,' either from the circumſtance of his having been ſent by his father to quell the 'Hutins,' or inſurgents of Navarre and Lyons, or becauſe in his infancy he had given ſymptoms of a martial diſpoſition, by aſſembling the young noblemen of the court, whom he drew up in order of battle, and made them go through their exerciſe.

[2] Eſſai ſur l'Hiſt. Gen. t. xii. p. 278.

fourteen

fourteen months, which was terminated by a double election; the particulars whereof are variouſly related by hiſtorians. The moſt common opinion is, that five electors—the king of Bohemia, the archbiſhops of Mayence and Treves, the duke of Saxe, and the marquis of Brandebourg, elected Lewis of Bavaria, grandſon, by his mother's ſide, to the emperor Rodolphus the Firſt; and that the two others, the archbiſhop of Cologne, and the count Palatine, proclaimed Frederic the Handſome, ſon to the emperor Albert of Auſtria. They were both crowned; the firſt at Aix la Chapelle, by the archbiſhop of Mayence, and the laſt at Rouen, by the archbiſhop of Cologne. After their coronation, each of them prepared to aſſert his right by force of arms; which gave riſe to thoſe dreadful diſorders that deſolated Germany during eight years. At length a battle, that was fought in the vicinity of Muhldorff, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1322, in which the Auſtrian was defeated and taken priſoner, ſecured the crown to his competitor; and Frederic was glad to procure his liberty by reſigning his pretenſions to Lewis.

Rome was expoſed to the ſame diſorders, and from a ſimilar cauſe. The pontifical throne had been ſome time vacant, by the death of Clement the Fifth, and the cardinals, aſſembled at Carpentras, could not agree in the choice of a ſucceſſor. The Gaſcons, who formed a powerful party in the conclave, wiſhed for a pontiff of their own nation; but they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the French and Italians; and ſuch was the equality between theſe two factions, that neither could preponderate; thus there was no proſpect of putting an end to the conteſt. The Gaſcons, tired with the length of their confinement, engaged their ſervants to ſet fire to the conclave, by which the cardinals were compelled to ſeparate; they promiſed, indeed, to meet again as ſoon as a convenient place could be fixed upon; but as they firmly adhered to their reſpective opinions, they were in no haſte to fulfil their engagement. Lewis, ſoon after his acceſſion, ſent his brother, the count of Poitiers, to effect an accommodation between the different parties; and having aſſembled all the cardinals in a convent at Lyons, he declared that they ſhould not ſtir from thence, till they had given a head to the church.

The Caſtilians were engaged in a war with the Moors, whom, though they often defeated, they could never reduce [3]. Their kingdom, in the mean time, was infeſted with formidable troops of banditti, who plundered travellers, pillaged the country, and committed a thouſand acts of violence and outrage, which no care was taken to repreſs. The throne was filled by an infant monarch, and the princes of the blood, wholly occupied by projects of ambition, violated all laws, human and divine, in order to obtain the regency.

3. Mariana, t. iii. l. 15. p. 342, &c.

Such

Such was the ſituation of the neighbouring powers, when Lewis aſcended the throne; nor was his own kingdom in a ſtate of greater tranquillity[4]. Moſt of the provinces had either actually revolted, or were ready to revolt; in that of Sens, a conſpiracy, of a very ſingular nature had been formed. Many of the inhabitants, oppreſſed by the ſhameful extortions, and enraged at the uncontrouled inſolence of the officers of the archbiſhop's court, elected a king, a pope, and cardinals of their own; and prepared to retaliate on their enemies by the commiſſion of ſimilar outrages. They pronounced ſentences of excommunication, gave abſolution, adminiſtered the ſacraments, or elſe compelled the prieſts to adminiſter them, by threatening them with death. They proceeded ſo far that Lewis was obliged to interpoſe his authority, and to put a ſtop to the diſorders, by conſigning the principal authors of them to condign puniſhment. But a league between the people of Vermandois, Beauvaiſis, Champagne, Burgundy, and Forez, which had been formed during the preceding reign, and lately renewed, gave him more ſerious apprehenſions. He ſent his uncle, the count of Valois, to hear the complaints of the inſurgents, and to do them juſtice. Charles, after many negociations, had at length the good fortune to ſucceed in quelling this dangerous revolt. He ſatisfied the nobles, by the re-eſtabliſhment of all the prerogatives which they had enjoyed under the reign of Saint Lewis, and he appeaſed the people by repealing the taxes which occaſioned their diſcontent, and by ſacrificing to their reſentment the life and honour of Enguerrand de Marigny, whom they had long been taught to regard as the author of their miſery.

Enguerrand was deſcended from an ancient and noble family in Normandy; the name of which was originally Le Portier, but his grandfather Hugh, lord of Roſey and Lions, having married the heireſs of the count of Marigny, gave her name to his children. The moment young Marigny made his appearance at court, he was univerſally admired for the graces of his perſon, the elegance of his wit, and the ſtrength of his talents. The late king, finding him poſſeſſed of much political knowledge, appointed him a member of his council, gave him the poſt of chamberlain, created him count of Longueville, made him governor of the Louvre, maſter of the houſhold, ſuperintendant of the finances, and prime miniſter[5]. This accumulation of favours naturally excited the envy of the great, whoſe enmity encreaſed in proportion to his merit. The imprudence of Philip, in the multiplication of impoſts, rendered his miniſter an object of public indignation. But of all his enemies, the count of Valois was the moſt violent and implacable; during the life of his brother, however, he was under the neceſſity of confining his animoſity to his own boſom. A change of government, attended by a general inſurrection, appeared to him a proper ſeaſon for revenge; he

4 Spicil. t. iii. p. 70. 5 Hiſt. des Miniſ. d'Etat, p. 504.

therefore

therefore laid his plan of perſecution, and veiled it under the ſpecious maſk of public good.

Notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums which had been levied during the late reign, on the king's deceaſe the treaſury was ſo far exhauſted, that there was not ſufficient money to defray the expence of a coronation[6]. "Where then," ſaid Lewis one day in full council, "are the tenths which were levied on the clergy? What has become of the "numerous ſubſidies exacted from the people? Where are the riches that muſt have "been derived from the debaſement of the coin?" "Sire," ſaid the count of Valois, "Marigny was entruſted with all this money, it is his place to give an account of it." Enguerrand proteſted that he was ready ſo to do, whenever he ſhould receive the king's orders for that purpoſe. "Let it be done, then, immediately," exclaimed the count.—"With all my heart," replied the miniſter; "I gave you, Sir, a great part of it; the "reſt was employed in defraying the expences of the ſtate, and in carrying on the war "againſt the Flemings." "*You lye!*" ſaid Charles, in a rage.—"It is yourſelf, who are "the liar, Sir," returned the miniſter, with more ſpirit than prudence. The count immediately drew his ſword; Marigny put himſelf in a poſture of defence, and the conſequences muſt have been ſerious but for the interference of the council, who haſtened to ſeparate them. The prince no longer placed any bounds to his reſentment; all his credit was exerted for the infliction of vengeance; and his friends the count of Saint Paul, and the vidame of Amiens, were, in the mean time, ordered to intimate to the young monarch, that the ſuperintendant of his finances was the only victim capable of aſſuaging the rage of the people.

Some days after this incident, Marigny, relying too much on his own innocence, attended the council as uſual; but he was arreſted as he entered the king's apartment, and conveyed to the priſon of the Louvre, of which he was governor; from thence, at the interceſſion of the count of Valois, he was tranſferred to the temple, and thrown into a dungeon[7]. Ralph de Prêles, a celebrated advocate, the intimate friend of Marigny, was alſo arreſted, through fear that he might furniſh the miniſter with ſuch means of defence as might baffle all the efforts of his adverſaries. Some pretext, however, was neceſſary to cover the iniquity of this proceeding; he was therefore accuſed of having conſpired againſt the life of the late king; and, by an inſtance of unparalleled injuſtice, his effects were immediately confiſcated, and were not reſtored even after his innocence had been eſtabliſhed. The king, indeed, on his death-bed felt a remorſe of conſcience, and did all that he could to repair this injury. In his laſt will he ordered all the lands and effects belonging to Ralph de Prêles to be reſtored, whether they

[6] Le Blanc Traité des Mon. p. 196. [7] Spicil. t. iii. p. 70. Mezeray, t. ii. p. 302. Edit. in 4to.

were

were in poſſeſſion of the crown or of individuals [8]. But it is not known whether his orders were executed.

Many other perſons were involved in the diſgrace of Marigny, particularly all ſuch as had been any wiſe concerned with him in the adminiſtration of the finances. Theſe were committed to different priſons; ſome put to the torture, for the purpoſe of extorting from them ſomething that might tend to criminate the miniſter; but, either from gratitude to their benefactor, or from reſpect for truth, they bore the pain with fortitude, and made no confeſſion. The count of Valois was highly diſappointed; nor did he ſucceed better in a proclamation he iſſued, inviting all perſons, whether rich or poor, who had any complaints to make againſt the ſuperintendant of the finances, to appear in the king's court, where they might depend upon having juſtice done them.—Not a ſoul appeared; not a ſingle complaint was preferred [9].

The proſecution, however, was carried on, and when every thing was prepared, Marigny was conducted to the wood of Vincennes, to hear the charges exhibited againſt him, before an aſſembly at which the king preſided in perſon, aſſiſted by a great number of nobles and prelates. The accuſations were numerous; but the moſt ſerious were theſe—That he had debaſed the coin; burthened the people with taxes; artfully perſuaded the late king to make him preſents to an immenſe amount; ſtolen conſiderable ſums, that had been deſtined for the uſe of Edmond de Goth, a relation of the pope's; iſſued various orders unauthorized by the command of his ſovereign; and maintained a traiterous correſpondence with the Flemings.

Such of theſe charges as were founded on facts had been acts of the king, and not of the miniſter; the reſt were wholly unſupported by proof;—nor indeed did the count of Valois attempt to bring any proof; ſo little regard did he pay, even to the forms of juſtice, that he refuſed to hear what the party accuſed had to urge in his own defence. Marigny's brothers however, the biſhop of Beauvais, and the archbiſhop of Sens, uſed all their credit with the king, to obtain for him a permiſſion, that had never been denied to the moſt atrocious culprits—that of anſwering juridically to the various charges that had been brought againſt him. The king, conſcious that what he deſired was juſt, readily complied with it; he went ſtill farther; enraged at finding nothing was produced againſt the miniſter but vague aſſertions, unſupported by proof, he expreſſed his determination to do him juſtice by immediately releaſing him from confinement; but he was prevented, by the interference of his uncle, from executing this laudable reſolution: Charles had proceeded too far to retract, and his influence over the mind of his nephew was ſuch, that he perſuaded him to let the matter reſt for ſome days, when he did not doubt of being able to convince him more fully of his miniſter's guilt.

[8] Hiſt des Min. d'Etat, p. 580. [9] Ibid. p. 567.

He

He then proceeded to ſuborn ſome witneſſes, who depoſed that Alips de Mons, wife to Marigny, and the lady of Canteleu, his ſiſter, had had recourſe to witchcraft in order to ſave him, and that they had made the images of the king, the count of Valois, and ſome of the barons in wax [10]. In theſe days of ignorance and ſuperſtition, it was believed that any operations performed on ſuch images would affect the perſons they repreſented; and in the ancient chronicle of Saint Denis, it is gravely aſſerted, that ſo long as theſe had laſted, the ſaid king, count, and barons, would have daily waſted away, till they had died. Abſurd as this may appear, the two ladies were ſeized and confined in the priſon of the Louvre, and the magician, James de Lor, who had aſſiſted them in their magic incantations, was committed to the Châtelet, with his wife, who was afterwards burned, and his ſervant, who expired on a gibbet. A report was preſently propagated that De Lor had hanged himſelf in priſon; it is probable he had been privately ſtrangled. Be that as it may, his death was received as a proof of his guilt. Lewis was young, ſimple, and inexperienced; the waxen images were ſhewn to him; the ſelf-inflicted puniſhment of the magician was enforced; his credulity proved ſtronger than his judgment; he withdrew his protection from Marigny, and conſigned him to the care and diſpoſal of his implacable foe.

The count of Valois, having now attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, aſſembled a few barons and knights, at the wood of Vincennes, ordered the accuſations to be read to them, and ſpared no pains to convince them of their truth—without hearing any evidence, without admitting the priſoner to ſpeak in his defence, he was declared guilty of all the crimes that were laid to his charge, and, notwithſtanding his rank, was ſentenced to be hanged. This iniquitous ſentence was executed on the thirtieth of April, 1315, at break of day, (the time at which all executions were then performed) and his body was afterwards ſuſpended on a gibbet at Montfaucon.

Charles was diſappointed in his expectations of applauſe; nothing is more common in the minds of the people than ſudden tranſitions from rage to compaſſion; highly irritable, their reſentment is eaſily roufed; but deſtroy its object, it inſtantly ſubſides, and they are the firſt to accuſe themſelves of injuſtice. This was preciſely the caſe with regard to Marigny; they had been dazzled by his ſplendour, and had been eager to promote his downfall; when that was effected, they were moved by his misfortunes, and began to enquire into the juſtice of his condemnation. What to reſentment had ſeemed clear, to compaſſion appeared myſterious; the irregularity of the proceedings now ſtruck them in a forcible point of view, and they loudly condemned thoſe meaſures which before they had, as loudly, commended. The count of Valois himſelf, on his death-bed, acknowledged the injuſtice of his own conduct, and the innocence of Ma-

[10] Hiſt. des Min. d'Etat, p. 576, 577.

nigny, whoſe family was, at a ſubſequent period, reinſtated in all the honours and poſſeſſions of which he had been unjuſtly deprived.

A. D. 1316.] A great famine prevailed at this time, occaſioned by the heavy rains which, falling inceſſantly for four months [11], rotted the corn upon the ground, and deſtroyed the vines. Proviſions of all kinds were ſo dear that the poor, unable to purchaſe them, died with hunger in the ſtreets. The evil was encreaſed by the avarice of the bakers, who mixed all kinds of filth with their bread, in order to render it more weighty. Being detected by the vigilance of a citizen of Paris, named Roger Bon-Tems, they were expoſed upon wheels, to the inſults of the populace, and then baniſhed the kingdom. The nation was at length relieved from this dreadful ſituation, by the ſupplies it received from Gaſcony, where commerce was in a more flouriſhing ſtate than in any other part of France.

Lewis having reſolved to reduce the Flemings to ſubjection, but being afraid of riſking a civil war by the exaction of new impoſts, iſſued an edict, by which he declared that, as king of the Franks, he wiſhed to have none but free men in his dominions; and that he would, therefore, emancipate from ſlavery all ſuch of his ſubjects as would pay him a certain ſum [12]. As all the inhabitants of the country were in a ſtate of feudal ſervitude—the nature of which we have before had occaſion to explain—it was expected that the contribution would be conſiderable. The greater part of the *ſerfs*, however, preferring money to liberty, he determined to force them to accept his proffered kindneſs. For this purpoſe he iſſued orders to his officers [13] to exact from them ſuch ſums as their ſituation and fortune would admit of. But even this was found inſufficient; recourſe, therefore, was had to another expedient. The Jews were permitted to return to France, on condition of paying a very heavy tax, and to remain there for twelve years, during which they were at liberty to enter into trade, or to live by the labour of their hands; they were allowed, alſo, to ſue for their old debts, two thirds of which the king claimed for himſelf; to purchaſe their ſynagogues, their burying-places, and their books, except the Thalmud. But the joy which this perſecuted people experienced on receiving a favour which they had ſo long ſolicited in vain, was conſiderably damped by the hard conditions annexed to the acceptance of it. They were obliged to wear, as formerly, a particular mark; they were prohibited from lending money on uſurious intereſt, or written obligations; or, in ſhort, on any thing but pledges; and they were forbidden to diſpute on matters of faith, either in public or private.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when Clemence, daughter to the king of Hungary, who had been betrothed to Lewis, arrived in France. The king gave her the meeting

[11] Spicil. tom. iii. p. 70, 71. Godefroi de Paris, MSS. du Roi, N. 6812. fol. 88. col. 1. [12] Ordon. des Rois de France; t. i. p. 583. [13] Spicil. t. iii. p. 707.

at

at Saint-Liè, near Troyes in Champagne, where the marriage was celebrated; and, in a few days after (on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt) they were both crowned at Rheims. Lewis then placed himſelf at the head of the army which he had aſſembled for the reduction of Flanders; an army more numerous, and better equipped, than any which France had ſeen for ſome time; but the inclemency of the ſeaſon marred all its operations. On the approach of the French, the Flemings, who were employed in the ſiege of Marquette, retired in diſorder, and fled to Courtray, where they were inveſted by Lewis. But the heavy rains which fell, without intermiſſion, for a great length of time, prevented the beſiegers from proceeding with their works. The whole army, officers as well as men, were up to their knees in mud; to add to their diſtreſs, a dearth of proviſions ſoon prevailed in the camp; the roads being ſo deep that thirty horſes were ſcarcely ſufficient to draw a ton of wine. The king, therefore, was reduced to the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, and of abandoning his tents, and ſetting fire to his baggage, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. Enraged at having inconſiderately embarked in this enterprize, againſt the advice of his council, he ſwore, that if he lived till the enſuing ſummer, he would not grant a peace to the Flemings, until he had reduced them to unconditional ſubmiſſion; but Robert de Bethune, count of Flanders, was involved in the ſame diſtreſs with the king; his troops were expoſed to the ſame inconvenience as the French, and the ravages of famine excited them to murmur, and urged them to ſubmit. Unable to quiet their diſcontents, by removing the difficulties that gave riſe to them, the count was compelled to have recourſe to the clemency of Lewis. Having attended a parliament which that prince had aſſembled at Pontoiſe, he there ſued for mercy, and by promiſing to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the king ſhould impoſe, obtained it. But no ſooner had he reſtored plenty to his dominions, by the aſſiſtance of the French, than he broke through his engagements, and again hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt.

On his return from this unfortunate expedition, Lewis received a variety of complaints from all parts of the kingdom, againſt his officers, who took every opportunity of oppreſſing the people[14]. He ſent commiſſioners into the provinces to inveſtigate the nature of the abuſes complained of, and to inflict an exemplary puniſhment on thoſe who had committed them. But two only of the pooreſt were hanged—Jeannot le Portier, and Renaut le Grollier; thoſe who were moſt guilty had the beſt means of bribing their judges, and therefore eſcaped the ſeverity of the law.

While the king was thus employed in repreſſing the diſorders which prevailed in his dominions, and in revolving new preparations for his projected attack upon Flanders, he was ſeized with a diſorder that put an end to his life. It is affirmed by ſome[15],

[14] Chron. MSS. de Godefroi de Paris. [15] Id. ib.

that having heated himſelf extremely in playing at tenis, at the wood of Vincennes, he retired to a grotto, the cold air of which, by chilling his blood, proved fatal to him. Others pretend that he was poiſoned, but as they neither mention the author of the crime, nor aſſign any motive for it, their teſtimony muſt be rejected. Lewis was of a liberal and generous diſpoſition, but wanted prudence and firmneſs; his concern for the welfare of his ſubjects was evinced by the repeal of thoſe oppreſſive taxes, which had been impoſed during the preceding reign; his intentions, indeed, were generally good, but he had not always ſufficient reſolution to put them in execution. Had his life been lengthened, he might probably have corrected his errors, and proved a good king. He only reigned a year and a half, and was interred, with regal pomp, at Saint Denis. In his will, he ordered all his debts to be paid, and all the poſſeſſions he had uſurped to be reſtored. He alſo bequeathed a ſufficient ſum for the maintenance of a hundred ſcholars during ten years; four thouſand livres as a marriage portion for young ladies who had no fortunes; fifty thouſand for the recovery of the Holy Land; and ten thouſand to the children of Marigny, *as ſome conſolation for the misfortune they had ſuſtained.*

Three regulations adopted during the reign of Lewis evince his attention to the public weal. Firſt, he iſſued an edict [16] for enforcing a conſtitution of the emperor Frederic, by which, among other prohibitions, it was forbidden, under any pretext whatever, to interrupt the farmers in their work, to ſeize their goods, their perſons, their implements of huſbandry, or their oxen. Secondly, he iſſued the moſt poſitive orders, for enſuring the liberties of the church, the prerogatives of the nobility, and the happineſs of the people. Thirdly, he enacted ſeveral laws for remedying the abuſes which prevailed with regard to the coin, which proved of great detriment to the kingdom. He would fain have aboliſhed the privilege enjoyed by ſeveral nobles and prelates to coin money, but the oppoſition was ſo violent, that he was compelled to give up his intentions, and to content himſelf with preſcribing the form and impreſſion of each coin.

[16] Ordon. des Rois, t. i. p. 610, 612.

INTERREGNUM.

INTERREGNUM.

A. D. 1316.] LEWIS the Tenth left no male child. By his firſt wife, Margaret, he had only one daughter, named Jane, who was afterward queen of Navarre; on his death-bed he ſent for her, and, notwithſtanding the licentiouſneſs of her mother, acknowledged her for his child[1]. His ſecond wife, Clemence, was pregnant when he died; and as it was uncertain whether ſhe would bring forth a prince or a princeſs, the throne was left vacant, and the regency deſtined for the count of Poitiers. That prince, who was at Lyons haſtening the election of a pope, repaired to Paris with the utmoſt expedition, in order to take upon him the adminiſtration of affairs. But before he ſet out he ſhut up the cardinals, and left them under the care of the count de Forez. On his arrival in the capital, he convened an aſſembly of the ſtates; a precaution which he deemed neceſſary; for though, by the cuſtom of the realm, the crown was limited to the male heirs, yet, as from the time of Hugh Capet, no inſtance had occurred in which it was neceſſary to proceed to a formal excluſion of the females, the friends and relations of the young princeſs might poſſibly, he thought, form intrigues in her favour, and perhaps ſeduce the people to follow the example of the great fiefs, moſt of which devolved to the females. To obviate theſe difficulties, and the machinations of his ſecret enemies, he wiſhed to have his right to the regency confirmed by law. The Twelve Peers accordingly waited on him at the palace, and holding a parliament, decreed, that if the queen ſhould bring forth a ſon, Philip ſhould enjoy the regency, and the guardianſhip of the young prince, till he ſhould have attained the age of eighteen; or, according to ſome, four-and-twenty; that he ſhould have the

[1] God. de Paris, MSS. du Roi, N. 68.

diſpoſal

diſpoſal of the national revenue; be preſident of all the councils; have the right of making peace or war; that, far from diminiſhing the queen's dower, which had been fixed at twenty thouſand livres, he ſhould add four thouſand to it, to be taken out of the exchequer of Rouen; and laſtly, that, if Clemence ſhould have a girl, he ſhould be declared king. It was farther decreed, that he ſhould have a particular ſeal, on which this inſcription ſhould be engraved:—"Philip, ſon to the king of the French, "governing the kingdoms of France and Navarre [2]." All the barons then ſwore fealty to him, acknowledged him for *Guardian of the State*, and did homage to him as ſuch.

The utmoſt exertions of the regent to maintain the tranquillity of the kingdom, proved inadequate to prevent the renewal of a diſpute, which had been formerly decided by the king his father [3], and which was not finally ſettled till long after the preſent period. The author of theſe diſturbances may be regarded as the principal inſtigator of the war which afterwards broke out between France and England, and raged with unexampled violence, for a hundred and twenty years. The importance of this point of hiſtory renders it neceſſary to trace it to its ſource. The county of Artois had paſſed into the royal family of France, by the marriage of Philip Auguſtus with Iſabella of Hainault, who received it as a dowry from her uncle Philip, count of Flanders. Lewis the eighth, ſon to Iſabella, enjoyed it as *an hereditary eſtate*. On his acceſſion to the throne he annexed it to the crown; and he afterwards aſſigned it as a dowry to his queen Blanche. At length it was given by Saint Lewis, as an appanage, to his brother Robert, who was killed at Maſſoura. Robert the ſecond, heir to that prince, had two children by Amicia de Courtenai—Philip who married Blanche of Brittany; and Maude or Matilda, wife to Otho the fourth, count of Burgundy. Philip died, four years before his father, of the wounds he had received at the battle of Furnes, leaving one ſon, Robert the Third, and four daughters, Margaret, Jane, Mary and Iſabella. His ſiſter Maude, authorized by the cuſtom of the country, claimed, on the death of her father, the greateſt part of the ſucceſſion, as being his neareſt heir. Philip the Fair acknowledged the validity of her claim, and put her in poſſeſſion of the county of Artois, with a reſervation, however, in favour of any rights to which her nephew and nieces, the children of Robert the Second, might pretend. Robert the Third when he came of age, preferred his claim, and demanded the reſtitution of the county. After much altercation, both parties conſented to leave their reſpective pretenſions to the arbitration of Philip the Fair; and engaged to pay a fine of one hundred thouſand livres in caſe they refuſed to abide by his deciſion. The ſentence was again favourable to Maude, but the king decreed, that ſhe ſhould pay her nephew, as well for his own claims, as for thoſe of his ſiſters, and of his mother, Blanche of Brittany, a penſion of

[2] Spicil. t. 3. p. 71. [3] Ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. 8. p. 670. tom. 10. p. 572.

four

four thouſand livres, chargeable on the lands of Charny, Chateau-Regnard, and other eſtates then ſpecified; that ſhe ſhould, moreover, pay Robert, for his own uſe, an annuity of one thouſand livres, alſo chargeable on eſtates: and the net ſum of twenty-four thouſand livres, payable in four years. Robert confirmed this deciſion; and during the reigns of Philip the Fair, and his ſon Lewis Hutin, it does not appear that he made any attempt to diſturb the counteſs Maude in the poſſeſſion of Artois; but the period of an interregnum appeared to him favourable for the execution of his deſigns.

The nobility of Artois and the Cambreſis, as well as thoſe on the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, diſcontented with the government of Maude, who was wholly ſwayed by the advice of Thierri d'Inechon, or de Heriſſon, then provoſt of Aire, but afterward biſhop of Arras, had entered into a confederacy for remedying the abuſes introduced into the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the collection of the revenue. Lewis Hutin, aware of the conſequences of theſe commotions, endeavoured to quell them, by ordering the counteſs to enforce the obſervance of thoſe laws and cuſtoms which had prevailed in Artois, in the time of Saint Lewis. This regulation reſtored tranquillity; but Maude was not punctual in enforcing it; and the death of her ſon, together with that of the king, once more induced the inſurgents to have recourſe to arms. Robert of Artois, eagerly embraced the opportunity of again advancing his own claims, and, placing himſelf at the head of the conſpirators, proceeded to make himſelf maſter of the county. Hedin, Avennes, and Arras opened their gates to receive him; and Saint Omer, after ſome reſiſtance, was compelled to ſurrender. The regent, enraged at this daring attack on the royal authority, ſummoned the prince to appear in his court, to anſwer for his conduct; and as Robert refuſed to obey the citation, he reſolved to march againſt him.

With this view Philip aſſembled his troops, and in the beginning of November, advanced towards Artois; but when he had proceeded as far as Amiens, the inſurgents, being intimidated at the magnitude of his force, haſtened to meet him with offers of ſubmiſſion. The regent conſented to pardon them, on condition that they ſhould reſtore all that they had taken from the counteſs, and make proper conceſſions for their miſconduct. With regard to the ſucceſſion, it was ſettled that the pretenſions of Robert ſhould be ſubmitted to arbitration; that if the appointed umpires could not agree in their deciſion, the matter ſhould then be referred to the peers and principal nobles of the realm, who were the proper and natural judges of ſuch an affair; that, in the mean time, every thing ſhould be put on the ſame footing as on the death of Robert's grandfather; that the county ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of the counts of Valois and Evreux, who ſhould receive the revenue; and laſtly, that Robert himſelf ſhould be kept priſoner till the buſineſs was formally ſettled. The regent then returned to Paris, where the count ſurrendered himſelf, and was detained in priſon near two years.

This

This diſpute being deemed an object of importance, it was reſolved to inveſtigate the pretenſions of the different claimants with the utmoſt care and impartiality. Every neceſſary formality was obſerved, and every delay, required by either party, accorded; and after the moſt ſolemn deliberation a ſentence was pronounced (in the month of May, 1318,) by which it was determined—that the county of Artois, with all its dependencies, ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of Maude, her heirs and ſucceſſors for ever; that ſhe ſhould conſign to oblivion the paſt miſconduct of her nephew; that, in future a good correſpondence ſhould ſubſiſt between them, both parties engaging to refer any difference that might occur to the deciſion of the king; and that Robert, for the better enſurance of tranquillity, ſhould promiſe to get his preſent engagements ratified by his uncle, the count of Richemont, and his brother-in-law, the count of Namur. Both parties expreſſed their ſubmiſſion to this ſentence, and bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to abide by it. Robert immediately ſigned letters of ratification, which were confirmed, not only by the counts of Richemont and Namur, but alſo by the princes of the blood—Charles of France, Count of La Marche; Charles, count of Valois; Lewis, count of Evreux; Lewis, count of Clermont; Philip of Valois, count of Mans; and his brother Charles; all of whom bound themſelves to ſee this deciſion duly enforced, and even to take up arms againſt ſuch as ſhould preſume to attack it. Thus was finiſhed, for the ſecond time, the famous conteſt for the county of Artois. To conſole Robert for his diſappointment, the princeſs Jane, youngeſt daughter to the count of Valois was given him in marriage; he had already received from Philip the Fair the county of Beaumont-le-Roger, on which the privilege of beſtowing the dignity of a peer was afterwards conferred; but nothing could make him forget a ſucceſſion to which his ambition led him to aſpire, in violation of the law of the country. Under the reign of Philip of Valois, this diſpute was revived, and was attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences to the kingdom.

JOHN

JOHN THE FIRST.

A. D. 1316.] On the return of Philip from his expedition to Artois, Clemence gave birth to a prince who was named John. But the grief ſhe had experienced on the death of her huſband gave riſe to a diſorder which proved fatal to the infant monarch, who lived but five days[1]. He was conveyed from the Louvre, where he was born, to the Abbey of St. Denis, where he was interred at the feet of his father. The princes of the blood attended the funeral proceſſion of John, who had been formally proclaimed king of France and Navarre; a title by which he is diſtinguiſhed in all the ancient records, which are ſtill extinct in *the treaſury of the charters*. The regent now became heir to the throne; and for the firſt time, ſince the acceſſion of Hugh Capet, the crown paſſed from the direct line of ſucceſſion,

[1] Spicil. t. 3. p. 72.

PHILIP THE FIFTH,

SURNAMED THE LONG.

A. D. 1316.] ALTHOUGH Philip was the undoubted heir to the throne, he nevertheleſs met with ſome obſtacles to his acceſſion. Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy, and his mother, Agnes of France, daughter to Saint Lewis, inſiſted that before Philip was proclaimed king, the pretenſions of Jane, daughter to Lewis Hutin, ſhould undergo an examination; and they were openly ſeconded, in this propoſal, by ſeveral of the nobility, and ſecretly, it is pretended, by the count of Valois[1]. Even the count of La Marche, brother to the new monarch, withdrew from Rheims the very morning appointed for the coronation. That the princes of the blood, who were intereſted in rejecting the demands of the confederates, ſince it eventually affected their own right to the ſucceſſion, ſhould by their conduct give encouragement to their ſchemes, is a matter of aſtoniſhment—their perſonal enmity to the regent muſt have overcome their concern for their own intereſt; though we are not told, by contemporary writers, whence that enmity aroſe.

A. D. 1317.] Thus a ſerious oppoſition aroſe on all ſides; and the peers, particularly the biſhops, received a formal notice not to proceed with the coronation[2], till the pretended rights of the princeſs Jane had been duly diſcuſſed.—This notice, however, was diſregarded; and on the Sunday after the Epiphany,

[1] Spicil. t. iii. p. 72. [2] Ibid.

Philip

Philip and his queen were crowned at Rheims by Robert de Courtenay, archbiſhop of that dioceſe, in preſence of Charles, count of Valois, and Lewis, count of Evreux. But the apprehenſions excited by the retreat of the count of la Marche, and the proteſt of the court of Burgundy, induced the king to order the doors of the church to be kept ſhut during the ceremony, and the guard to be doubled.

No ſooner had the young monarch, who had juſt entered his twenty-fourth year, returned to Paris, than he convened an aſſembly of the prelates, nobles, and citizens of the capital, who all ſwore to yield him obedience as their lawful ſovereign, and after him, to obey his ſon, Lewis, who died, in a few days, at the age of ſeven months. At this aſſembly an expreſs law was made for excluding females from the throne[3]. It was, indeed, only declaratory of that which had been in force from the commencement of the monarchy, though no occaſion for calling it into action had ever occurred, ſince all the ſovereigns, from Hugh Capet to the preſent time, that is, for the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years, had ſucceeded to the throne, from father to ſon.

Philip's next care was to quell the diſcontents which prevailed in different parts of the kingdom, by the alternate exertion of force and addreſs. While his armies were calculated to operate on the fears of the inſurgents, his offers were ſucceſsfully applied to the paſſions of their leaders. It had been already agreed, by a treaty concluded the preceding year, between the regent and the Houſe of Burgundy, that, if the queen ſhould give birth to a daughter, that princeſs, and Jane, the late king's daughter by his firſt wife, or the ſurvivor, in caſe either ſhould die, ſhould enjoy the kingdom of Navarre, with the counties of Champagne and Brie, of which Philip ſhould have the government, until they had attained to years of maturity; that on their marriage they ſhould formally reſign all their pretenſions to the reſt of the kingdom of France, or, if they rather choſe to adhere to thoſe pretenſions, the ceſſion of Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, ſhould be null; that Jane ſhould be entruſted to the care of her grandmother, Agnes, ducheſs of Burgundy, but that ſhe ſhould not marry without the conſent of the king, and the princes of the blood; but that if the queen ſhould give birth to a ſon, this agreement was to be void[4]. It was made in the preſence, with the conſent and advice, of the princes of the blood, and the principal nobles of France, who ſwore to obſerve it.

3 Tunc etiam declaratum fuit, quod ad coronam regni Franciæ mulier non ſuccedit. Contin' Chron. Guill. de Nangis. Spicil. tom. iii. p. 72. 4 Treſ. des Ch. Nav. Layette iii. piéce 7. Du Puy, Tr. de la maiſon des Rois, p. 149. Leibnitz in Cod. Diplomat. p. 70. Mem de l'Ac. des B. L. tom. xvii. p. 295, & ſuiv.

Philip, however, when he came to the throne, was unwilling to execute this treaty. Belleforêt aſcribes his refuſal to the licentiouſneſs of Jane's mother, which rendered her daughter's legitimacy doubtful; but the ſuppoſition is abſurd, ſince by the preceding convention he had formally acknowledged her to be the lawful child of king Lewis. The duke of Burgundy warmly eſpouſed the intereſt of his niece, and entered into a league with the nobles of Champagne, for the purpoſe of compelling Philip to fulfil his engagements; but when hoſtilities were on the point of commencing, the evils with which the kingdom was threatened were fortunately averted by the concluſion of a treaty between the contending parties. The duke, in the name of the princeſs, gave up all pretenſions to the kingdoms of France and Navarre, as well as to the counties of Champagne and Brie, which laſt, however, were to revert to her in caſe Philip ſhould die without male heirs. The king, on his part, agreed to give her a penſion of fifteen thouſand livres, chargeable on the county of Angoulême; and the ſum of fifty thouſand, to be laid out in the purchaſe of an eſtate. In caſe Champagne and Brie ſhould revert to the princeſs, ſhe engaged to reſtore to the crown all the money ſhe ſhould have received by way of recompence for the renunciation of her rights; but thoſe two counties were to remain in the hands of the reigning prince till ſhe ſhould attain her thirteenth year; nor was ſhe to be put in full poſſeſſion of them, till, in concert with her huſband, ſhe ſhould have ratified the preſent treaty, of which the duke of Burgundy became the guarantee. If the princeſs ſhould die without children, they were to return to the crown, the penſion was to ceaſe, and the lands purchaſed to be reſtored. Jane was then affianced to Philip, the eldeſt ſon of the count of Evreux; and it was reſolved, in order to prevent any impediment to the projected alliance, that the marriage ſhould be immediately celebrated, *by words* ("par paroles") if a diſpenſation could not be obtained, which the tender age of the princeſs rendered requiſite, ſhe being only in her ſeventh year; and, laſtly, that as ſoon as the ceremony was over, Jane ſhould be entruſted to the care of queen Mary, widow to Philip the Hardy, and grandmother to the bridegroom. The treaty was fully executed, and from this marriage ſprang Charles, ſurnamed *the Bad*.

The inſurgents were highly diſcontented with the duke of Burgundy, who, they aſſerted, had ſacrificed the intereſt of his ward, to ſome private ſchemes of ambition. In fact this ſoon appeared to be the caſe, for Eudes, ſhortly after, married the eldeſt daughter of Philip, by which alliance he acquired the county of Burgundy in addition to the duchy, which territory belonged to his wife's mother. Philip had always recourſe to the ſame means of quelling a revolt, and he always found it ſucceſsful.

Iſabella, his third daughter, had been affianced to Alfonſo the Eleventh, king of Caſtile; but, from political motives, he now judged it prudent to break that engagement, and to promiſe the hand of the princeſs to Guigne the Twelfth, dauphin of Viennois

Viennois and count of Albon. It is said[5] that the lord of Saſſenage, one of the dauphin's vaſſals, being ſent to demand his bride, one of the king's *maitres d'hotel* brutally replied—"That ſo beautiful a lady was not made for ſuch a great hog as the dauphin!" The ambaſſador, enraged at the inſult, offered to his maſter, drew his ſword, and killed the maitre d'hotel on the ſpot; he then took refuge with Amadeus of Savoy, who was, at that time, at the court of France; and the count concealed him till he had found means to appeaſe the king, and obtain his pardon. This ſervice did not paſs unrewarded, for Amadeus, at a ſubſequent period, having been taken priſoner in an action with the dauphin, the Savoyards haſtened to his reſcue, when Saſſenage, who might eaſily have repulſed them, not only forbore to oppoſe them, but even carried his generoſity ſo far, as to make way through his own men, to facilitate the count's eſcape.

Margaret, the king's ſecond daughter, was promiſed to Lewis of Creçy, ſon to Lewis, count of Nevers, and grandſon to Robert, count of Flanders. This young prince had ſought an alliance with the houſe of Evreux, but the count of Valois interfered, and propoſed to him his own daughter, who was accordingly accepted. The day was fixed for the celebration of the nuptials, when the king, under pretence of removing every ground of jealouſy between the counts of Evreux and Valois, ſupplanted them both, by giving the princeſs Margaret to Lewis. But, previous to the ceremony, it was deemed neceſſary to ſettle the diſturbances which ſtill prevailed in Flanders; where the inhabitants, accuſtomed to regard the French as their enemies, had almoſt forgotten that they were in any wiſe dependent on the king. Philip, at the commencement of his regency, had projected a treaty, by which the count of Flanders was to have been re-eſtabliſhed in his peerage, and the people reſtored to their privileges; but the conditions on which theſe indulgences were to be granted appeared too hard to a nation averſe from every kind of reſtraint. The treaty, therefore, being rejected by Robert, a freſh army was ſent to reduce the Flemings, and after their country had been laid waſte by the troops, they obtained from Philip a truce, after which the negociations for a peace were renewed, but without ſucceſs.

A. D. 1318, 1319, 1320.] It was agreed to leave the matter to be decided by the pope, but the Flemings entertained a proper miſtruſt of a pontiff, who, beſides being born a Frenchman, had particular reaſons for wiſhing to pleaſe the king. In vain did he employ both ſolicitations and menaces to make them ſubmit to his arbitration; both were alike reſiſted for a conſiderable time; at length, however, the count of Flanders, finding his ſubjects ſo ſtrongly inclined to pacific meaſures, that they refuſed

[5] Mezeray, t. ii. p. 365.

to

to follow him, when, by an attack on the territory of Lille, he committed an infraction of the truce, repaired to Paris, attended by his eldeſt ſon, and by deputies from the principal towns in Flanders.

When every thing was apparently ſettled, and nothing remained but to ſign the treaty, the count proteſted that he would never conſent to make peace, unleſs the towns of Orchies, Lille, and Douay were reſtored to him. With this demand Philip peremptorily refuſed to comply, and exacted an oath from the princes of the blood, and ſuch of the barons as were preſent at the time, that they would never conſent to the ceſſion of thoſe places. Robert eſcaped from Paris during the night, with a full reſolution to renew the war, but the deputies ſent after him, and poſitively declared that they would not leave France till an accommodation had been ſettled on a ſolid baſis. He was therefore compelled to return and give his conſent to the terms propoſed.

It was ſtipulated that Orchies, Lille, and Douay, ſhould remain in the king's poſſeſſion; that the Flemings ſhould pay him a conſiderable ſum of money; according to ſome, ninety thouſand livres; according to others, two hundred thouſand; that they ſhould bind themſelves, by oath, to take up arms againſt their prince, in caſe he violated any of the articles of the preſent treaty; and that Lewis, ſon to the count of Nevers, ſhould marry Margaret of France, on condition that he ſhould ſucceed to the county of Flanders, even ſhould his father die before his grandfather. Thus finiſhed a deſtructive war, which had laſted five-and-twenty years; the Flemings were ſerious in their profeſſions of ſubmiſſion, and the moderation of Philip at length ſurmounted their inveterate hatred.

While theſe tranſactions were paſſing in France, Italy was the theatre of a cruel and ſanguinary war. The two powerful factions of the Guelfs and the Ghibelines, had ariſen in Germany during the conteſts of pope Gregory the Eighth, with the Emperor Henry the Fourth; and for ſucceſſive centuries they divided and diſtracted the different ſtates of Italy. The Guelfs ſupported the pretenſions of the pope, the Ghibelines the rights of the emperor, The ſchiſm which now prevailed in Germany renewed their animoſity—the former eſpouſed the cauſe of Frederic of Auſtria, while the latter declared for Lewis of Bavaria, whom the ſovereign pontiff refuſed to acknowledge. The pope's pretext for his refuſal was, that Lewis had preſumed to exerciſe the ſovereign authority, without *his* conſent, who alone, he pretended, had the right of confirming or annulling his election. But the moſt formidable partiſans that appeared on either ſide, were the Viſcomti. Maffeo, head of this family, had three ſons, all deeply verſed in the art of war. Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Novara, Vercelli, Alexandria, and ſeveral other places in Lombardy, owned his ſway. The emperor, too weak to humble, feigned to protect him, and left him the title of his lieutenant. Proud of this diſtinction, which placed

placed him at the head of the Ghibelines, he laid ſiege to Genoa; and, to an order which he received from the pope to abandon his enterprize, he replied, "That that city "was not within the dominions of the church, but of the empire, and that the pontiff, "therefore, had no right to interfere." Such a declaration was ſufficient to induce the Inquiſition to pronounce him a heretic. He was, accordingly, condemned as a wretch [5] who had abuſed, ſtricken, and poiſoned the pope's nuncios; pillaged the churches; firſt whipped, and then expelled ſeveral biſhops and abbots; burned the hoſpitals and temples conſecrated to God; diſturbed the eccleſiaſtics, at their ſynods, councils, or chapters; debauched ſeveral young virgins; ſeduced the married women; raviſhed the nuns, and—what was ſtill worſe—compelled the clergy to celebrate divine ſervice, notwithſtanding the interdicts pronounced by the holy ſee! He was alſo accuſed of denying the reſurrection, or at leaſt of calling it in queſtion; and, as a proof of this aſſertion, it was affirmed that his grandfather, grandmother, and ſiſter had been burned as heretics. They next had recourſe to excommunications, the frequent uſe of which, in thoſe times of ſuperſtition, had rendered them almoſt ineffectual; a cruſade, therefore, was determined on, to reduce this rebellious ſon of the church, and the ſame indulgences were granted to thoſe who would engage in it, as had formerly been accorded to the cruſaders in Paleſtine.

At the ſame time a diſpute aroſe, ridiculous in its nature [6], and only worthy of hiſtorical notice from the importance attached to it by a ſpirit of party. The Cordeliers, by the rules of their order, were compelled to renounce, by a ſolemn vow, all kind of property whatever, reſerving to themſelves only the ſimple uſe of the things of this world. The full extent of this engagement was not at firſt properly underſtood, or at leaſt, if underſtood, was not attended to; and although no diſtinction was made between a property in the articles they conſumed, and the uſe they made of thoſe articles, the brethren of the order were ſuffered to take their ſoup in peace, and without experiencing any qualms of conſcience. Thus things went on in their uſual train, ſome eating their bread as proprietors, others as ſimple uſufructuaries, exerciſing the rights of the church of Rome, in which the *property* was excluſively veſted. But certain caſuiſts having taken it into their heads to lay it down as a maxim, that this mode of life approached the neareſt to perfection, was the moſt conformable to the rules preſcribed by the goſpel, was the very life, in ſhort, which Jeſus and his apoſtles had taught and practiſed;—the other religious orders thought themſelves inſulted; both ſides grew warm in the diſpute; and in a ſhort time it became a queſtion in which the conſcience and future ſalvation of diſputants appeared to be deeply affected. The enemies to the new dogma reaſoned thus—It is evident that the cordeliers have a right to eat, but they cannot eat lawfully, without having a property in their food, a pro-

[5] Spicil. t. iii. p. 73. [6] Ibid. p. 74. Hiſt. des Ouvrag. des Scav. An. 1700. p. 72, 73. Lettres ſur le Péch. Imagin. p. 22 and ſuiv.

perty

perty which is inſeparable from the conſumption of it; thus each morſel which they eat is an infraction of the rules of their order, a violation of their vow, conſequently a perjury and a mortal ſin; every cordelier therefore is evidently out of the path of ſalvation, and a public ſinner. It is, in fact, impoſſible to live without eating and drinking; if then it be notorious that a cordelier lives, it is equally ſo that he eats and drinks, conſequently, that he habitually violates the conſtitutions of his order, and that he is habitually guilty of perjury and ſacrilege; they carried this curious mode of reaſoning ſtill farther—to ſay that a life polluted by mortal ſins was the ſame kind of life which Chriſt and his apoſtles led, was, they affirmed, a horrible blaſphemy; the cordeliers, therefore, who maintained that the life they led was the life which Chriſt had led, were impious blaſphemers. Beſides, it was mentioned in the ſcriptures, they obſerved, that our Saviour had ſome money for the ſubſiſtence of his apoſtles: it was then an eſtabliſhed article of faith that he was a proprietor: the cordeliers, therefore, who deemed that to be the caſe, were heretics [7].

Nothing could be more frivolous or abſurd than this diſpute; it was nevertheleſs productive of ſerious conſequences, by the diſturbance and ſchiſms which it occaſioned in the church. John the Twenty-ſecond (who then filled the papal chair) diſliked the cordeliers; he did not thank them for their gift of a property whence he derived no emolument, and which neither added to the wealth of the holy ſee, nor encreaſed the *poverty* of the *monks*; he therefore iſſued bulls, in order to render them, in ſpite of themſelves and their rules, proprietors of the food they conſumed [8]. Their bulls were publiſhed in all the ſchools; it was forbidden, under pain of being deemed a heretic, to maintain a contrary doctrine; and the pontiff burnt, without mercy, all the refractory Franciſcans who fell into his hands. The perſecuted monks applied to the emperor, who, being already at variance with the pope, did not heſitate to afford them protection, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſevere cenſure which had been iſſued againſt them. But, according to the cuſtom of theſe times, not content with defending the friars, he wiſhed to prove their adverſaries heretics; and pretended, "that the holy father could not, without a breach of the catholic and chriſtian faith, ſubvert a rule ſo ſacred as that of the cordeliers; a rule founded on the goſpel, and authoriſed by the example of Chriſt and his apoſtles." The Ghibelines, too, ſtill more from their hatred to the pope, than from their attachment to the emperor, declared in favour of the monks, and made incurſions on the lands which had been given to the church by the counteſs Matilda—a fatal preſent, which had become an eternal ſubject of diſpute.

The pope, however, continued to fulminate his excommunications—arms, the impotency whereof was beſt proved by the ſucceſs of his enemies. He applied to the French, formed a treaty with the count of Mons, who afterwards ſucceeded to the

[7] Hiſt. de France, par Villaret, tom. viii. p. 92. et ſuiv. [8] Spicil. t. iii. p. 75.

throne,

throne, under the title of Philip of Valois, and appointed him lieutenant-general of the holy church, for defending it againſt the Viſcomti, the moſt powerful of all the Ghibelines. The young prince accepted this dignity with joy, and ſet out for Italy, accompanied by ſeveral gentlemen, at the head of whom was his youngeſt brother Charles. He marched ſtrait to Vercelli, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the Guelfs, who, being maſters of one part of the town, were engaged in continual ſkirmiſhes with the Ghibebelines, who had taken poſſeſſion of the other. Theſe laſt, not being ſufficiently ſtrong to keep the field, ſhut themſelves up within their walls, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but Philip, who had only fifteen hundred horſe, was unable to inveſt the place, ſo that proviſions and other ſuccours had a free paſſage into the town, which of courſe impeded the progreſs of the ſiege. A council was called; and it was reſolved that the prince, while he waited for the reinforcements he expected, ſhould place himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, on the great road, for intercepting all the convoys. This expedient ſucceeded, and the beſieged ſoon found themſelves ſo deſtitute of every thing that was neceſſary for their defence, that they began to think of ſurrendering at diſcretion.

Maffeo, informed of their ſituation, ſent his ſon Galleazzo to their relief, with a force greatly ſuperior to that of the French. Philip, apprized of his arrival, ſent to aſk him, whether he meant to offer him battle. He anſwered, that it was not his intention to attack any prince of France, but merely to defend his territories and relieve his friends; with that view he ſhould uſe his utmoſt efforts to introduce proviſions into the town; and that if any attempt were made to oppoſe him, he ſhould defend himſelf with vigour. As the party was by no means equal, Galleazzo having ten times more troops than Philip, it became neceſſary to negociate. The young prince, whoſe impatience to ſignalize his valour, had prevented him from waiting for the reinforcements from Gaſcony, Provence, Naples, Bologna, Vienna, and Florence, demanded a conference with Viſcomti. The Italian, who had been knighted by count Charles of Valois, accepted the propoſal, and both of them having advanced to ſome diſtance from their reſpective armies, they had a long converſation together, in which Galleazzo appears to have had the advantage. Prayers, compliments, preſents—all were employed, and ſo opportunely, that Philip, won by his profeſſions of reſpect and attachment, abandoned his enterprize, diſmiſſed his troops, and returned to France, without having atchieved any thing either to the advantage of the ſovereign pontiff, or to his own reputation or glory.

The tranquillity which the kingdom enjoyed at this period revived the project of a cruſade. The king who had bound himſelf by a vow to aſſume the croſs [9], during the reign of his father, Philip the Hardy, expreſſed a great eagerneſs for the expedition.

[9] Rain. An. 1319, No. 19.

But the pope—with more wiſdom than his predeceſſors had diſplayed in ſimilar circumſtances—endeavoured to moderate his imprudent zeal; he repreſented to him that the time was unfavourable; that peace, ſo eſſential to the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize, was totally baniſhed from the chriſtian world; that all the horrors of diſcord were combined to deſolate Germany, England, Scotland, the two Sicilies, Lombardy, Cyprus, and Armenia; that the order of Knights-hoſpitallers, from whom the moſt effectual aſſiſtance might be expected, were in debt, to the amount of three hundred and ſixty thouſand florins; but that if, in ſpite of all theſe obſtacles, he ſhould ſtill perſevere in his intentions, he ought firſt to enquire into the expence of ſuch an expedition, and the means of providing for it, without attempting impoſſibilities, as his predeceſſors had done before him. This letter made ſome impreſſion on the king, though it did not prevent him from continuing his preparations.

The execution of his plan, however, was retarded by the intervention of an occurrence that cauſed no little confuſion in the kingdom. The ſhepherds and other inhabitants of the country, abandoning their flocks, aſſembled, with no other arms than a pilgrim's ſtaff, and gave out that they were going to Jeruſalem, the relief of the Holy Land being reſerved for them[10]. They marched in great bodies which daily encreaſed, by the junction of all the idlers, vagabonds and rogues that met them on the road. They took with them children of ſixteen; even women were led to imitate their example, and were not aſhamed to leave their huſbands to follow them. They were called *paſtoureaux*[11]; their leaders were two profligate prieſts, one of whom had been deprived of his living on account of his crimes, and the other was an apoſtate monk of the order of St. Benedict. At firſt, they obſerved a ſtrict diſcipline, marching in proceſſion, two by two, carrying a croſs before them, paying their devotion at all the principal churches, and begging a ſubſiſtance in a manner correſponding to the poverty they profeſſed. The people ſupplied them with great plenty of proviſions, and the king himſelf, led away by the fanatical ſpirit of cruſading, encouraged them with more zeal than prudence. But they ſoon contracted the habits of thoſe vagabonds who had joined them, and began to commit every ſpecies of depredation and outrage. Some of them being apprehended by an order from the magiſtrates, the reſt haſtened to the priſon, burſt open the doors, and releaſed the captives. When they arrived at the capital, they forced the Châtelet, threw the provoſt of Paris, who had oppoſed their entrance, down ſtairs, and reſcued all their companions. From thence they repaired to a meadow near the Abbey of St. Germain, where they drew up in order of battle, in expectation of being attacked; but nobody appearing, they marched off quietly, and neither the king nor his miniſters took any ſtep for preventing their inſolence, or checking their rebellious proceedings.

[10] Rain. Ann. 1320. No. 21, 22, 23. Spicil t. v. p. 77. [11] Little Shepherds.

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The Jews, in particular, were the objects of their perſecution; left to the choice of death or baptiſm, they collected their moſt valuable effects, and fled before this tumultuous rabble. A conſiderable number of them having taken refuge in the royal caſtle of Verdun on the Garonne, in the dioceſe of Toulouſe, were there beſieged by the *Paſtoureaux*; they defended themſelves with vigour, throwing large beams, ſtones, and *even their own children* at the enemy; the beſiegers, however, diſplayed equal reſolution, and at length ſucceeded in ſetting fire to the fortreſs. The Jews, half ſuffocated by the ſurrounding ſmoke, perceived there was no means of eſcape; and, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, they requeſted one of their fellow-citizens, a young man of great ſtrength, to put them all to death. The wretch accepted the fatal commiſſion; and after he had maſſacred five hundred, he preſented himſelf to the beſiegers, with a few children, whoſe lives he had ſpared, and demanded baptiſm. This requeſt however was rejected, and he inſtantly met the puniſhment that was due to his barbarity [12].

From thence the *Paſtoureaux* paſſed into Languedoc, and had advanced nearly as far as Carcaſſonne, when the ſeneſchal, Aymeri de Cros, publiſhed a prohibition to commit any act of violence on the Jews who belonged to the king, but this order being diſregarded, he was compelled to aſſemble troops, and adopt more vigorous and deciſive meaſures. A great number of theſe vagabonds were apprehended and hanged in different places, particularly at Toulouſe, where they had maſſacred all the Jews in the city; the reſt marched towards Avignon, but finding the gates of the town ſhut againſt them, they were obliged to retreat, when many of them were killed; others were taken and executed, and the whole body of them now meeting with a general reſiſtance, ſpeedily diſperſed and retired to their reſpective habitations.

A. D. 1321.] The infidels, informed of this occurrence, imagined that the rage for cruſading was revived in France [13]; and in order to avert the danger with which they conceived themſelves to be threatened, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem the moſt treacherous and baſe. Knowing that the Jews, from the perſecution they had continually experienced in France, entertained an implacable hatred againſt the nation; they applied to them to poiſon all the wells and ſprings in the kingdom, which would of courſe effect the deſtruction of thouſands, and thereby prevent the king's intended expedition into Paleſtine. The king of Grenada, urged on by the Mahometans of Aſia, and excited, moreover, by his own reſentment againſt the Chriſtians, whoſe victorious armies had laid waſte his dominions, was the principal con-

[12] Villaret. tom. viii. p. 101. & ſuiv. [13] Spicil. tom. iii. p. 78, 79.

triver of this deteſtable plot. The Jews being cloſely watched, were afraid to undertake a commiſſion ſo pregnant with danger, but they promiſed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevail on the lepers, who were then very numerous in France, to execute the plan. Theſe unfortunate people, whoſe malady was contagious, bore with impatience the humiliating degradation of being conſidered not only as outcaſts of ſociety, but as objects of public execration and horror. They were eaſily perſuaded that all who ſhould drink of the poiſoned waters, and eſcape with life, would be afflicted with the leproſy; by which means the diſorder would become general, and no longer be regarded as ignominious. This flattering hope, ſo natural to man, of ſeeing others reduced to the ſame wretched ſituation with themſelves; and the farther inducement of a bribe, proved too powerful to be reſiſted; all the waters in Upper-Guienne were poiſoned, and, in a ſhort time, the country was almoſt depopulated. But they did not conduct the matter with ſuch ſecrecy as to eſcape ſuſpicion; their motions were watched; and ſeveral of them being detected, avowed the crime, and were burned alive.

In Poitou, a ſimilar attempt was made; but it was fortunately diſcovered ere the evil had ſpread, and an adequate remedy was applied. The authors of it were apprehended, and full proof of their guilt being obtained, the king publiſhed an edict, commanding ſuch of the lepers as ſhould be convicted to be burned alive, and the reſt to be impriſoned for life; and this edict was rigorouſly enforced. As to the Jews, in many places they were burned without any diſcrimination; at Chinon, it is ſaid, a large fire was made in a deep hole dug for the purpoſe, and one hundred and ſixty of them were caſt into the flames. Several, we are told, jumped into the fire of their own accord, and exhibited every ſymptom of joy [14]; the women, too, followed the example, and devoted their children to deſtruction, through fear that the Chriſtians might ſeize them, and convert them to Chriſtianity. At Paris, the guilty were puniſhed with equal ſeverity; and the innocent were baniſhed the kingdom; the king, however, was careful to detain the moſt opulent Jews till he had procured an account of the debts that were due to them, which he appropriated to his own uſe, together with all their effects which were eſtimated at one hundred and fifty thouſand livres—a conſiderable ſum in thoſe times. At Vitry, forty of this wretched people, being condemned to the flames, determined to anticipate the executioner. For this purpoſe, they ſelected one of the oldeſt amongſt them, a man of high repute and great ſanctity; he refuſed, however, to undertake the office, unleſs a young man was aſſociated with him. This being immediately done, the two executioners proceeded to maſſacre their companions; when they had accompliſhed their ſanguinary taſk, a diſpute aroſe between them, as to

[14] Spicil. tom. iii. p. 78, 79. Villaret. t. viii. p. 109. et ſuiv.

which

which ſhould die the firſt; at length the young man yielded, and diſpatched the old one. Left to himſelf, he was alarmed at the proſpect of death, and tying the robes of his dead countrymen together, he ſought to eſcape by the window; but he fell in the attempt, and having broken his leg, was ſeized and burned.

Though the fanaticiſm of Philip had led him to connive, in a great meaſure, at the diſorders committed by the *Paſtoureaux*, he generally enforced a due obedience to the laws, and adminiſtered juſtice with ſtrictneſs and impartiality. Of this, a ſtriking inſtance is recorded in hiſtory [15]. A rich citizen was confined in the priſon of the Châtelet, on a charge of murder, under the care of Henry Capetal, provoſt of Paris. The crime was ſo notorious, and the proofs were ſo clear, that the culprit was unanimouſly convicted, and ſentenced to die. But the provoſt, tempted by the offer of a conſiderable ſum of money, conſented to ſave his life; and ordering a *poor* priſoner, who was confined on a falſe accuſation to be hanged in his ſtead, ſuffered the *rich* criminal to eſcape. This iniquitous tranſaction being communicated to the king, he appointed commiſſaries to try the magiſtrate, and the fact being aſcertained, very properly ordered him to be ſuſpended on the ſame gibbet.

A. D. 1322.] The king was employed, during the greater part of his reign, in the adoption of ſalutary regulations, as well for checking abuſes in the adminiſtration of juſtice, as for facilitating the internal traffic of the kingdom, by eſtabliſhing an uniformity of coin, weights, and meaſures. But this laſt deſign, laudable as it was, had nearly excited a revolt [16]. A report was induſtriouſly propagated, that in order to indemnify thoſe who enjoyed the privilege of coining, he had reſolved to impoſe a tax upon all his ſubjects, amounting to one fifth of their property. Aſſociations were immediately formed in various parts of the kingdom; and the nobility and clergy joined the people in their efforts to reſiſt an impoſt, both onerous and unprecedented. Philip, therefore, was obliged to give up the ſcheme; but ſuch was the miſery occaſioned by the debaſement of the coin, that he reſolved, at all events, to deprive the barons and prelates of that dangerous privilege. This meaſure he enforced with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs, in Chartres, Anjou, Clermont and the Bourbonnois, and there is little doubt but he would finally have accompliſhed the total abolition of private mints, had he not been ſeized with a violent fever, accompanied by a dyſentery, which put an end to his life. He expired at Long-Champ, on the third of January, 1322, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the ſixth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Saint-Denis; his heart, to the convent of the cordeliers, at Paris; and his entrails to the Jacobins. "Thoſe good fathers", ſays Mezeray [17], "had, from the time of Saint Lewis, claimed

[15] Spicil. tom. iii. p. 76. [16] Ibid. p. 79. [17] Hiſt. de Fr. t. ii. p. 365.

"a right

"a right of having a part of the entrails of their ſovereigns—leſs for the ho-"nour of the circumſtance, than for the emoluments with which it was generally "accompanied."

Philip was a juſt and virtuous prince, whoſe only fault appears to have been an exorbitant love of money, which ſometimes led him to the adoption of meaſures, that were inconſiſtent with the general tenour of his conduct. He was pious and devout; ever faithful to his word; vigilant, active, and reſolute in all his undertakings; but in manners mild, and poſſeſſed of a capacious and cultivated mind. Attached to the ſtudy of the belles-lettres, he patronized all who had the ſame propenſity. Millon, and Bernard Marquis, two celebrated poets, the firſt of Poitou, the laſt of Provence, were, in conſideration of their talents, honoured with his friendſhip, and rewarded with places in his houſhold.

Philip had, by his queen Jane, heireſs of Burgundy, one ſon, named Lewis, who died in his infancy; and four daughters—Jane, married to Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy; Margaret, wife to Lewis, count of Flanders; Iſabella, who was firſt married to Guigue, dauphin of Viennois, and afterwards to John, baron of Faucongney, in Franche-Comté; and Blanche, who took the veil in the monaſtery of Long-Champ.

It was under this reign that the conſtitutions of pope Clement the Fifth, vulgarly called *Clementines*, were publiſhed; that Thouloufe became a metropolis; and that the biſhopricks of Montauban, Saint Papoul, Rieux, Lombez, Lavaur, Mirepoix, Alet, Saint-Pons, Caſtres, Condom, Sarlat, Tulle, Saint Flour, Vabres, Luçon, and Maillezais, were erected; the laſt was afterwards transferred to Rochelle.

It was cuſtomary, at this period, to admit children of eight years to take the veil[18]; but they neither made the uſual vows, nor received the ſolemn benediction; if they afterwards left the convent, and married, which they were at liberty to do, they were obliged to obtain letters of *legitimation* for their children, in order to render them capable of inheriting; whence it would appear, that, without ſuch letters, they would have been deemed baſtards. "The caſe was "very different"—ſays the preſident Henault—"two hundred years before, when "Hugh, abbot of Cluni, ſupported by the authority of the church, forbade the

[18] Abrèg. Chron. de l'Hiſt. de Fr.

"reception

" reception of any girl under twenty, at the abbey of Marcigny, which he had " founded."

In theſe times, nuns were required to learn Latin, which had ceaſed to be the vulgar tongue; this cuſtom was obſerved till the latter end of the fourteenth century.

Philip, by a law, excluded the clergy from ſitting in parliament, in order that they might have more leiſure to attend to the duties of their profeſſion. He revoked all the grants of crown-lands which had been made during the reigns of his father, Philip the Fair, and his brother, Lewis Hutin; and from that time the domains of the crown became *inalienable*.

CHARLES

CHARLES THE FIFTH,

SURNAMED THE FAIR.

A. D. 1322.] PHILIP leaving no male iſſue, his brother Charles, count of la Marche, ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition [1]; and was crowned at Rheims, by Robert de Courtenai, archbiſhop of that dioceſe [2]. His firſt care was to procure a divorce from his wife, Blanche of Burgundy, who for adultery was ſtill confined in the priſon of Château-Gaillard. He had recourſe to the uſual convenient pretext of conſanguinity, which, in this inſtance, however, was ſtrengthened by a farther impediment, ariſing from the circumſtance of Maude of Artois, mother to Blanche, having ſtood godmother to Charles. A diſpenſation from pope Clement the Fifth was indeed produced, in oppoſition to this plea, but the attorney-general undertook to prove its invalidity, from the inſertion of ſeveral falſe facts, which had tended to impoſe on the ſovereign pontiff. The court of Rome being inclined to gratify his inclinations, readily admitted the ſtrength of his reaſons; the divorce was accordingly pronounced, and Charles, ſoon after, gave his hand to Mary of Luxembourg, daughter to the emperor, Henry the Seventh, and ſiſter to John, duke of Bohemia.

The pope was induced to grant this indulgence to the king, from a promiſe which he made to undertake a cruſade for the relief of the Cyprian and Armenian Chriſtians, who were cruelly haraſſed by the Infidels. But though conſiderable preparations were

[1] Rain. Ann. 8322. No. 23. [2] Baluz. tom. i. p. 440.

made

made for this expedition, to command which Amalric, viſcount of Narbonne, was releaſed from priſon, while Berenger Blanc was appointed admiral of the fleet, it never took place; Charles finding the immediate concerns of his kingdom ſufficient to employ his attention, and to occupy his forces. The Lombards and Italians, to whom the adminiſtration of the finances were principally entruſted, being accuſed of malverſation and oppreſſion, were ſtripped of their property, and ſent back in a ſtate of poverty to their native country. Gerard Laguette, a native of Clermont in Auvergne, a man of low extraction, formerly maſter of the mint, now receiver-general of the revenues of the crown, died on the rack, to which he had been applied in order to extort from him a confeſſion of the hidden treaſures which he was *ſuſpected* of poſſeſſing [3]. His body was afterwards dragged through the ſtreets, and ſuſpended on a gibbet at Paris.

A. D. 1323.] Apprized of the tyrannical proceedings of the nobility, who ſeized with impunity the property of their neighbours, and exerted the moſt deſpotic ſway over the country in which they reſided, Charles ſent commiſſioners of approved integrity and known talents into the different provinces, as well to repreſs their licentious proceedings, as to check the abuſes ariſing from the venality and ignorance of the provincial judges. The commiſſioners had orders to ſhew no favour to any one, but to adminiſter juſtice with the utmoſt rigour and the ſtricteſt impartiality; having recourſe leſs to the exaction of pecuniary fines, than to the infliction of corporal puniſhments. A gentleman of note named Jourdain, lord of Lille, in Aquitaine, the moſt conſiderable of theſe petty tyrants, the ſcourge of the country in which he lived [4], was cited to appear before the king, to anſwer to eighteen different charges that had been exhibited againſt him, the leaſt of which merited death. The criminal, knowing the king's ſeverity, made application to the pope, to whom he was related by marriage; and the interceſſion of John proving ſucceſsful, he obtained a pardon for all his crimes: but rather encouraged than diſmayed by his recent eſcape, he ſoon committed freſh enormities, and gave way to every ſpecies of oppreſſion and licentiouſneſs,—raviſhed the virgins, putting to death all ſuch as oppoſed his iniquitous proceedings, declaring himſelf the protector of thieves and public depredators, and openly reſiſting the royal authority. Cited a ſecond time to appear in the king's court, he had the temerity to ſlay the uſher of the council, who brought him the ſummons; and even after this act of violence, he preſumed to appear, accompanied by the principal nobility of the province. He relied on the dignity of his birth, and the influence of the pope, who again interfered to reſcue him from the hands of juſtice: but the viſcount de Lomagne, and the lord of Albret, his principal accuſers, having eſtabliſhed the facts laid to his charge, he was committed to the priſon of the Châtelet, and, being tried and

3 Le Gendre, Hiſt. de Fr. t. ii. p. 149. 4 Idem, Ibid.

condemned by the *Mayors of the Palace*[5], was tied to a horſe's tail, dragged to the place of execution, and there hanged.

Charles was equally ſevere in aſſerting his authority over the moſt powerful vaſſals of the crown. We have before obſerved, that Philip the Long, when he married his daughter Margaret to Lewis, ſon to the count of Nevers, inſiſted that the young prince ſhould ſucceed to the county of Flanders, even ſhould his father die before his grandfather. The event juſtified the precaution, as the old count ſurvived his eldeſt ſon two months. On his death, Robert de Caſſel, his youngeſt ſon, laid claim to the ſucceſſion, and, aſſiſted by the count of Namur, took poſſeſſion of ſeveral forts. He founded his pretenſions on proximity of blood, being ſon to the laſt proprietor, whereas Lewis was only his grandſon. The king took upon himſelf the deciſion of the affair, and forbade the rival claimants to proceed till he ſhould have pronounced ſentence. The Flemings being ſtrongly attached to Lewis, ſent a deputation to Charles to requeſt he would confirm the laſt treaty, and to aſſure him that they would convert the country into an independent republic, if he attempted to give them any other ſovereign. The young prince, flattered by theſe profeſſions of attachment, entertained no doubt of gaining his cauſe, and, without waiting for the king's conſent, received the homage of his new ſubjects. Charles, enraged at this act of diſobedience to his mandates, arreſted Lewis, and confined him for ſome days in the priſon of the Louvre; but, appeaſed by his ſubmiſſions, he reſtored him to liberty, gave a ſentence in his favour, received his homage, and exacted an oath that he would never require the ceſſion of Orchies, Lille, and Douay.

Lewis ſoon loſt the affection of his ſubjects, by the great confidence which he imprudently repoſed in the abbot of Vezelay, ſon to the famous chancellor of France, Peter Flotte, who was killed at the battle of Courtray. The Flemings compelled him to diſmiſs his favourite; and his condeſcenſion, in this inſtance, encreaſed their audacity; having impoſed a tax, which, though onerous in itſelf, was rendered more ſo by the extortions of the collectors, the inhabitants of Bruges took up arms, and maſſacred all thoſe tyrannical miniſters of the court. Robert de Caſſel being ſuſpected of giving birth to this inſurrection, his death was reſolved on, and the inhabitants of Warneton, where he reſided, received orders to kill him. But having received intelligence of their deſign from the count's chancellor, he had time to effect his eſcape. Lewis, enraged at loſing his prey, ordered the worthy magiſtrate to be apprehended; when brought into his preſence, he was aſked by the count, Why he had betrayed his ſecret?—"To "preſerve your honour," replied the intrepid miniſter. Lewis, who had neither ſufficient ſenſe to perceive the dignity of the reply, nor ſufficient merit to appreciate

[5] Villaret, t. viii. p. 133.

and reward the ſentiments that influenced the conduct of his chancellor, threw him into priſon.—This incident occurred in 1325.

Unimproved by experience, the count of Flanders continued to impoſe new taxes on his ſubjects, who reſiſted them by the ſame means as before. They again flew to arms; and, in a pitched battle, Lewis was defeated, taken priſoner, and confined in the priſon of Bruges. Robert de Caſſel was then recalled, and the whole country, except Ghent, acknowledged him for their prince. The king now interfered, and exhorted the Flemings to reſtore their count to liberty; but they rejected his ſolicitations, and refuſed to ſubmit; but, alarmed at his formidable preparations for attacking them, they were at length induced to accept ſuch conditions as he choſe to dictate. After releaſing Lewis, and re-eſtabliſhing him in his former dignity, they were compelled to diſmantle Ypres and Bruges, and to demoliſh all the other fortifications, which had been recently erected; to renounce, under pain of death, all leagues and aſſociations for oppoſing the authority of their prince; to pay four thouſand livres tournois, for founding a convent of Carthuſians in the diſtrict of Courtray; and to repair all the damages done to the churches during the commotions. The inhabitants of Bruges and Ypres promiſed to ſend a hundred pilgrims to Saint-James, in Gallicia; a hundred to Notre-Dame de Vanvert, and a hundred to Notre-Dame de Roque Madour, or elſe to pay the king ten thouſand livres tournois, in caſe he ſhould incline to diſpenſe with this engagement [6].

A. D. 1324.] Charles, about the ſame time, made his public entry into Toulouſe, accompanied by his queen, his brother-in-law, the king of Bohemia, his uncle Charles of Valois, and Sancho king of Majorca. On his return to Paris the queen, who was pregnant, oppreſſed by the fatigue of the journey, was brought to bed before her time at Iſſoudun, of a ſon, who only lived long enough to receive baptiſm; and his mother ſurvived him but a few days. The king, before the expiration of the year, having procured a diſpenſation from the pope, married Jane, daughter to Lewis, count of Evreux, his paternal uncle; this princeſs was crowned with great pomp, in the chapel adjoining the palace.

The attention of Charles was now called to an object of leſs magnitude, from its immediate conſequence, than from its probable effects. A nobleman of Agenois, named Monpeſat, had erected a fortreſs on a ſpot which, he pretended, belonged to the king of England, as duke of Aquitaine, but which the king's officers maintained to be ſituated on the domains of the crown. The diſpute was carried before the parliament, who decided in favour of the French monarch. Monpeſat, enraged at a ſentence which he believed to be unjuſt, had recourſe to the ſeneſchal of Guienne, who ſupplied him

[6] P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 275.

with troops, and laying ſiege to the fortreſs, which had been taken from him in conſequence of the deciſion of the parliament, carried it by aſſault, put the garriſon to the ſword, and hanged ſome of the officers.

Charles, inſtead of making repriſals, applied for reparation to the king of England. Edward promiſed him ſatisfaction, and even diſpatched his brother, Edmond earl of Kent, to Paris, with full power to inveſtigate the fact, and to decide on the nature of the reparation to be made to the French monarch; who required that the fortreſs which had occaſioned the diſpute ſhould be ſurrendered to him, and that Montpeſat, with the ſeneſchal of Guienne, and all their accomplices, ſhould be delivered into his hands, in order to be puniſhed according to the magnitude of their offence. The earl of Kent, after a long negociation, expreſſed his determination to comply with the demands of Charles; and deſired ſome one might be ſent to receive, in the king's name, the fortreſs and the priſoners. John d'Arablay was accordingly appointed to accompany him, but when they arrived on the frontiers of Gaſcony, the earl diſmiſſed him with deriſion, threatening to kill him if he dared to advance any farther[7].

Charles, to revenge this inſult, ſent an army into Gaſcony, under the command of his uncle, the count of Valois, who was attended by his two ſons, Philip and Charles, and by his ſon-in-law, Robert of Artois. His firſt attempt was on Agen, which immediately ſurrendered, and the other towns of the province followed the example of the capital. He then marched againſt Reole, whither the earl of Kent had retired; a party of volunteers, advancing to the gates of the city, dared the Engliſh to come forth and give them battle; the challenge was accepted, and they paid dear for their preſumption; oppreſſed by ſuperior numbers they were completely routed, and the lord of Florentin, with ſeveral brave knights, was left on the field. The count of Valois, apprized of this diſaſter, haſtened to remedy it, but before he arrived at the ſcene of action, the Engliſh had re-entered the town; which, however, was ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating. The fortreſs which occaſioned the war, was in the mean time taken and demoliſhed; and all Guienne, except Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Saint Sever, was reduced by the French arms. In this ſituation, the earl of Kent ſued for a truce, which was accordingly granted till the octave of Eaſter, 1325. It was ſtipulated that he ſhould return to England, and engage his brother to repair to the court of France, to do homage to Charles, (a ceremony which he had hitherto omitted) as well as to prefer his claims, and exhibit his complaints before the peers; but in caſe Edward refuſed to appear, the earl of Kent engaged to return and ſurrender himſelf

7 Villaret, tom. viii. p. 148.

a priſoner

a priſoner to the king. Four Engliſh knights were left as hoſtages, who conſented to loſe their heads, ſhould he fail to perform his engagements.

A. D. 1325.] The king of England ſent the biſhops of Norwich and Wincheſter, the earl of Richmond, and Sir Henry Beaumont to Paris, in order to accommodate the difference between the two nations. The firſt thing they ſettled was a prolongation of the truce till the twenty-fifth of July; but finding their negociations of little avail, they diſpatched the biſhop of Wincheſter to London, to intimate to Edward that his queen Iſabella was the moſt likely perſon to procure favourable conditions from her brother Charles. The queen willingly accepted the commiſſion; not, however, with any view to promote the intereſt of her huſband, but to exhibit complaints againſt him, and to forward her own flagitious ſchemes. Her enmity had been chiefly provoked by a young man of the name of Spenſer, deſcended from a noble family, who now enjoyed that portion of her huſband's confidence and favour, which ſhe thought only due to herſelf. Charles, moved by her affected ſorrow, vowed to aſſiſt her in obtaining vengeance for the injuries ſhe complained of; but having convened an aſſembly of the nobles, they all diſſuaded him from engaging in a war with England, merely on his ſiſter's account; though they treacherouſly adviſed him to grant her *ſecret* aſſiſtance, by permitting her to levy troops in the kingdom, and by ſupplying her with money for that purpoſe [8]—a mean and pitiful conduct, which, viewed either in a moral or political light, muſt appear equally deſerving of reprobation. This advice, being conformable to the views and wiſhes of the monarch, was followed; and the queen was informed of her brother's determination by Robert of Artois.

Iſabella, contented with theſe aſſurances of protection, withdrew her oppoſition, and a peace was immediately concluded with the Engliſh plenipotentiaries [9]. It was agreed, that the duchy of Guienne ſhould be ſurrendered to the French monarch, who might appoint a ſeneſchal to govern it in his name, but without the power of changing the captains or commanders of fortified places; that in the mean time, to prevent any interruption in the exerciſe of his authority, all the troops, belonging to either monarch, ſhould quit the country; that Edward ſhould repair to Beauvais, on the feſtival of the Aſſumption, to pay homage to Charles, who ſhould then, through friendſhip to the queen his ſiſter, reſtore all the places which had been ſurrendered to him in Guienne; that Agenois, however, and the other territories which had been reduced, ſhould not be comprized in this reſtitution, but that the king of England ſhould be at liberty to prefer his demands on this ſubject before the court of peers; that if the court decreed he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of that country, he ſhould then diſcharge all the expences of the war; but if, on the contrary, they ſhould declare his pretenſions to be

[8] Villaret, tom. viii. p. 160. [9] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 237.

unfounded,

unfounded, no demand of that ſort ſhould be made on him; and, finally, that after the publication of the peace, the priſoners, on either ſide, ſhould be releaſed. This treaty, which is dated the thirty-firſt of May, 1325, was ratified by Edward.

The article by which Edward obliged himſelf to repair to France, for the purpoſe of performing homage, could not but prove highly diſagreeable to his favourite, the younger Spenſer, who was afraid to remain in the kingdom, during the abſence of his ſovereign, as he knew his enemies, who were numerous, would not fail to take advantage of an opportunity ſo favourable for effecting his deſtruction; and he was equally averſe from accompanying Edward to France, where the queen (of whoſe hatred to his family he was firmly convinced, though of late ſhe had been ſtudious to conceal it, by a diſplay of the moſt conſummate hypocriſy) was poſſeſſed of ſufficient power to accompliſh any project which the native cruelty of her mind might ſuggeſt, and the inveteracy of her revenge induce her to execute. Urged by theſe powerful motives, he had ever ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the king's departure from his dominions; and his oppoſition to that meaſure, ſo pregnant with danger to himſelf, was now more violent than ever. But a parliament which aſſembled at London, on the twenty-fifth of June, having adviſed Edward to comply with the terms of the treaty, that prince made preparations for his journey, and actually ſet out for Dover; when he arrived, however, at the abbey of Langton, in the vicinity of Dover, a ſickneſs, either real or pretended, impeded his progreſs, and impelled him to ſend a meſſenger to Charles, to acquaint him with his indiſpoſition, and to deſire that a more diſtant day might be appointed for the performance of the intended ceremony[10].

At this criſis Edward received a new and unexpected overture from the court of France—probably, at the inſtigation of Iſabella—purporting, that if he would reſign his continental dominions to his ſon—now thirteen years of age—Charles would accept the homage of the prince, and grant him the inveſtiture of Guienne and Ponthieu. This expedient, which ſeemed ſo happily to remove all difficulties, was eagerly embraced, through the perſuaſions of Spenſer, and executed with a rapidity almoſt incredible. The deed of conveyance being ſigned by the king of England at Dover, on the tenth of September, the prince embarked for the continent on the twelfth, and performed homage to Charles, at Beauvais, on the fourteenth of the ſame month[11]. Hence it is evident, that neither the king nor his favourite was aware of the inſidious ſnare concealed beneath this project; and, indeed, the whole of this myſterious tranſaction was managed with ſuch extreme caution, that a prince of much greater ſagacity than Edward poſſeſſed, might have been equally impoſed upon.

[10] Rymer, vol. iv. p. 163,

[11] Du Tillet, Receuil des Traités. Rymer, vol. iv. p. 165, 166. Walſing. p. 121. T. de la More, p. 592. Mon. Malms. p. 239.

It

It appears, that when Iſabella arrived in France, ſhe there found a great number of Engliſh fugitives, who had been either baniſhed their country for treaſonable practices, or had ſubmitted to a voluntary exile, in order to avoid the puniſhment that was due to their crimes. Theſe were the ſhattered remains of the Lancaſtrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenſer proving a ſtrong recommendation to the favour of Iſabella, they were admitted to the friendſhip of that princeſs, who maintained a ſecret correſpondence with them. Among the reſt was young Roger Mortimer, one of the factious barons who had been reduced to ſubmiſſion by Edward; and had been condemned for high treaſon, but had received a pardon on condition of ſubmitting to perpetual impriſonment in the tower, from whence, however, he was ſo lucky as to effect his eſcape into France. This nobleman being one of the moſt conſiderable perſons now remaining of the party, and being particularly diſtinguiſhed for the violence of his animoſity againſt Spenſer, was received by the queen with peculiar marks of attention. The graces of his perſon, and the elegance of his addreſs, ſoon made an impreſſion upon her heart; he became her ſole counſellor; ſhe adopted no meaſure, however trivial, without his previous advice or approbation, and the gradation from an intimacy ſo cloſe and unreſerved to a criminal intercourſe, being eaſy and natural to a mind unbiaſſed by the reſtraints of virtue, or unawed by the rules of decorum, he at laſt prevailed on her to yield to the dictates of paſſion, and ſacrifice to its gratification her honour and conjugal fidelity [12]. In conſequence of her crime and its effects, ſhe willingly entered into the treacherous plans of her paramour, and, having gotten the prince of Wales, the heir to the throne, into her poſſeſſion, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. When Edward, therefore, on the concluſion of peace, required her to return, the purpoſe of her journey being effected, ſhe peremptorily refuſed to comply with his requeſt; declaring that ſhe would never ſet foot in England, till Spenſer was baniſhed, not only from the court, but the kingdom [13].

Mezeray pretends that as ſoon as Charles diſcovered the criminal connection which ſubſiſted between his ſiſter and Mortimer, he ſhewed the ſtrongeſt marks of reſentment to the former, treating her with great coolneſs, ſeldom ſeeing her, and ſcarcely ever exchanging a word with her. This however reſts ſolely on his own teſtimony, and the aſſertion is too groſs to be credited; ſince he is compelled to acknowledge, that notwithſtanding Charles's diſapprobation of Iſabella's irregularities, he permitted her to remain in France as long as ſhe pleaſed, and promiſed that, during her reſidence there, ſhe ſhould want for nothing; his previous conduct too is alone ſufficient to prove that if not the open accomplice, he was, at leaſt, the ſecret encourager of her nefarious practices. When the queen's determination was made known to her huſband, he informed her brother, that ſo far from her having juſt ground of complaints againſt Spenſer, he could juſtify the

[12] T. de la More, p. 568. Adam Muremuth, p. 65. [13] Walſing. p. 122. Mon. Malms. p. 239.

conduct

conduct of his favourite by Iſabella's own teſtimony, ſhe having written ſeveral letters to that nobleman, ſince her departure from England, replete with profeſſions of confidence and eſteem—to ſuch a heighth had this artful and malicious princeſs carried her diſſimulation. Edward farther obſerved, that he would never ſuffer Spenſer, nor any other ſubject, to ſhow the ſmalleſt diſreſpect to the partner of his throne. The juſtice of theſe remonſtrances, however, had no weight with the queen; and the conſternation of Edward and his favourite was ſoon after greatly augmented by the intelligence brought them from the court of France, by the biſhop of Exeter. That prelate, who was equally diſtinguiſhed for his wiſdom and loyalty, had been ſent by the king of England, as guardian and counſellor to the prince of Wales; and having obſerved that the court of Iſabella was daily filled with the fugitive partizans of the Lancaſtrian faction, and having diſcovered the criminal nature of her connection with Mortimer, who now lived in the moſt declared intimacy with her, he quitted Paris in diſguiſe, and haſtened home to impart theſe important particulars to his injured ſovereign[14].

Edward, alarmed at the diſcovery, reiterated his orders to the queen and prince to return without delay; and alſo wrote to Charles requeſting he would haſten their departure. He farther ſummoned a council of his prelates and nobles, which met at Weſtminſter on the tenth of November, and having aſked their advice, the biſhops all agreed to write, themſelves, to the queen, to deſire ſhe would immediately return with the prince[15]. But theſe importunities, as may eaſily be conceived, were treated with contempt; Iſabella had advanced too far in infamy to think of retreating: having injured the honour of her huſband, ſhe determined to effect the depoſition of her ſovereign.

Hoſtilities, in the mean time, commenced between France and England; Edward deeming the countenance ſhowed by Charles to his ſiſter an infraction of the peace, directed his officers to ſeize all the French ſhips that fell in their way[16]. Twenty veſſels were accordingly ſeized by the Engliſh in the ports of Normandy; Xaintes was taken by aſſault, and Charles found it neceſſary to ſend an army into Guienne, where the flames of war began to rage with more than uſual fury. In order to encreaſe the animoſity of the people, a report was purpoſely ſpread that Edward had maſſacred all the French who were in England, and ſeized their effects; and, under this pretext, Charles ordered all the Engliſh, reſident in France, to be arreſted and thrown into priſon, and their property to be ſequeſtered. Theſe orders were vigorouſly executed the ſame day, (the day after the Aſſumption) and at the ſame hour, throughout the

[14] Mon. Malmſ. p. 240. [15] Rymer, vol. iv. p. 180, 181, 182. T. de la More, p. 598. Adam Muremuth, p. 65. Mon. Malmſ. p. 242, 243. [16] Villaret, t. viii. p. 167.

kingdom;

kingdom; and though, when the report was proved to be falſe, the king was obliged to releaſe his priſoners, yet he took care to keep their property—a circumſtance, ſays Villaret, which excited the indignation of all honeſt men. Indeed the murmurs on this account were general; and it was openly aſſerted, that Charles and his miniſters were rather actuated by motives of avarice, than by zeal for the glory of the throne [17].

A. D. 1326.] Edward and his miniſters were ſtill urgent in their ſolicitations to the king to withdraw his protection from Iſabella; but though callous to their entreaties, he was moved by their bribes, and the gold which they laviſhed on him and his council [18], at length effected what juſtice and reaſon had proved inadequate to enforce. Charles forbade his ſubjects, under pain of baniſhment, to aſſiſt the queen; ſtill, however, he neglected to urge her departure from the kingdom, till a letter from the pope, (produced, alſo, if the hiſtorian we laſt quoted may be credited, by Engliſh gold) threatening him with all the cenſures of the church, by alarming his fears, compelled him to the adoption of that meaſure.

Iſabella was reduced to the neceſſity of making application for aſſiſtance to ſome other power; in this emergency, ſhe had recourſe to William, count of Hainault and Holland, who ſoon concluded a treaty with her, by which he engaged to ſupply her with a fleet and a ſmall body of troops, to enable her to make a deſcent upon England; and, in return for this favour, ſhe affianced the prince of Wales, who was too young to foreſee the conſequences of ſo imprudent an alliance, to Philippa, the count's ſecond daughter. Having collected a force of nearly three thouſand men, ſhe landed at Orewell Haven, in Suffolk, on the twenty-fourth of September [19], and ſoon found herſelf at the head of a formidable army. The forces of the royaliſts were too weak to oppoſe her progreſs; the two Spenſers were ſoon taken, and executed without any previous trial; and the unfortunate king himſelf, after the indignity of a formal depoſition, and a ſhort confinement, was barbarouſly murdered, in Berkely-caſtle, by the orders of his laſcivious conſort, and her infamous paramour [20].

A. D. 1327.] Charles, on the acceſſion of Edward the Third to the throne of England, ſummoned that monarch to do homage for his continental territories; but the unſettled ſtate of his kingdom was pleaded and accepted as an excuſe for delaying the ceremony; and commiſſioners were immediately appointed for ſettling the diſputes between the two nations. A peace was accordingly concluded on the following terms—That all the places taken, by either party, in the courſe of the war, ſhould be reſtored;

[17] Villaret, tom. viii. p. 168. [18] Froiſſard, fol. 3. tom. i. [19] Walſing. p. 123. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 336. [20] F. de la More, p. 603. Walſing. p. 127.

that the king of England ſhould pay the king of France fifty thouſand pounds ſterling [21], to defray the expences of the war; and that a general amneſty ſhould be paſſed.

A. D. 1328.] Charles died ſoon after the concluſion of this peace, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign. He was a prince neither diſtinguiſhed for any great virtues, nor remarkable vices; avarice was his chief defect, but where that did not lead him to acts of oppreſſion, he was careful to enforce a due obſervance of order, and an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. An impulſe of ambition had urged him to profit by the troubles in Germany, to depoſe Lewis of Bavaria, and transfer the Imperial diadem to his own brows; but the pope was unable to afford the aſſiſtance he had promiſed, and Charles, duped by the German princes, failed in his enterprize.

Charles had three wives; Blanche, of Burgundy; Mary, of Luxembourg; and Jane, of Evreux. By the firſt, he had a ſon and daughter, who both died in their infancy. The ſecond gave birth to a prince who lived but a few hours. By the third, he had two daughters, Jane, who died when a year old, and Mary, who was cut off in the prime of her youth. At his death the queen was far advanced in her pregnancy; for which reaſon, as ſoon as he was convinced of the impoſſibility of his recovery, he ſent for the principal nobles of his court, and told them, that if the queen ſhould bring forth a prince, he had no doubt but that they would chearfully acknowledge him for their ſovereign; but if ſhe brought forth a princeſs, it would then reſt with the chief barons of France to decide on whom the crown would devolve; but that, in the interim, he appointed Philip of Valois regent of the kingdom.

Charles the Fair was the laſt of the immediate deſcendants of Hugh Capet, who had ſwayed, for near three centuries and a half, the ſceptre of France, which was now tranſferred to the Houſe of Valois.

[21] Villaret.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

4 DE 65

ERRATA.

Page 9	Line 12	For 'were,'	read	'was'
13	Note 25	For 'Shabon.'	read	'Strabon.'
20	4	For 'Alode's'	read	'Alodes'
21	Line 1	For 'Joan'	read	'Jane'
23	3	After the word 'aſſertions', inſert, "who pretend"		
37	10	Dele 'on'		
52	12	For 'Fredegoneda'	read	'Fredegonda'
55	26	For 'They'	read	'Thus'
122	1	For 'has'	read	'have'
125	12	For 'conſtrained'	read	'ſentenced'
154	13	For 'he'	read	'Pepin'
156	16	For 'Copronynus'	read	'Copronymus'
158	25	For 'King'	read	'Kings'
166	22	For 'was'	read	'were'
175	2	For 'Juniéges'	read	'Jumiege'
178	14	Dele Semicolon For 'Poitiers'	read	'and Anjou'
189	21	For 'Monarch'	read	'Monarchs'
201	13	For 'Charles'	read	'Lewis;'
213	29	For 'have'	read	'has'
217	3	After 'then'		inſert 'to'
249	34	For 'reduced'	read	'induced'
292	21	For 'Lanfrance'	read	'Lanfranc'
307	12	For 'depredation'	read	'degradation'
343	28	For '1304'	read	'1302'
347	2	After 'elevation'		inſert 'of'
360	23	For 'Beauvoiſiu'	read	'Beauvoiſis'
426	19	After 'in'		dele 'the'
428	15	For 'Contuſcæ'	read	'Contuſæ'
429	23	For 'Ha'	read	'Ita'
561	8	For 'extinct'	read	'extant'

4 DE 65

INDEX

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

A.

ABELARD, deſcription of his perſon and doctrines, 344; his high reputation; oppreſſed by the pope, and forced to burn his book on the Trinity, and retire to a convent, 345; ſtill maintains the truth of his doctrines, 347; reconciliation between him and the ſovereign pontiff, 348; his death, and character, *ib.*

Ægidius, biſhop, convicted of an attempt to murder young Chilperic, 72; his puniſhment, 73.

Albigenſes, their blaſphemous doctrine, 412; invaded by Lewis the Eighth, 432.

Aletheus conſpires againſt Clotaire, 100; flies; is taken, and ſentenced to loſe his head, 101.

Amuſements common in France in the days of Pepin, 158, 159.

Arthur, prince, murdered by king John, 409.

Aſſaſſins, account of, and their prince, 398.

Aſſes' feſtival, ridiculous ceremony of, 429.

Auguſtins firſt ſettled in France, 477.

B.

Bakers, expoſed on a wheel, and baniſhed the kingdom, for adulterating the bread at the time of a dreadful famine, 554.

Batilda, a ſlave, married to Clovis the Second, 121; her exemplary character; retires to a monaſtery; dies, and is canonized, 124.

Becket, Thomas à, ſome account of, 362; raiſed to high honours, *ib.*; his great magnificence, 363; aſtoniſhing change in that particular, *ib.*; refuſes to ſubmit to the king's authority, 364; occaſions a war between France and England, 365; his intolerable obſtinacy and arrogance, 366; a reconciliation effected, 367; his future violent proceedings, 369; his aſſaſſination, 370; character of, 371; humiliation of Henry at his tomb, 375; his tomb viſited by the French monarch; miracles aſcribed to, 379.

Beguine nun conſulted reſpecting the crime imputed

puted to queen Mary, 488; her anſwer clears the character of that princeſs, 489.

Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, the inſtigator of the ſecond cruſade, 350; incurs the deteſtation of the whole nation on that account, 354.

Bernard, biſhop of Pamiers, his inſolence to Philip, 515; his conduct productive of a terrible diſpute between that monarch and the pope, 516; Bernard ſent priſoner to Rome, 517; his ſubmiſſion, 518.

Bertrade, her abandoned character, married to Philip the Second, in the life-time of her huſband, 311; her inveterate hatred to his ſon Lewis, 314; forges a letter to the king of England, to procure the death of Lewis, *ib.*; Lewis poiſoned by her emiſſary, though not effectually, 315.

Bertrude, queen of Clotaire the Second, inſolent propoſal of Leudemond, biſhop of Sion, to her, 101. *(See the Plate.)*

Beziers beſieged by an army of 500,000 men, 414; taken, and the immenſe butchery which took place on that occaſion ſaid to amount to no leſs than 60,000 ſouls, 415.

Blanche, relict of Lewis the Eighth, regent of France in the minority of her ſon, 436; her vigorous efforts in defence of the kingdom, 437—440; her death, 457.

Breyel, John, a butcher, heads the inſurgents in Flanders, 520.

Broſſe, Peter de, the favourite of Philip the Third, his infamous accuſation of queen Mary, 488; that princeſs reſcued from the calumny, and de Broſſe hanged, 489.

Brunehaut, married to Sigebert, 51; impriſoned, 57; again married to Meroveus, 59; various enormities unjuſtly imputed to her, 81, 89, 90, 91; her barbarous murder, by command of Clotaire, 93; ſeveral public edifices erected by her, 94.

Bull de Clericis Laicos publiſhed, 508.

C.

Capetal, Henry, provoſt of Paris, takes a bribe to ſuffer a rich priſoner to eſcape, and hangs a poor one in his ſtead; himſelf ſuſpended on the ſame gibbet, 573.

CARIBERT proclaimed king, 50; marries Ingoberga; divorces her, and takes Marcoveſa, who, in her turn, gives place to Theudegilda, 52; death and character, 53.

CARLOMAN joined with Lewis ii. in the crown of France, 227; on the death of that monarch proclaimed king, 231; grants peace to the Normans, *ib.*; differences between the two powers accommodated, 232; the Normans again commit devaſtations, 232, force Carloman to retire in diſorder, and to pay a fine, *ib.* death of Carloman, *ib.*; *(See the Plate)* pious deceit practiſed by him to conceal the perſon who accidentally cauſed his death, *ib.*

Caſtlenau, Peter de, his impetuous zeal, 413; aſſaſſinated, 414.

Chace, regulations reſpecting it, 108.

CHARLEMAGNE ſucceeds Pepin, 160; defeats the duke of Aquitaine, 161; ſubdues the Saxons, 162; takes Verona, 163; confirms his fathers donation to the court of Rome, with his *mark*, *ib.*; finally extinguiſhes the kingdom of the Lombards, *ib.*; is crowned king of Lombardy, *ib.*; again defeats the Saxons, and gives no quarter, 165; defeated by the Saxons, 168; marches himſelf into Saxony, orders 4,500 of the inſurgents to be beheaded, 169; ſends magnificent preſents to the caliph of the Saracens, 171; his ſon Pepin conſpires againſt his life, 172; aſſembles the council of Frankfort, 173; again marches againſt the Saxons; exaſperated at their treachery, abandons the country to the ſoldiery, who ſlay above 30,000; extinguiſhes the power of the Huns, 176; protects pope Leo, 179; ſuperb manner of giving audience to the Greek ambaſſadors, 180; finally ſubdues the Saxons, 181; meaſures adopted to oppoſe

oppoſe the Normans, 183; depredations of the Danes, 184; their prince aſſaſſinated, 185; death of Pepin and Charles, two ſons of Charlemagne, *ib.*; reſigns the crown to his remaining ſon, Lewis, 186; dies, *ib.*; his magnificent funeral, 187; character of him, and review of the acts paſſed in his reign, 189—191.

Charles, count of Valois, his unjuſt perſecution of Marigny, procures his execution, 553; his death-bed confeſſion, *ib.*

Charles Martel impriſoned by his grandmother, 138; eſcapes from his priſon, 139; engages Chilperic twice, and defeats him both times, 140; proclaimed duke of Auſtraſia, 141; his whole life a ſcene of warfare, 143; his perſonal proweſs, 144; his death, 147; horrid viſion ſuperſtitiouſly ſaid to be ſeen of him, *ib.*

CHARLES *the Second*, on the death of Charlemagne, attempts the depoſition of his brother, 204; a diet aſſembled to ſettle the ſucceſſion, 205; joins Lewis againſt Lothaire; terrible engagement, in which, 100,000 ſaid to be left dead on the field of battle, *ib.*; ſtrengthens his alliance with Lewis by an oath, 206; drives Lothaire from his palace, *ib.*; Charles ſecured in the poſſeſſion of Neuſtria, &c. 207; incurſions of the Normans, 208; their horrid enormities, *ib.*; meanly ſubmits to an accommodation, 209; the Normans again make inroads, are beſieged, but permitted to retreat, 210; Germany laid waſte by them, 211; divers regulations during his reign, 212, 213; Charles defeated and put to flight by the duke of Brittany, 214; depoſed by his brother Lewis, in conjunction with an aſſembly of prelates, 215; his humiliating ſpeech, *ib.*; collects his troops, and completely defeats the rebels; reſtored to his authority, and Lewis excommunicated, 216; arrogance of the clergy, *ib.*; deſcription, and remarks on the coins during this reign, 219; crowned emperor of the Romans, 221; endeavours to ſeize part of Lorraine; is defeated, and ſaves himſelf by flight, 222; is poiſoned by a Jew, his phyſician, 223; character of Charles, *ib.*

CHARLES *the Third* ſucceeds Carloman; his weakneſs, incapacity, cruelty, and treachery, 233, 234; Paris beſieged; baſely purchaſes a peace, 235; merits the ſcorn and contempt of his ſubjects; his ſuperſtitious dread; dethroned, *ib.*; driven friendleſs from his palace; dies with grief, ſome ſay by poiſon, 236.

CHARLES *the Fourth* crowned, 241; haraſſed by Rollo the Dane, conceſſions made to that chieftain, 242; Charles gives him his daughter to wife, *ib.*; the weakneſs of Charles becomes conſpicuous, 243; Robert crowned king, oppoſed and ſlain by Charles, *ib.*; the perſon of Charles ſeized, 244; ends his days in confinement, 246.

CHARLES *the Fifth*, ſucceeds his brother Philip; divorces his wife Blanche for adultery, and marries Mary of Luxembourg, 576; ſends commiſſioners to redreſs abuſes; particular obſtinacy of Jourdain, Lord of Lille, his impriſonment, death, and ignominious treatment of his body, 577; commotions in Flanders, 578; death of queen Mary, and her infant ſon, 579; war with England, 580; truce, peace concluded, 581; Charles ſecretly protects Iſabella, queen of Edward ii. king of England, 583; war with that power, twenty ſhips taken, Xaintes taken, 584; all the Engliſh reſident in France arreſted on a falſe report, releaſed, but their property confiſcated, 585; peace concluded, 586; death and character of Charles, *ib.*

Charters of Community inſtituted by Lewis the Sixth, 338; particular account of, 339—343.

Charters of Immunity, 338.

Chatillon, Peter de, appointed governor of Flanders, 515; his ſeverity and cruelty, 521; is defeated, and eſcapes in a diſguiſe, 522; his death, 523.

Cheſs, ſuppoſed origin of the game of, 429, 430; its uſe forbidden, 457.

CHILDEBERT *the First* ſucceeds Clovis the Firſt, 40; revenges the cruelties committed on his ſiſter by Amalaric, her huſband; acknowledged king of Auſtraſia; in conjunction with the king of Soiſſons, enters Spain, and ravages ſeveral places; Spaniards aſſert the contrary; Provence ceded to them by Juſtinian, 45; death, and character, of Childebert, 48.

CHILDEBERT II. proclaimed and depoſed, 121.

CHILDEBERT *the Third* ſucceeds Clovis the Third, 135; death and character, 136.

CHILDERIC *the Firſt* carried off in his infancy; miraculouſly reſcued; extreme beauty of his perſon; ſeduces Baſina; nobles enter into a league againſt, and chooſe Ægidius king, 27; appears in Gaul, and defeating Ægidius, regains poſſeſſion of his throne; followed by Baſina; marries her; advances into Gaul; defeats Odoacer, a Saxon monarch; takes Angers; kills the Roman general; conquers Germany; dies, and is buried at Tournay, 28; his tomb accidentally diſcovered in 1663; deſcription of it, 29.

CHILDERIC *the Second* aſcends the throne; commencement of his reign devoted to the ſupport of the laws; becomes indolent, debauched, and cruel, 126; his unjuſt and indecent behaviour to Leger, biſhop of Autun, and to Bouillon, 127; falls into univerſal contempt; maſſacred, *ib.*

CHILDERIC *the Third*, and laſt of the Merovingian race, reigns over Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Provence, 150; ſaid by ſome voluntarily to have abdicated the throne, 151; retires to a monaſtery where he dies, *ib.*

Children, permitted to take the veil at eight years of age, 574.

CHILPERIC *the Firſt*, threatened with deſtruction by his two brothers, 54; intrenches himſelf in the Chartrain; ſues for peace; again takes up arms, and is forced to fly, 56; recovers his dominions; acknowledged for ſovereign, 57; makes his public entry into Paris, 58; repairs to Rouen, to puniſh his ſon Meroveus for marrying with Brunehaut; promiſes forgiveneſs to the young couple; breaks his promiſe, 59; 25,000 of his troops ſlain in an engagement; at the inſtigation of Fredegonda, appears as the accuſer of Pretextatus; his extraordinary conduct on that occaſion, 60; ſhuts himſelf conſtantly up in Cambray; aſſaſſinated, 63; his character, *ib.*

CHILPERIC *the Second* comes to the crown, 140; oppoſes Charles Martel, forced to retire, *ib.*; again engages Charles; is again defeated, and purſued to the gates of Paris, 141; dies, 142.

Clementines publiſhed, 574.

CLODIAN *the Hairy* ſucceeds his father Pharamond; driven from the throne by the Romans; makes incurſions into Thuringia; a ſecond time conquered by the Romans; takes Tournay and Cambray; ſurprized by the Romans, while celebrating a marriage, and again driven from the conquered provinces; dies of grief, as is ſuppoſed for the loſs of his ſon, 23, 24.

Clodomir attacks the king of Burgundy, ſeizes his dominions, and puts him, together with his wife and children, to death; is himſelf ſlain by Gondemar, brother to that monarch, 41; his death revenged by the conqueſt of Burgundy, *ib.*

CLOTAIRE *the Firſt*, Sole King of France, aſcends the throne; forced to take up arms againſt his ſon; defeats, and puts him to death, together with all his family; paſſes the reſt of his life in the deepeſt melancholy; dies, 49.

CLOTAIRE *the Second* proclaimed king of Soiſſons, 69; put in poſſeſſion of all his father's rights, 76; attacked by Childebert, whoſe general is defeated, with the loſs of 30,000 men; particulars of that memorable action, 77; Clotaire invades Burgundy; defeated, 80; an irruption into the country between the Seine and Loire, his general defeated, and his ſon taken priſoner, 81; ſeizes Dentelenus and Andernac, 90; plans to put Brunehaut and

and her two ſons to death, 91; accompliſhes his bloody purpoſe, 93; becomes ſole king of the French, 99; quells a rebellion, and puts the conſpirators firſt to the torture, and then to death, 100; aſſembles a parliament at Bonneuil, 103; upon an inſurrection of the Saxons takes the field; defeats them; with one ſtroke cuts off the head of Bertoald; horrible carnage, 106; death, and character, of Clotaire 107.

CLOTAIRE *the Third* ſucceeds Clovis the Second, 123; dies, 124.

Clotildis married to Clovis the Firſt, 32, a miracle attributed to her, 45; dies, 46.

CLOVIS *the Firſt* aſcends the throne in his 15th year; defeats and beheads Syagrius; takes Soiſſons; takes ſingular vengeance on a ſoldier, who pillaged the church and took away the ſacred vaſe claimed by St. Remigius, at Rheims, 30; his dominions invaded by Baſinus, king of Thuringia, makes repriſals on Baſinus, and lays that monarch under a tribute, 31; marries Clotildis, 32; together with his ſiſter Albofleda, and 3000 of his ſubjects, turn Chriſtians; ſilly ſtory relative to that event; forms an alliance with the Arborici, 33; invades Burgundy; defeats Gondebald; enters into a treaty with the Armorician towns; renews the war againſt Gondebald, whom he totally conquers, 35; defeats the Viſigoths, and kills Alaric, their prince, 36; is himſelf defeated at Arles; his ſavage cruelty; holds a council at Orleans; principles of the *regale* take riſe in this council; his death and character, *ib.*

CLOVIS *the Second* ſucceeds Dagobert the Firſt; royal authority uſurped, during his minority, by the Mayors of the Palace, 118; marries Batilda, a ſlave, 119; Auſtraſia ſubmits to him, 121; dies; his character, 122; crimes attributed to him by the monks, *ib.*

CLOVIS *the Third* ſucceeds Thierri; events of his reign, and length thereof, wrapt in obſcurity, ſuppoſed about four years, 133; his death, 134.

Coin, deſcription of, and remarks on, 219; debaſement of, 526, 527; raiſed to its proper value, 541.

Combat, trial by, aboliſhed by Lewis IX. 475.

Compoſition, uncouth ſtyle of in the twelfth century, ſtriking examples of, 428.

Concubinage conſidered as a legal union, 74.

Conradine, king of Sicily, baſely maſſacred, 472.

Conſtable, that office firſt of importance, 168.

Conſtance, queen of Robert, her voluptuous character; procures the aſſaſſination of Hugh de Beauvais, 274; her cruel behaviour to her confeſſor, 276; raiſes a rebellion againſt her ſon Henry, 284; forced to ſubmit to a reconciliation with him, 285; dies, *ib.*

Cordeliers firſt inſtituted, 434; ridiculous diſpute concerning, 567.

Coucy, Ralph de, his death, horrid tranſaction conſequent on that event, 397.

Country-ſeats of the ancient kings of France, deſcription of, 78.

Cruſades, ſee *Holy Wars*.

D.

DAGOBERT *the Firſt*, on the death of Clotaire, aſſumes the crown, 109; commencement of his reign remarkable for the wiſdom of its meaſures, 110; cauſes Brunulf to be arreſted, and put to death, *ib.*; repudiates Gomatrude, marries Nantilda; his debaucheries; his extreme magnificence, 111; by the death of Aribert, his brother, and his ſon, ſucceeds to immenſe treaſures; a rebellion excited in his dominions; compromiſed diſgracefully, 113; appoints his ſon Clovis his ſucceſſor, *ib.*; Gaſcons revolt; are ſubdued, 114; Dagobert dies, 114; his character, *ib.*; laws made in his reign, 115, 116, 117.

DAGOBERT *the Third* aſcends the throne; leads a life of indolence, 137; rouſed by the nobles, marches againſt the Auſtraſians; gains a complete victory; again ſinks into inactivity, 138; dies, 139.

Depravity of manners in the 13th century, ſtriking

ing inſtances and humorous anecdote of, 544.

Dreſs, various revolutions in, 57; luxuries of the women, in the reign of Lewis the Eighth, curious anecdote of, 433; farther regulations reſpecting it, *ib.*; laws concerning it, *ib.*; prices of dreſs in 1202, 546.

Droiſſi, memorable action at, 76.

Du Fayel, Counteſs de, inhuman uſage of her huſband; eats the heart of her lover, Ralph de Coucy, dies, 397.

Duranti, William, the famous lawyer, ſome account of, 542.

E.

Ebroin, mayor of the palace, his deteſtable character, 124; raiſes Thierri to the throne; diſguſts the nobility by his arrogant behaviour; forced to fly; his poſſeſſions confiſcated, 125; again appears at court, on the acceſſion of Thierri; gracious reception, 129; rebels, *ib.*; his infamous project, *ib.*; again declared mayor of the palace; aſſaſſinated, 131.

Eleanora, married to Lewis the Seventh, 336; accompanies him in the holy war, 351; her abandoned behaviour at Antioch, 353; Lewis divorces her, 355; marries Henry duke of Normandy, 356.

England, conqueſt of by William of Normandy, accurate account of that event, 293, 302.

Erigena, John Scott, his aſſaſſination, 292, *note*.

EUDES, his gallant defence of Paris, 234; called to the crown on the death of Charles III. defeats, with an army of 1,000, 20,000 Normans, 238; beſieges and takes Laon, 239; the reins of government ſnatched from him, and given to Charles, IV. *ib.*; compels Charles to take refuge in Germany, 240; acknowledges Charles's ſovereignty, *ib.*; dies, 241.

Excommunication, firſt inſtance of in France, 274.

F.

Famine, great, prevails in France, diſtreſs of the inhabitants, 554.

Fanaticiſm, aſtoniſhing inſtance of, 478.

Flagellants excluded Sicily; after a length of time permitted to reſide in France, 480.

Flemings, various revolts of, 514, 525, 539, 554, 555, 565, laſting peace reſtored, 566.

Foix, count de, his rebellion againſt Philip the Third, 484; ſteps taken by that monarch to bring him to obedience, 485; is pardoned, but breaks the treaty, *ib.*; forced to ſubmit, his territories ſeized, and himſelf impriſoned, but afterwards ſet at liberty, and his poſſeſſions reſtored, *ib.*

Fools' Feſtival, impious ceremony of, 428.

Frankfort, famous council at, 173; objects of diſcuſſion, 174.

Franks, their antient character, 8.

Fredegonda ſuſpected to be the murdereſs of Galſwinda, 52; afterwards married to Chilperic, *ib.*; procures the aſſaſſination of Sigebert, 56; contrives the murder of Meroveus, 58; has Pretextatus ſtabbed in the middle of divine ſervice; procures falſe witneſs againſt Clovis, who is ſhortly after murdered in priſon, together with his mother, 61; ſuppoſed to connive at the aſſaſſination of Chilperic, her huſband, 63; inveigles Clotaire to defend her againſt the vengeance of his brother, 65; appointed regent, 66; various murders and other horrid enormities committed and encouraged by her, 68, 70, 72, 73, 77, 78; her heroic behaviour, 76; death, and infamous character, 79.

Frederic, emperor of Italy, oppreſſed, depoſed, and excommunicated by the pope, 447; facetious ſpeech from the pulpit on that occaſion, 450; forces the pope to fly; *ib.*; arrogant ſpeech, and haughty and indecent behaviour, of the pontiff, 450, 451.

French, their origin, 7 to 18;—aſſemble annually in the Field of Mars, 31.

G.

Galſwinda married to Chilperic, king of Soiſſons; her magnificent entry; her marriage ſettle-

ſettlement; found dead in her bed, ſuppoſed to be murdered by Fredegonda, 52.

Gaul, its ſtate when firſt conquered by the Franks, 14.

Gondebald, the ſuppoſed ſon of Clotaire the Firſt; diſowned; brought forward to oppoſe Gontran, 67; cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king; his ambaſſadors ſurpriſed, and compelled to diſcloſe the ſecret of the conſpiracy; retreats; takes poſſeſſion of Cominges; betrayed; put to death, 67; his body treated with the greateſt ignominy, 68; puniſhment inflicted on his adherents, 69.

Gontran, King of Burgundy, 50; his army cut to pieces by the Lombards, 55; attempt to murder him by Fredegonda, to whom he had been a firm friend, 72; death and character, 73.

Goſlin, biſhop, his martial behaviour at the ſiege of Paris, 234.

Guelfs and *Ghibelines*, terrible diſputes of, 566.

H.

HENRY *the Firſt*, on his acceſſion the ſtandard of revolt is hoiſted, at the inſtigation of his mother Conſtance, 284; eſcapes into Normandy, where he raiſes ſuccours, reduces Corbeil, and ſeveral other places, 285; pardons the rebels, *ib.*; makes an expedition into Normandy to aſſiſt the young duke, threatened with a conſpiracy, 387; battle of Dunes, Henry's narrow eſcape, gains a victory, and eſtabliſhes the young duke on his throne, 288; Henry's change of ſentiments with reſpect to that duchy, *ib.*; marches to attack them, is forced to retreat diſgracefully, 289; compelled to accept of a peace at the diſcretion of the conqueror, *ib.*; aſſociates his ſon Philip with him in the government, 290; remarkable oath taken by that prince on his coronation, *ib.*; death of Henry, *ib.*; his character, and remarks on his reign, 290, 291.

Henry the Firſt of England, wars between him and Lewis the Sixth; uſurps the duchy of Normandy, 325; his ſpirited meſſage to pope Calixtus, 326; ſhocking accident in his fleet, 331; revolt in that duchy quelled by Henry, 332; his immenſe preparations againſt Lewis, *ib.*; peace, 334.

Henry the Second of England, marries Eleanora, divorced by Lewis the Seventh, 356; lays claim to Thouloufe, 359; takes Verdun, Gerberoy, &c. 360; makes peace with Lewis, *ib.*; his diſpute with Becket, 364; war with Lewis, 365; rebellion of his ſons, 372; war with France, 373; conference with the French monarch, 375; degrading humiliation at the tomb of Becket, *ib.*; peace with France, 379; ſubſequent revolt of his ſons, 386; remorſe, and death of his ſon Henry, 387; war with France; and truce for two years agreed on, *ib.*; treacherous conduct of his remaining ſons, *ib.*; war again breaks out, 389; ineffectual conferences, 390; treachery of his governors, 391; makes peace on very humiliating conditions, *ib.*; his death, 392; extraordinary omen ſaid to be exhibited by his dead body, *ib.*

Herbert, count of Vermandois, his treacherous conduct towards Charles IV. 243; ſeizes the perſon of that monarch, 244; takes Eu, 245; threatens vengeance on Rodolph, 246; accepts the propoſitions offered by Rodolph, 246; joins Lewis the Fourth, 248; a war carried on by him for eighteen years, 250; his death, 251.

Holy Thurſday, practice of waſhing the feet of the poor on that day, originated with King Robert, 279.

Holy War, the firſt againſt the Saracens takes place in the reign of Philip the Firſt, 315; leading cauſes of that memorable event, 317; accurate account of its preparation and proſecution, 318; the ſecond, likewiſe againſt the Saracens, in the reign of Lewis the Seventh; who goes in perſon, 351; detail of the events in

in that cruſade, 351, 352, 353; another againſt the ſame power in the reign of Philip the Second, 389; hiſtory of, 395—400; another againſt the Albigenſes, by Lewis the Eighth, 432; another againſt the Saracens, by Lewis the Ninth, 453; account of that expedition, 453—457; another by the ſame monarch, 472; another attempted againſt the Saracens, by Philip the Third, 485; project abandoned, 486.

HONORIUS and THEODOSIUS reign over France when the Franks ſurprize the city of Treves, 19.

HUGH CAPET, founder of the Capetian race, ſtate of the kingdom on his acceſſion, 260—265; Laon taken by Charles, 265; Hugh defeated before that place, and with difficulty eſcapes, 266; at length gains a victory, *ib.*; retakes Rheims, *ib.*; raiſes Arnoul to the ſee of that city, 267; his perfidious conduct, *ib.*; gets his enemy Charles, together with all his family, into his poſſeſſion by a ſtratagem, 268; convenes an eccleſiaſtical council, memorable ſpeeches of the biſhop of Orleans, *ib.*; diſpute with the pope reſpecting the deciſions of that counſel; death of Hugh, 269; his character, 270; inſtitution of the peerage falſely aſcribed to him.

I. and J.

Jews expelled France, 384; on account of a crime falſely imputed to them eighty burnt alive, 400; baniſhed France, but on paying an exorbitant ſum of money, are permitted to return, 427; forced to wear a badge of diſtinction; farther oppreſſed, 444; other edicts againſt that unfortunate people, 457; again baniſhed, and their effects confiſcated, 527; again terribly perſecuted by the *Paſtoureaux*, are beſieged in Verdun, their vigorous defence, 500; maſſacred, 571; many of them killed at Toulouſe, *ib.*; engage in the diabolical ſcheme of poiſoning all the water in the kingdom, 572; attempts for that purpoſe at ſeveral places detected, horrid bloodſhed conſequent on that detection, 572, 573.

Inquiſition firſt founded in France, 413; permanently eſtabliſhed in that kingdom, 441; its powers and authority, 442.

Interregnum of ſeven years, after the death of Thierri the Fourth, 146—150; another of ſix months after the death of Rodolph, 245; —another, on the death of Lewis X. 557.

JOHN *the Firſt* born, lives but five days, 561.

JOHN, *king of England*, wreſts the crown from Arthur, 407; war with France; peace, *ib.*; divorces his queen, and takes Iſabella, who likewiſe had a huſband, 408; war with France again, *ib.*; ſuppoſed to be the murderer of prince Arthur, 409; ſuffers Philip of France to make the conqueſt of Normandy; 410; takes Montauban, with a conſiderable booty, 411; conſents to a truce for two years, 412; his diſpute with the pope, is excommunicated, 415; reconciliation, 416; reſigns his crown to the ſovereign pontiff, 417; great naval engagement with the fleet of France, in which 300 ſail are taken, and 100 deſtroyed, 418; ſigns MAGNA CHARTA, 419; terrible diſpute between him and his barons, 420; his death, 422.

Jonas the monk, his aſſertions refuted, 86.

Iſabella, queen of England, her perfidious and laſcivious conduct, 581; leaves her huſband Edward II. and lives in open adultery at the court of France, 582; ſecretly protected by the king of France, 583; occaſions a war between thoſe two powers, 584; forced to depart that kingdom, 585; repairs to Hainault, or Holland; with the aſſiſtance of that power invades England; depoſition, impriſonment, and murder of Edward, 586.

Ivetot, kingdom of, eſtabliſhed, 45.

Juſtice, adminiſtration of in the ſeventh century, 101, 102, 103.

King, title of, given by Clotaire the Second to his ſon; the firſt inſtance of a ſon's being aſſociated with a father in that dignity, 105.

Knights, various orders of, on the commencement of the firſt holy war, 319.

——— *Hoſpitallers*, 319.

——— *Templars*, ſee *Templars*.

——— *Teutonic*, 319.

L.

Lateran, council of, their decree againſt heretics, 425.

Leger, biſhop of Autun, his excellent character, 124; indecently treated by Childeric, 127; beſieged in Autun; ſurrenders himſelf; his eyes put out, 130; afterwards beheaded, *ib.*

Lens, or *Elena*, city of, a nuptial feaſt there interrupted, and the bride carried off by the Romans, 23. *(See the Plate.)*

Lepers, prevailed on by the Jews to attempt to poiſon all the water in France, 571; that horrid attempt fruſtrated, 572.

Le Roi, Peter, heads the Flemiſh revolters, 520; impriſoned, releaſed, 521; his courage; defeats the French army with immenſe ſlaughter, 522.

LEWIS *the Firſt* proclaimed king and emperor; acquires a reputation for piety, 192; aſſembles a council for redreſs of grievances, 193; aſſembles another to regulate the canons, 195; declares Lothaire his ſole heir, *ib.*; a conſpiracy againſt Lewis, who repels it, and puniſhes the conſpirators, *ib.*; other revolts, likewiſe put an end to, 196; his ſons revolt, 197; his perſon ſeized by them, 198; ſet at liberty; publicly pardons his ſon Lothaire, 199; they again revolt, 200; their cauſe eſpouſed by pope Gregory; arrogance of that pontiff, *ib.*; is reproached by Lewis; ſucceeds, however, in corrupting the troops of Lewis, 201; that prince depoſed, *ib.*; does public penance, *ib.*; his death, and character, 203.

LEWIS *the Second* ſucceeds Charles the Second, 224; the ceremony of his coronation repeated, at his own deſire, by pope John, 225; marches againſt the marquis of Septimania, who had revolted; ſeized with a violent diſorder; dies, ſuſpected to be poiſoned, 226.

LEWIS *the Third* and CARLOMAN ſucceed Lewis the Second, 227; their inauguration delayed, till the kingdom was properly divided, 228; the perfidious behaviour of Boſon towards them; they march againſt the rebels; are compelled to ſeparate, 229; Lewis gains a complete victory over the Normans, 230; his premature death, *ib.*

LEWIS *the Fourth*, on the death of Rodolph called to the throne, 248; a confederacy againſt him, *ib.*; oppoſes ſpiritual weapons to the conſpirators, which have the deſired effect, and a reconciliation takes place, 249; firſt treaty with England, *ib.*; expels the biſhop of Laon, *ib.*; is himſelf defeated near that place, 250; his extraordinary threat to young Richard, 251; is again defeated, and taken priſoner, *ib.*; being ſet at liberty, marches at the head of 180,000 men againſt the rebels, who decline the combat, 252; again has recourſe to the ſpiritual authority; an accommodation effected by thoſe means, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; character, 253.

LEWIS *the Fifth* aſcends the throne amidſt the contempt of all his ſubjects, 257; dies, ſuppoſed to be poiſoned, either by his mother or his wife, *ib.*; by his death, the Carlovingian race extinct, 258; remarks on that race, *ib.* feſtivals during the reign of that race, 259.

LEWIS *the Sixth*, horrid attempts on his life by his mother-in-law, 314, 315, his coronation, 324; diſturbance between him and Henry the Firſt of England, followed by various commotions between thoſe two powers, 325; cauſe of that diſpute, 325, 326; an inſurrection excited in France, quelled by the courage of Lewis, 326; is himſelf defeated, *ib.* marries Adelaide, 327; declares war againſt England, and marches an army into Normandy,

Normandy, takes Andely, and ſeveral other places, 328; oppoſed by Henry, king of England; battle at Brenneville; Lewis is defeated, and narrowly eſcapes being taken a priſoner; his ſpeech, and heroic courage on that occaſion, 329; peace concluded, 331; hoſtilities again commenced between thoſe two monarchs, 332; immenſe army of Lewis, 333; peace again concluded, 334; diſputes between him and the clergy; fanatical letter of the abbot of Clairvaux to the pope on that occaſion, *ib.*; aſſociates his ſon Philip to the throne, 336; death of Philip, *ib.*; death of Lewis; his character, 337; various laws and regulations eſtabliſhed in his reign, 337—344.

Lewis *the Seventh*, his marriage with Eleanora, 336; puniſhes the rebels in Orleans, 346; quarrels with the pope, 348; lays waſte the country of Champagne; takes Vitri, ſets fire to the church there, upwards of 1,300 ſouls periſhed in the flames, 349; ſecond holy war began, *ib.*; determines to aſſume the croſs, and repair to the Holy Land, 350; goes on that expedition, at the head of 200,000 troops, 351; arrives at Conſtantinople, duplicity and perfidy of the Greek emperor, *ib.* defeats the Turks with prodigious ſlaughter, 352; attacked by a band of Saracens; ſingly repulſes them, 353; *(See the Plate)* meretricious conduct of his wife Eleanora, *ib.*; arrives at Jeruſalem, lays ſiege to Damaſcus; forced to relinquiſh the enterprize, returns to his own dominions, 354; divorces Eleanora, 355; makes incurſions into Normandy, takes Vernon, 357; his marriage with Conſtance, *ib.*; undertakes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint James, *ib.*; his wife Conſtance dies in child-bed, 359; marries Adelaide, *ib.*; invaſion of Henry the Second of England, 360; peace, *ib.*; grand interview between Lewis, the pope, and the king of England, 361; war with England, 365; truce, *ib.* peace, 366; aſſiſts the ſons of Henry in a plot againſt their father, 373; hoſtilities again commenced between thoſe powers, *ib.*; Lewis lays ſiege to Verneuil, 374; forced to raiſe the ſiege, *ib.*; conference with Henry ineffectual, 375; attempts to take Rouen by a ſtratagem, 376; diſgracefully repulſed, 377; another conference, peace concluded, *ib.*; remarkable preamble to the treaty, 379; viſits the tomb of Becket, *ib.*; has his ſon Philip crowned, 380; dies, 381; his character, *ib.*

Lewis *the Eighth*, crowned, 431; declares war againſt England, takes Poitou, and ſeveral other places, *ib.*; his career ſtopped by the arrival of the Engliſh army; conſents to a truce for three years, 432; reſumes the croſs, and marches againſt the Albigenſes, *ib.*; takes Avignon, after a great ſlaughter, *ib.*; proceeds to Montpelier, where he dies, 433; his character, *ib.*

Lewis *the Ninth*, (ſurnamed Saint Lewis,) crowned, 435; rebellion breaks out, 436; rebels aſſiſted by the Engliſh, *ib.*; rebellion quelled, 438; plan for ſeizing the young king's perſon rendered abortive, *ib.*; another revolt quelled, 439; ſanctions the inquiſition, 441; war with England; Lewis takes Angiers, Amiens, &c. 443; king of England withdraws his forces, truce for three years, *ib.*; oppreſſion of the Jews, 444; marries Margaret, 445; Engliſh aſſiſt the count de la Marche in a rebellion, are defeated, and forced to fly, 448; truce with England for five years, 449; Lewis, being ſeized with a dangerous diſorder, vows to repair to the Holy Land, 451; preparations for that expedition, 453; departs, with an immenſe fleet and army, arrives at Egypt, and lays ſiege to Damietta, 455; dreadful engagement, in which the French remain maſters of the field, 456; diſtreſs of the French army, Lewis is taken priſoner, and forced to purchaſe his liberty by a heavy ranſom, *ib.*; departs for Paleſtine, *ib.*; on the death of his mother returns to France, 457; interview with the king

king of England, 458; impartial adminiſtration of juſtice by Lewis, 459; his enthuſiaſm, attempt of a Jacobin to make him renounce the world, 460; the king's anſwer, 461; ſilences his ſon Lewis by a blow; memorable ſpeech of the young prince on that occaſion, *ib.*; negociations and treaties, 462, 463, 464; hiſtorical account of the ſtate of affairs in Sicily and Paleſtine, 464, 465, 466; wholeſome regulations adopted by Lewis, 467; hears and decides an appeal between the king of England and the earl of Leiceſter, 468; the deciſion diſregarded by that turbulent nobleman; conquered by the king of England, and the rebellion totally quaſhed, 469; ſtate of Sicilian affairs, 470, 471; Lewis plans another expedition againſt the Infidels, 472; departs with a numerous retinue, 473; lands near Tunis, Carthage taken, death of Lewis, 474; his character, 475; regulations adopted in his reign, 475—480.

Lewis *the Tenth*, ſtate of ſurrounding nations on his acceſſion, 548, 549; conſpiracy in the province of Sens, 550; quelled, *ib.*; his unjuſt conduct towards Marigny, 552; marries Clemence, daughter of the king of Hungary, 554; lays ſiege to Courtray; diſtreſſes of the French army in this campaign; Lewis forced to raiſe the ſiege, 555; grants the Flemings a peace, *ib.*; again revolt, *ib.*; commiſſioners ſent into the provinces to remedy abuſes; two of the delinquents hanged; *ib.*; death of Lewis, *ib.*; his character; leaves a great legacy as an atonement to the children of Marigny, 556.

Lor, James de, and his wife and ſervant, apprehended for practiſing magic, his wife burnt, his ſervant hanged, and himſelf ſuppoſed to be privately put to death, 553.

Lothaire, ſucceeds Lewis the Fourth; reduces Arras, Douay, &c. 254; ſeizes Metz, 255; aſſociates his ſon Lewis with him; dies; his tomb ſtill to be ſeen; poiſon ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of his death, 256; his character, *ib.*

M.

Manners, inſtance of the ferocity of in a queen, 70.

Manuel Comnenus, the Greek emperor, his luxurious, inceſtuous, and perfidious character, 351; his treacherous conduct towards Lewis the Seventh, 352.

March, count de la, raiſes a commotion, 447; his defeat, and abject ſubmiſſion, 448.

Marigny, Euguerrand de, great honours heaped on him, 550; becomes an object of public indignation; hatred borne to him by the count of Valois, *ib.*; unjuſtly accuſed, his noble defence; impriſoned, and his effects confiſcated, 551; articles of the proſecution exhibited againſt him, 552; unjuſt mode of proceeding againſt him, *ib.*; mock trial, witneſſes ſuborned, Marigny condemned, and executed, 553; his body treated with indignity, *ib.*

Martel, Charles, ſee *Charles Martel.*

Mayor of the Palace, that officer firſt mentioned in the reign of Sigebert, king of Auſtraſia, 51.

Meals, number of diſhes at, regulated by law, 545.

Meroveus ſucceeds Clodian, after a conteſt with his ſon, founder of the Merovingian race; his beautiful perſon, 25; dies in the tenth year of his reign, 26.

Merovingian race began, 25; extinct, 152.

Meun, John de, the poet, 542.

Miſſi dominici, a name given to commiſſioners ſent by the French kings, 193; their powers, 194.

Monaſteries erected, 94; greatly reſorted to by people of the firſt rank, 95, 96.

Monaſtic orders inſtituted, 323, 345, 434, 477.

Montferrat, marquis of, aſſaſſinated, 398.

Mortimer, Roger de, his adulterous connection with Iſabella, queen of England, 583.

N.

Nangis, William de, the famous hiſtorian, ſome account of, 542.

O.

Oath, ancient manner of verifying circumſtances, 68.

Oath, curious one taken by Lewis, 206.
Oriflamme, firſt made uſe of, 332.

P.

Pallium, deſcription of the, 84.
Paris, only a ſmall iſland, 234; beſieged; manfully defended, *ib.*
—— church of, foundation of, aſcribed to Childebert the Firſt, 48.
—— univerſity of receives its firſt ſtatutes, 427.
Paſtoureaux, ſect of religious ſo called, their ridiculous and fanatical conduct, 570; perſecute the Jews, occaſion the maſſacre of 500 of that people, 571; at laſt diſperſed, after committing various depredations, *ib.*
Peerage, inſtitution of falſely aſcribed to Hugh Capet, 270; ſome account of, 271, 272.
Pepin appointed duke or governor of Auſtraſia, 130; his amazing extent of power, 131; ſubdues the Bavarians, Saxons, and the Suevi, 132; dies, 138.
PEPIN, ſon of Charles Martel, and firſt of the Carlovingian race; crowned at Soiſſons, in a very ſplendid manner, 153; defeats the Saxons, 154; aſſembles a parliament, *ib.*; makes a large donation to the church of St. Peter, 155; puniſhes Aſtolphus by a heavy tribute, *ib.*; extends his protection to the pope, 156; his death and character; remarkable anecdotes of him, 157.
Peter the Hermit, the inſtigator of the firſt holy war, 317.
PHARAMOND, king of France; events of his reign uncertain; had two ſons, Clodian and Clenus, their hiſtory likewiſe involved in obſcurity, 19.
PHILIP *the Firſt*, ſucceſſor to Henry the Firſt, 293; his firſt expedition into Flanders, 303; his army defeated near Caſſel; accepts an alliance, which is ſtrengthened by his marrying Bertha, daughter of Robert, 304; ſends ſeveral armies to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards; who return laden with glory and riches, 311; divorces his queen, who dies broken-hearted, *ib.*; demands in marriage Emma, daughter of the duke of Sicily, that lady arrives at the court of Philip, who meanly diſmiſſes her, and retains her fortune, *ib.*; marries Bertrade, already a married woman, 312; threatened with excommunication for his conduct; the pope's miniſters treated with the greateſt indignity, *ib.*; Philip is excommunicated, the effects of the excommunication, 313; becomes vicious and indolent; alarming ſtate of the kingdom, *ib.*; his ſon Lewis takes meaſures for repreſſing the tumults, which he accompliſhes, *ib.*; the marriage of Philip with Bertrade confirmed, 315; firſt holy war takes place in his reign, 316; circumſtances productive of that event, 316—319; his death, and character, 322.
PHILIP *the Second*, his fright in the foreſt of Compiégne, 379; his coronation, 380; marriage with Iſabella, *ib.*; various ſurnames, 382; a rebellion breaks out in Flanders, which he ſpeedily ſuppreſſes, 383; diſpute, and accommodation with England, *ib.*; his cruel treatment of the Jews, 384; another revolt of the county of Flanders, ſpeedily quelled, 386; rupture with his queen, and laſting reconciliation, *ib.*; war with England, 387; truce concluded for two years, *ib.*; prepares for an expedition to Paleſtine, 389; war with England, 390; takes Ferté-Bernard, Mons, and ſeveral other places; peace with England; humiliating terms impoſed on Henry, king of England, 391; ſets off, accompanied with 100,000 troops, on his expedition, 395; beſieges and takes the city of Ptolemais, 397; his duplicity to Richard, king of England, 398; returns to France, *ib.*; orders eighty Jews to be burnt alive, 400; breaks his oath of friendſhip to Richard, and invades Normandy, where he is repulſed, 401; ſigns a truce, *ib.*; marries Ingelburga, *ib.*; divorces her, and marries Agnes, 402; forced to take Ingelburga

Ingelburga again, and ſend back Agnes, 403; war againſt England, Evreux taken, and the garriſon maſſacred, by Richard, 405; Philip retakes Evreux, and maſſacres the Engliſh and inhabitants, *ib.*; defeated at Freteval, and forced to fly, *ib.*; his perfidy at Vaudreuil, again defeated, 406; peace, *ib.*; again broken, *ib.*; peace again, 407; conference with John, king of England, 408; the treaty broken by John, *ib.*; John obtains a victory, 409; Philip takes ſeveral towns in Upper Normandy, 410; his rapid ſucceſs, 411; a truce for two years agreed on, 412; his propoſed invaſion of England; Engliſh obtain a complete victory by ſea, 418; battle of Bovines; his life in imminent danger; gains the victory; 30,000 ſaid to be ſlain, 419; invited by the Engliſh barons to take part in their cauſe againſt John, 420; ſends his ſon Lewis with 7,000 troops for that purpoſe, *ib.*; oppoſed by the pope, and Lewis excommunicated, 421; Lewis marches in defiance of the pope, takes Rocheſter, *ib.*; acknowledged king of England by the nobles, *ib.*; ſubdues moſt part of England; his attempts on Dover ineffectual, 422; loſes the affections of the barons, who take up arms againſt him, 423; defeated by the Engliſh, 424; French fleet likewiſe diſperſed, with great loſs, *ib.*; makes a peace, evacuates England, and returns to France, 425; Philip grants a truce for four years, *ib.*; death of Philip, 426; his character, *ib.*

PHILIP *the Third*, engaged in a cruſade when his father died, 481; grants a truce for ten years, and returns to France; accidental death of his queen Iſabella, 482; takes a tour through his dominions, and quells a revolt, 484; receives the homage of the king of England, 485; preparations for a renewal of hoſtilities againſt the infidels, diſtreſſed ſtate and final expulſion of the Chriſtians from Paleſtine, 486; project abandoned, *ib.*; Philip marries Mary, 487; diſſenſions of the Navarreſe, 491; Pampeluna taken; ſhocking maſſacre, *ib.*; rebellion quelled, 492; war againſt the king of Caſtille, *ib.*; impeded by an order from the pope, 493; Gironne beſieged, and taken, 499; French totally defeated at ſea, and 30 ſhips taken, *ib.*; retreat of Philip, *ib.*; his death and character, 500.

PHILIP *the Fourth*, ſucceeds Philip the Third, 501; diſpute between a Norman and an Engliſh ſailor productive of a rupture between France and England, 502; cruel proceedings of both nations by ſea, 492, 493; another account of the cauſe of that rupture, 504, *note*; war commenced, 505; Engliſh take Bayonne, and ſeveral other places, *ib.*; Podenſac taken by the French, and 50 of the priſoners hanged, 506; Dover taken and burnt, *ib.*; his ſpirited reſiſtance to the meaſures of pope Boniface; account of the proceedings of both parties in that memorable diſpute, 507—520; diſpute terminated by the death of that pontiff, 520; truce with England, 514; marches againſt the count of Flanders, takes Douay and Bethune, *ib.*; takes poſſeſſion of Flanders, 515; rebellion in that country, 521; Bruges taken, *ib.*; maſſacre of the French troops there, 522; engagement between Bruges and Courtray, 20,000 French, and many of their principal nobility, left dead, 523; Flemings beſiege Tournay, a truce for eight months concluded, 524; war re-commences, terrible action takes place, in which the Flemings are defeated with conſiderable loſs, 525; a peace agreed on, *ib.*; oppreſſion of the prelates by Philip, 526; debaſes the coin, 526, 527; inſurrection in Paris, twenty-eight of the inſurgents hanged, *ib.*; his ſhameful treatment of the Jews, *ib.*; unjuſt proceedings againſt the knights templars 528—539; total extinction of their order, 539; another diſpute with Flanders; truce agreed on, *ib.*; domeſtic calamity, the wives of two of his ſons convicted of adultery, ignominious death of their paramours, 540;

death

death of Philip, 541; his character, *ib.*; account of eminent men who lived in his reign, 542, 543

PHILIP *the Fifth* appointed regent, 557; quells a revolt in Artois, 559; crowned king, 562; agreement between Philip when regent, and the houſe of Burgundy, 563; revolt in that country, 564; quelled, *ib.*; ſends an army into Flanders, 565; an end put to the wars with the Flemings, 566; religious diſputes, 566, 567; productive of a war between the Viſcomti and the pope, 568; that pontiff aſſiſted by Philip, 569; termination of the diſpute, *ib.*; preparations for another cruſade, put a ſtop to by inteſtine confuſion 570; attempts the reformation of various abuſes, 573; his death, *ib.*; character, 574.

Placita, or ambulatory parliaments, held by Clotaire, 101.

Pope Boniface the Eighth, his memorable conteſt with Philip the Fourth, 507; particulars of that affair, and the ſpirited oppoſition of that monarch, 507—520; curious letters, bulls, and remonſtrances to Philip, 510, 511, 513, 518, 519; Boniface ſeized, 520; his death, *ib.*

Pope Gregory the Firſt ſovereign pontiff who had any connection with the affairs of France; his death, 83.

Pope Gregory the Fifth expelled from the holy ſee, 273; re-aſcends it, *ib.*; his barbarous treatment of his competitor, 274; annuls the marriage of Robert, excommunicates him, and forces him to ſubmit to the ſentence of divorce, *ib.*

Pope Gregory the Seventh, his turbulent and aſpiring conduct, 304; excommunicates, and depoſes the king of Poland, &c. *ib*; his inſolent letter to the archbiſhop of Rheims, 305; his arrogance towards the Spaniards, *ib.*; to the emperor of Germany, with his infamous anathema againſt that monarch, *ib.*; degrading humiliation of the emperor, 306; Gregory beſieged, and eſcapes, and at laſt ends his days in exile, 307; his character, and remarks on his conduct, *ib.*

Pope Nicholas the Firſt, writes to Lothaire, king of Lorraine, reſpecting the divorce of his wife, 218; inſolence of his envoy, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*

Pragmatic Sanction, firſt iſſued, 477.

Prelibation, ſtrange cuſtom, ſo called, (commonly known by the name of *the law of Lombardy*) 476.

Princeſſes of the firſt race, ſome account of their rank, 75.

Procida, John de, his inveteracy againſt the French, 495; conſpires againſt Charles, king of Sicily, hiſtory and ſucceſs of that tranſaction, 496—499.

Prodigies, three obſerved by Clovis, previous to his engagement with Alaric, 35.

Proſtitutes, attempt to convert them by Peter de Roiſſi, partly ſucceſsful, 385.

Protades, murdered by the enraged ſoldiers, 83.

Ptolemais, city of, taken, after a ſiege of two years, and at an immenſe expence of blood and treaſure, 397.

R.

Raucingus aſſaſſinated, 72.

Raymond, count of Toulouſe, ſuſpected of the murder of Philip de Caſtlenau; excommunicated, 414; his degrading humiliation, *ib.*

Regale, enjoyed by the firſt French monarchs, account of, 38.

Regents, their power, 66.

Richard the Firſt, king of England, his ſarcaſtic reply to the curate of Neuilli, 393; accompanies Philip to the holy war, *ib.*; take Meſſina, 394; made priſoner, and loaded with irons, 400; his undaunted behaviour, 403; releaſed, 404; determines to puniſh the French monarch for his perfidious conduct, 405; dies, 406.

Riguntha, her diſſolute life, 71.

ROBERT, ſon of Hugh Capet, aſcends the throne, 273; the pope diſſolves his marriage,

274; refuſing to ſubmit to that ſentence, is excommunicated, and forced to acquieſce, *ib.*; re-marries, *ib.*; takes Count Bouchard under his protection; takes Melun, Auxerre, Sens, and Avalon, 275; upwards of five years conſumed in the reduction of Burgundy, *ib.*; a horid ſect of heretics appears, their ſuppreſſion and execution, 270; aſſociates his ſon Hugh with him in the government, who raiſes a rebellion, afterwards ſubmits, is forgiven, and dies, 277; Robert oppoſed in his intention of joining his ſecond ſon Henry in the government, by his queen Conſtance, *ib.*; perſiſts, and crowns Henry; dies, 278; his excellent character, *ib.*; his humanity and charity, 279; obſervations on the practice which obtained of monarchs aſſociating their eldeſt ſons with them 280—282; eccleſiaſtical councils held during his reign, 282, 283.

Rodolph comes to the crown, 245; his whole reign employed in repreſſing domeſtic feuds and foreign invaſions, *ib.*; Herbert, count of Vermandois, leagued with others againſt him, 246; compromiſes with that nobleman, *ib.*; his death, 247.

Rollo, the Dane, invades England, haraſſes France, and impoſes his own terms on king Charles, 241; marries the daughter of that monarch, 242; his converſion to chriſtianity, *ib.*; receives the name of Robert at his baptiſm; barbarity to his wife, *ib.*

Romans make incurſions into Gaul, 10.

S.

Saladin, caliph of Egypt, takes the real croſs from the Chriſtians, 388; his death, and the memorable proclamation previous to that event, 400.

Salic Law, inſtituted by Pharamond, account of, 19.

Samo excites a revolt, choſen king by the inſurgents; his arrogant behaviour to the ambaſſadors of Dagobert, 112; Urbians and Sorabians go over to him; an accommodation takes place, 113.

Saxons, various wars and commotions with, 162, 165, 168, 169, 176, 181; ſee Charlemagne.

Scotus, John Dun, ſome account of, 543.

Seneſchal of France, deſcription of the duties of that office, 327.

Showers of blood, and other portents, ſaid to precede the enormities committed by Fredegonda, 62.

Sicilian veſpers, horrid maſſacre ſo called, 497.

Sicily, Charles king of, his unbounded ambition, his controverſy with the pope, 493; ſhameful treatment of the Sicilian women by the French governors, 495; conſpiracy againſt Charles *ib.*; horrid maſſacre of the French, 497; Charles diſgracefully compelled to retire, 498; orders 150 of the inhabitants of Naples to be hanged, *ib.*; his death, 499.

Sigebert, king of Auſtraſia, heroic intrepidity of, 51; marries Brunehaut, *ib.*; takes arms againſt the Huns, 54; aſſaſſinated at Vitri, at the inſtigation of Fredegonda; his excellent character, 56.

Simony, very prevalent in France, 85; again, 291.

Sneezing, various ancient opinions reſpecting, 98, 99.

Sophiſtry, firſt takes riſe in the ſchools, 344.

Stephen, king of England, his death, 357.

Surnames, their origin, 263.

T.

Templars, Knights, their eſtabliſhment, 319; baniſhed France, 361; abolition of their order firſt projected, 528; motives for that procedure, horrid and abſurd crimes and tenets attributed to them, 529; all ſeized at once, and impriſoned, 530; interrogated by the inquiſition, 531; tortured to extort confeſſion, 532; ſpirited appeal to the pope, 533; deny their confeſſions extorted by torture, and fifty-nine of them burnt in a ſlow fire, *ib.*; noble behaviour and ſpeech of the grand-maſter, 534; the order proſcribed and aboliſhed, and all

all their effects confiſcated, 537; the grand-maſter and a nobleman burnt alive, 538; remarks on thoſe proceedings, 538, 539.

Theobald, king of Auſtraſia, forms an alliance with Juſtinian; breaks it; dies, 47.

Thierri, king of Auſtraſia, his character, 43.

THIERRI *the Third* ſucceeds Childeric the Second; his conduct towards Ebroin, 129; his perſon ſeized, 131; his death, 132.

THIERRI *the Fourth*, the kingdom governed during moſt of his reign by Charles Martel, 143, 144; his death, 145.

Tiers Etat (Third Eſtate) origin of, 343.

Toulouſe, Raymond count of, eccleſiaſtical tyranny exerciſed againſt, 439, 440; ſingular method of conducting the war in his dominions, 440; compelled to ſubmit, *ib.*; again reſiſts the authority of the church, 446; behaviour of the king of France on that occaſion, 447; rebels againſt the king of France, ſubdued, and compelled to ſign a treaty, 449.

Tranſubſtantiation, diſpute concerning the doctrine of, 292.

Troubadours, fathers of modern poetry, 428.

Twelve Peers of France, firſt choſen, to aſſiſt at the coronation of Philip the Second, 380.

Tyre, William, archbiſhop of, enforces the neceſſity of the third cruſade, 389.

W.

Warroc, earl of Brittany, betrayed and ſlain, 73.

William of Normandy eſtabliſhes himſelf in the dukedom, 295; account of the circumſtances which gave riſe to the conqueſt of England, by that prince, 293; circumſtantial detail of that event, 294—302; beſieges his ſon Robert in Gerberoy, 309; narrowly eſcapes being killed by that prince, *ib.*; his ferocious behaviour on that occaſion, *ib.* raiſes the ſiege, 310; a reconciliation effected between him and his ſon, *ib.*; vows revenge againſt the king of France, for a jocular ſpeech reflecting on him, lays ſiege to and takes Nante, *ib.*; the deſtructive progreſs of his arms put a ſtop to by his accidental death, *ib.*

4 DE 65